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1865.

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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1865.

Art. I.—THE IDEA OF GOD AS A LAW OF RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT.

Religion, true or false, is the development of the soul toward some recognized divinity. Such divinity is as truly and essentially its object, as the soul is its subject. In the popular notion religion consists in creeds, in forms of worship, in ceremonies and rules of life. Thus we speak of the religion of Buddha, of Brahma, of Zoroaster, of Mohammed; of the Jewish religion. But, in any exact sense, creeds, forms, usages, ceremonies, rules, are only the modes and means of religion, not the religion itself. This we find in certain states or exercises of the rational and affectional nature toward some divinity. Hence it is only as we come to the recognition of a divinity, and to the exercise of such thought and affection toward the same, that we enter the religious state. However active the soul may be, or vast the range of its research, or truthful and valuable its acquirements; or, however active and intense the emotions, and though they fill the circle of all other relations, still there is no religion till the soul rests upon some divinity. Without a god, without religion.

True religion is the right development of the soul toward God. Only as we rise to a knowledge of him, and to a right exercise of thought and affection toward him, do we reach a true religious state. There are many virtuous affections belonging to the sphere of our earthly relations. They are rich in

beauty and worth, and may all be wrought into the religious life. Such are gentleness, kindness, honesty, truthfulness, friendship, sympathy, the parental and filial affections. But all these, even in their highest form, do not, of themselves, constitute true religion. In order to this the soul must rise into the sphere of its relation to God, and move harmoniously therein. But as it so rises and moves, it carries with it all these virtues, and thus places them within the sphere of true religion.

Now, religion being such in its subjective character, and in its relation to Deity as its object, the idea of God must be a fundamental law of religious development. It must be such on several grounds: one, as the condition of such development; another, as determining its character or type; a third, as the consequent of the second, the more truthful this idea, the more perfect the religious development.

The religious life having such laws of growth and formation, the truthful presentation of God should have prominence in all religious teaching. Specially should his character be the subject of much devout meditation. We do not want many elaborate treatises, or sermons of profound argument, in proof of his existence. Atheism has never made permanent headway, and never can. Our religious intuitions forbid it. It is a sporadic thing, and comes of frenzy, or folly, but not to remain with any considerable number. "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God." And why reason much with him? It is hard to dissuade him from his folly. As Dean Swift says: "You cannot *reason* a man out of what he never *reasoned* himself into." And none ever reasoned himself into atheism. It is assumed against all evidence. And if a man, while standing upon the mountain height, with the meridian sun in the cloudless heavens, and surveying, with open eyes, the surrounding world glowing in his beams, will still deny that there is a sun in the heavens, why then you must leave him to his folly. Nor do we want much abstruse, metaphysical discussion of the divine character, as though by "searching" we could "find out God." The need is for plain, scriptural, practical presentations. As religion has its ultimate, supreme relation to God, and takes its mold from the impression of his character upon us; and as the form of that impression is determined by our idea of his character, such plain, truthful,

practical views are vitally important. Sure it is that his character is too little the subject of devout meditation. The mere thought of God must often be present to the mind. This is of little consequence. It is without moral force or religious character. This meditation is quite another thing. It is a deep, devout contemplation of God, in all truthful views, till we receive the true impress of his character upon the soul.

The idea of God is a requisite to any proper religious development. But the consideration of this point must await the statement of certain facts in the religious life. And, indeed, it will require little illustration after this statement, as it will appear sufficiently plain in the light of these facts.

Religion, as an inward life, is affectional rather than intellectual. Pure intellect, simply as such, is not capable of religion. It might apprehend divine truth and the character of God. All the facts and truths of revelation, as the facts of history and truths of philosophy, might lie open to its understanding. But without emotion it could take no religious character. All virtues or moral excellences are predicables of the affectional nature. The most truthful credenda and the best principles must live in the heart, and be warmed and vivified with its affections before they can enter into the religious life. Without emotion we are dead to all things of mental cognition. We look upon the landscape and the heavens; the mind takes in the whole vision, but the heart must answer to the beauty and grandeur of the scene. We see the victim of calamity and suffering; the mind apprehends all the facts of his misery, but the heart must answer to his suffering with a deep and generous sympathy. Goodness and truth, friendship, duty, charity, patriotism, the parental and filial relations; all, without their correlative emotions, could be but cold, lifeless conceptions. So, without emotion, the clearest intellective cognitions of God and truth are as cold and forceless as the pallid moonbeams that fall on glacier mountains. They must warm and quicken the affections before there can be any religious life.

In religion there are two cardinal affections, love and fear. The Scriptures designate religion, sometimes as love, sometimes as fear; yet the words are not synonyms. They are very diverse in sense. Whence, then, this interchange of distinct terms for

the same thing? Doubtless from this, that in a true religious state these two affections always coexist. Hence, when the Scriptures designate either as true religion, they always imply the other. And all these facts recognize the two affections as cardinal in religion.

There is no question or opposing opinion respecting the position of love, nor should there be any respecting fear; it is as properly an element of all true religion as love. The proposition is without limitation. We affirm it as much of angels as of men. The fear of God, such fear as is responsive to the impression of his justice, has its place in the religion of pure, unfallen minds. It is comely there. The character of God, as just as well as good; the principles of his moral government which harmonize to that character; and the moral constitution of his intelligent creatures, formed in correlation to both, all affirm the truth of these statements. We assume in angels a moral constitution like our own. There is ground for affirmation, specially as to its cardinal endowments. A few fundamental principles often warrant the most general conclusions. There are certain great physical laws that rule our own world, and we hesitate not to affirm that they hold sway over all worlds, even over those that lie beyond the sweep of the mightiest telescope, or are so remote that their light has not yet reached us, as much as over those of our own system. Now we have, as a basis, truth, the moral character of God. This determines the moral constitution of his intelligent creatures, for it is formed in correlation to his own. And, as a God of goodness and justice, he has endowed all with the affections of love and fear, as responsive to these divine attributes. In the last analysis, the goodness and justice of God, appealing to the love and fear of his creatures, are the ultimate cardinal forces for good in his moral government. But fear, as wrought into a true religious life, whether of man or angel, is not a feeling of servility or punitive dread, yet is it true fear, as it has for its object the divine justice. Punitive dread is not a primal or normal quality of religious fear; it comes with sin, and is the fruit of guilt, hence it is abnormal. Had all stood fast in holiness and obedience, there had been no dreading fear of God. The guiltless mind is free from such a feeling. Such is the normal quality of religious fear, and such we find in all true

religious life. The obedient, loving son more truly fears his father than the rebellious one; so the soul, holy and guiltless, more truly fears God; and this affection, blending with love, forms the profoundest reverence for him. And the purer the Christian mind, the further removed from the dread or torment of fear, the deeper and devouter this reverential fear. And the inference from analogy, as from the philosophy of the subject, is, that it has its fullest measure and profoundest depth in the pure, unfallen angel-mind. Be this as it may, it is plain that there is no true religion for man, constituted and conditioned as he is, without fear; such fear as a knowledge of the divine justice inspires in the soul.

We have stated that love and fear are the cardinal religious affections. They do not exist alone in a well-developed Christian life; there are many others; but they mainly spring from these two, or take their religious character by virtue of association with them. Patience and meekness, kindness and mercy, penitence and devotion, reverence, confidence, and gratitude have their source in these, and are Christian graces only in their fellowship. Truthfulness, honesty, friendship, philanthropy, patriotism—these may exist in some measure merely as human affections. Apart from a devout recognition of God, they can be only such. Placed under the sanction of the divine will and the inspiration of a supreme love and reverence for God, they are truly religious. The parental and filial affections are in a measure instinctive; culture and reflection may elevate and direct them; but without God they are without religious quality. In the fellowship of these two cardinal Christian affections they too are wrought into the religious life. The love of our neighbor as ourself in fulfillment of the second great commandment, is impossible without the love of God in fulfillment of the first. We deny not the possibility of some measure of kindness, sympathy, philanthropy; but for its divine, Christian form, the love of our neighbor must be carried to the celestial altar, and be warmed and vivified, expanded and ennobled by the supreme love of God.

The religious affections must have their proper objects. Here is a general law of the affectional life; indeed, the same law rules in the intellectual life. Thought, judgment, memory, will, all require something objective; it may be real or

imagined; still it must lie in the conception of the mind, else there could be no intellective activity. Imagination itself, without real objects, must supply fictitious ones, or it never could be an active power. Specially is this a law of the emotions. They must have their objects only in the view of which can they rise to an active state. And the happy adjustment of our emotions to our various relations is a very interesting fact, and richly fraught with evidences of the divine wisdom and love. All these relations might exist, and lie open to our intellective cognition, even without this beautiful adaptation. But then we should be dead to all: they could minister to us no happiness, nor could we develop any of the graces or fulfill any of the duties that lie within the circle of these relations. What were all the beautiful and the sublime, had we no correlative emotions? Where were all the kindly ministrations to the afflicted, had we no sympathy tenderly responsive to their suffering? Where were all the sacrificing devotion to one's country, had we no affection of patriotism? Where were parental devotion and kindness, or filial piety, were there no parental or filial love? The same law rules in our religious constitution and relations. God has endowed us with various religious affections, and placed them in a beautiful adjustment to their proper objects, in the view of which they may be developed into an active Christian state.

We specially note the application of this law. We have two cardinal religious affections, love and fear. These two affections are placed in adjustment to the divine goodness and justice, in which chiefly God is the object of our religious development. His natural attributes—his eternity, omnipotence, ubiquity, omniscience, immutability—may fill the soul with wonder and admiration, or move its profoundest emotions of grandeur and awe; but in themselves they make no religious appeal, and have no power for any religious impression. Even the divine holiness, though a mighty motive-force against sin, and in favor of purity and righteousness, is not such in its abstractness, but only as it is wrought into its active forms, and chiefly into goodness and justice. It is in this form that it more forcibly appeals to the religious affections. Nor would we depreciate or lightly esteem the office of the other attributes of God in their relation to our religious development. They

have an important part in the religious impression which the divine character makes upon us. It is not, however, by any direct, independent force, but by their alliance with the divine goodness and justice.

With these facts of the religious life, it is a plain proposition, that the idea or recognition of God is a requisite to any proper religious development. If the affections must have objects in order to an active state, so must we have the conception of their objects, else they can have no power over us. This fact holds in religion as fully as elsewhere; and, without the idea of God, there can be no outgoing of the affections toward him. This is so plain a truth as to require no further illustration; and we pursue it mainly for the purpose of explaining the office of the intellect in religion, and to show that, while giving such prominence to the affections in the religious life, we in no wise depreciate the prominence and work of the mind. The office of the truth in the development of the religious life will also thus appear. The affections cannot be active independent of the intellect. The mind must first perceive their objects, and convey the information of them to the heart; only then can they rise to an active state. Hence there must be the intervention of knowledge or truth; truth as the information of the objects of the affections, under the force of which they are quickened into life. But the mind must receive this truth, and convey it to the heart; and only in this mode can man, under any divine dispensation, become truly religious. Nor does this law deny or exclude the immediate, extraordinary work of the Holy Spirit. With all its agency there must still be truth addressing itself to the mind, and through it reaching the affections, in order to any proper religious development. Hence, under all dispensations of religion, God has addressed divine truth to men. What is this truth? We answer specially, the knowledge of the divine goodness and justice. There is much valuable truth beside. This is indispensable. Whatever other knowledge of God we may have, or however full and clear in the conception of the mind, all will not avail us. We must pass beyond, and include the knowledge of his goodness and justice. We must study these until our soul receives their living impression. Not till then can we have any true religious development.

And have we not here the solution of a perplexing fact? It is a notable and painful fact that many men of profound science, and whose researches constantly display to them the clearest views and most conclusive evidences of the wisdom and power of God, are yet not religious. They live in communion with the divine wisdom and power. In the vast range of ontology; in chemistry and physiology; in geology and astronomy; in all the powers and laws of intellective endowment and action: wherever they search, the divine wisdom and power are present, beaming upon their eye, flashing in upon their soul; seen and felt, confessed and admired. Surely one would think all such are truly religious; yet, alas! many of them are not. How strange! we say. The solution of this seemingly strange fact is in the laws of the religious life above evolved. They are conversant only with the wisdom and power of God, which attributes do not directly nor of themselves appeal to the religious affections. And it is natural to their case that, the more exact and profound the scientific cast of their mind and pursuits, the less likely are they to see anything of God beyond such attributes. These alone fall within the range and view of their science, and they can see nothing beside, nothing beyond. No, it would not be scientific to see anything beside or beyond. The pride of science excludes all else. Now they may have a profound admiration of the divine wisdom and power, and speak of them in terms of lofty esteem and praise. But this is not religion. It has no element of the religious life. It is the same as their admiration of the laws and forces of nature, or the lofty achievements of human genius in art and science. It is an esthetic feeling, a scientific admiration. But all this feeling brings them not to the outer circle of the true sphere of religion. They must pass beyond these partial views of God, and behold his goodness and justice, till the vision thereof becomes a power upon their soul, evoking its profoundest emotions of love and reverence, before they can enter the true religious life.

It is not within our plan formally to treat of these attributes, yet a brief statement of their characteristics is in place, and in some measure important to further views of this subject. Their relation to religion in man makes correct views of them a matter of first importance. The religious life takes its form chiefly

from our idea of them. If this idea is perverted or false, that development is perverted or false. Such has often been the case, and the consequences have been lamentable. Religion has been distorted and rendered feeble, or oppressive and cruel, according to such perverted or false view.

THE DIVINE GOODNESS:

First, this is the disposition of God to confer happiness; in a word, his benevolence. It is all expressed in one word, love: "God is love." It would see all happy. It would make all happy. It would dry every tear and calm every troubled breast; comfort the sorrowful, and cause the mourner to rejoice; encourage the desponding, and shed the light of hope upon the darkness of despair. It would redeem sinners, exalt saints, enrapture angels. Such is goodness in the divine disposition.

Then this goodness takes the form of active benevolence: it is beneficent. Here we find it in the actual bestowment of blessings and happiness. We see it in the creation of holy and happy intelligences, enthroning them in the highest conditions of well-being, surrounding them with every source of pleasure, opening to them the deep and living fountains of joy. In regard to sinners, we see the goodness of God in his long-suffering; in his reluctance to punish; in the delays of his wrath; in the provisions of his grace for their redemption and reconciliation; in the offer of a free and full salvation; in the gift of pardon and life to all who repent and return.

His goodness is without partiality. The divine dispensations are indeed very diverse. The same fact doubtless holds, in a measure, through all orders of created intelligences. It is with propriety so, and any voluntary divergence of moral life makes it necessarily so. It is unavoidably thus in regard to men as sinners, and that God may wisely adjust his remedial measures to their condition and the need of the world. Yet is the goodness of God without partiality, and primarily equally seeks the happiness of all. We hesitate not to say that, aside from the claims of justice, the interests of moral government, and the demerit of sin, he as much wills the happiness of the vilest sinner as of the purest saint; as much the happiness of the foulest fiend in the depths of hell as of the holiest angel in the heights of heaven. This we believe to be truth;

the truth of revelation and of the character and providence of God.

Yet the divine goodness never confounds the righteous and the wicked. It seeks the happiness of all, but finally saves only such as accept its gracious offers. It suffers none to perish who do not finally fall by the demerit of their own sin, nor brings to final happiness any who are persistently impenitent and impious: otherwise it were in opposition to the divine justice. These views are truthful and important. And all opinions which deny to the goodness of God its discrimination, or make it alike free and saving to all, to the finally wicked as to the good, not only make it to clash with justice, but strike both down together. Then both are impotent for moral good; piety has no reward; sin, impunity and free license. The results of such perversion can be but evil.

THE DIVINE JUSTICE:

The justice of God, broadly considered, is his infinite love of the right and the pure, and his deep abhorrence of the wrong and the impure. It is often taken in its punitive restriction. But his punitive justice proceeds from his own character; it is therefore in the fullest harmony with his infinite holiness. He is not a mere law-officer to execute the law against offenders, and whose own regards of the turpitude of sin may be quite indifferent. His law is a truthful expression of his own estimate of the evil and demerit of sin. The mere law-officer may even regard the criminal as worthy of commendation rather than of condemnation, and wish that the law were other than it is, and yet feel constrained by the requirements of his office to execute it. Not so with God. His laws, proceeding from himself, are all in truth and righteousness. Sin has a turpitude and demerit according to its status under the law. And his own estimate of it is according to that status. It is utterly offensive in his sight; utterly abhorrent to his love of righteousness and the infinite holiness of his nature.

Then the divine justice is a disposition in God to punish sinners. Not that he has any pleasure in the suffering which punishment involves. This were wholly contrary to his goodness, as it is to the frequent express declarations of his word. But punishment is due to sin, on account of its inherent turpitude and demerit. It is requisite to the maintenance and authority

of good government, and to the protection of the good against injury and wrong. It is, therefore, due to all the subjects of the divine government that sinners should be punished : justice demands it, and the disposition of God is in harmony with that demand.

But this position should be guarded against perversion or abuse. We note a few facts which will suffice for this purpose, and at the same time serve for the further illustration of the divine justice.

This is not a disposition of anger or revenge, as these passions sometimes find place in the human heart. True, the Scriptures speak of the anger of God against sinners, of his hatred and wrath toward the ungodly ; but this is a necessary accommodation of language. We cannot well conceive of the moral or affectional regards of God, except in analogy to our own. But we must not allow this *usus loquendi* to mislead us, or to convey any idea contrary to the character and perfections of God. And it is utterly inconsistent with these perfections to suppose that he is ever moved by any such spirit of excited anger, or fiery vindictiveness and revenge, as often moves the soul of man.

This disposition has no cruelty. There is such a disposition in man ; a cruel, barbarous spirit, which has, alas ! too often made him to joy and gloat over human torture and suffering. Such a disposition has been more common with men of power. Military chieftains, who have ravaged peaceful homes and carried ruin over unoffending peoples, and imperial despots, who have crushed their helpless and hapless people to the earth, furnish many examples. Equally may you find this same spirit in men of power, far less ample, but alike autocratic. The petty tyrant and the slave-master are instances. Most of all has it been found in the history of men of politico-ecclesiastic power, as the devotees of popery. Here have been men of a barbarous, savage cruelty. They have taken joyfully the torture and anguish of their hapless victims. In their despotic intolerance and rampant fury against all opposition or dissent, they have labored with tortures of infernal devisement to make earth sensible to the pains of perdition and vocal with the wailings of hell. Nor have men, while exercising rightful and legitimate powers in the ministration of punitive justice,

always been free from a cruel, vindictive spirit. Such has been their temper whenever they have taken pleasure in the punitive sufferings inflicted, no matter what the provocation, or whence that pleasure has sprung, whether from personal or partisan spleen. Now the divine disposition to punitive justice is infinitely remote from all this spirit of cruelty. He has no pleasure in the death of any; none in the suffering which the penalties of his justice inflict. His is the punitive disposition, not of a cruel tyrant, but of a gracious and all-merciful Sovereign and Father.

Hence this divine disposition is never hasty; never oversteps the principles of equity or the strict demands of justice. It is not eager to punish. It does not magnify little sins into great ones, nor mere infirmities into aggravated crimes. It feels no sudden impulse of excited emotion. It is never blinded or bewildered by a flashing anger, or impelled onward by a fiery rage. No; it is ever pitiful and reluctant, and renders only what justice demands.

The divine justice has other, positive qualities which require a brief notice.

It is certain. In its punitive function it proceeds from a disposition in God as real and immutable as his disposition of goodness, and upon principles as sure and changeless as his own being and throne. As we have seen, it is not cruel, or eager, or vindictive, or hasty, and finds no pleasure in the punitive woes which it inflicts. It yields to the divine goodness and reluctance to punish, and is slow to wrath; yet in the end it is infallibly certain. No restraint of goodness, no reluctance of love, no forbearance of pity, no delay of wrath, in the least impairs its final certainty.

It is impartial. It stands for the defense and avengement of the peasant as of the prince, of the slave as of his master. It treats with each sinner upon his own personal account, and according to the exact measure and demerit of his own personal sin. It adjudges none to be innocent who is guilty, and holds to guilt and punishment none who is innocent. It renders to every man according to his own work. It is not in the least swayed by all the conventionalism of society. It has no regard to the judgments of men either of Church or State, or whether of condemnation or approval. It has no regard to the

estate of men, whether lofty or lowly, mighty or feeble, imperial or servile, renowned or obscure. It has no abstract regard to the religious condition of men, whether heathen, or Jew, or Christian. It requires of every man in proportion to that which he hath, and will punish his sins accordingly.

It is severe. Justice, when purely such, and administered strictly upon its own principles, is always severe. Such eminently is the divine justice. Its own principles and functions necessarily render it such. Hence its penalties, as announced in revelation, are severe; and their severity is forcibly manifest in the divine reluctance to inflict them.

How different the goodness and justice of God! How unlike in disposition and function! It pertains to one to bless, to the other to curse; to one to save, to the other to destroy; to one to make happy, to the other to make miserable; to one to confer life, to the other to inflict death. And yet they are in full, consenting harmony. There is not the least antagonism or faintest dissonance between them; not so much even as the shadow of God's justice lying against his goodness. They fully harmonize in the same great principles and aims. His goodness is a disposition to the happiness of all. His justice is a disposition in harmony with it. Hence it has no cruelty, or vindictiveness, or haste; no pleasure in the pains which it inflicts. Hence too its reluctance to punish, its delays of wrath, till the yearnings and efforts of goodness are exhausted. As the proper aim of civil justice is the highest well-being of the whole community, so the aim of divine justice is the highest well-being of the universe. It is therefore at one with the divine goodness.

A collateral observation is in proper place here. Some divines, in the boldness of their theology, in their daring allegiance to God, in their fiery zeal for the absolute, arbitrary sovereignty of his throne, would have us be jubilant over the unconditional reprobation and damnation of angels and men. Others, with less boldness and daring, have not rushed so far, yet would have us exult over the final dispensations of justice in the eternal doom of sinful angels and men. No, no. This final dispensation of justice will be with the profoundest compassion and reluctance on the part of God himself: an event in which he will find no pleasure, but in the necessity and

righteousness of which his goodness will acquiesce. And he will not ask nor allow any higher expression of loyalty on the part of saints and angels than a full submissive acquiescence. Yes, acquiescence, not exultation. "Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight." This is all. Such are the sentiments respecting the divine justice that we should cherish now. The feelings which they prompt will exert a healthful influence upon the religious life. The opposite view must wield a morbid, evil influence, depriving that life of its tenderness, kindly sympathy, and grace, and rendering it morose and severe.

We have already stated that the other attributes of God have, in association with his goodness and justice, an important place in his character as the object of true religion in man. Goodness and justice depend much for the force of their moral impression upon their unchangeableness and efficiency in their appropriate work. Here they must rest upon other attributes of God. As an immutable being, his goodness and justice are forever the same. And as infinitely wise and mighty, they have an invincible effectiveness in their mission. Hence they are not mere abstract qualities for our contemplation, but infinite forces brought into the closest active relation to us. Besides, we thus have a clearer and more impressive view of their greatness. The goodness and justice of an infinite being, having themselves the perfection, immutability, and effectiveness of all the attributes with which they are associated, rise upon the conception of the soul in infinite majesty and force. And thus regarded, they make the profounder moral impression upon our affectional nature.

We have stated two other grounds upon which the idea of God must be regarded as a fundamental law of religious development: that such development takes its form according to our idea of his character; and that the more truthful this idea is, the more perfect will be this development. But they require little formal proof or illustration, because they are manifest from the facts or laws of the religious life already presented.

The former is a very general principle. Man assimilates to the character of the divinity he worships. This fact has a very lucid statement in the "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," a work that I may suppose to be familiar to the readers of the Quarterly. Hence there is less occasion for its special treat-

ment here. We find indeed the same principle before we come into the sphere of religion. It is a familiar fact that men assimilate to the character of their leader or hero. He is their ideal of excellence or greatness, and hence their accepted example and model. They imbibe his spirit, copy his manners, and form their own life according to the temper and action of his. But this is a more potent law when acting as a religious force. Men look up to their accepted divinity with affectionate esteem. His will is law. What pleases him is right; what offends, wrong. His thoughts, sentiments, actions are all good and right. Their imitation is a duty, and the highest attainable excellence. This is pleasing to him, and therefore the condition of his favor, which must ever be desired. Hence they must ever seek to imitate him. They are impelled to this by all the sentiment of esteem which a man must ever have for his accepted divinity, and by their ever-present desire for his favor. And this assimilation is amply proven by the facts of religious history. As the divinity worshiped has been kind or cruel, forgiving or vindictive, sportive or morose, virtuous or lustful, truthful and honest, or false and thieving, pacific or warlike, such, more or less, has been the character of his devotees.

The fact of this assimilating force has been fully recognized by the most gifted writers, ancient and modern. "Plato speaks of the pernicious influence of the conduct attributed to the gods, and suggests that such histories should not be rehearsed in public, lest they should influence the youth to the commission of crimes." For a like reason, "Aristotle advises that statues and paintings of the gods should exhibit no indecent scenes." Dionysius, speaking of the insufficiency of philosophy for the correction of those evils, says: "There are only a few who have become masters of this philosophy. On the other hand, the great and unphilosophical mass are accustomed to receive these narratives rather in their worst sense, and to learn one of these two things, either to despise the gods as beings who wallow in the grossest licentiousness, or not to restrain themselves from what is most abominable and abandoned when they see that the gods do the same." Cicero says: "Instead of the transfer to man of that which is divine, they transferred human sins to the gods, and then experienced again the neces-

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sary reaction." Thus speaks H. Oakley, Esq., of the worship of Kalé, one of the most popular idols of India: "The murderer, the robber, and the prostitute, all aim to propitiate a being whose worship is obscenity, and who delights in the blood of man and beast, and without imploring whose aid no act of wickedness is committed. The worship of Kalé must harden the hearts of her followers, and to them scenes of blood and crime must become familiar." In China, the priests of Buddha say: "Think of Buddha and you will be transformed into Buddha. If men pray to Buddha and do not become Buddha, it is because the mouth prays, and not the mind." (See "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," from which these quotations are taken.)

Now the same law must be operative in the worship of God. We assimilate to the character that we attribute to him. Our idea of his character determines the type of our religious development. We are satisfied with what in ourselves is like him, or according to his pleasure. The result is the same, though we first attribute to God our own sentiments and feelings. If this be the process, then there comes the reaction, the reflexive influence. "Thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thyself." Thus God rebukes the wicked; thieves, adulterers, slanderers, liars. Yet such was their idea of his character, and they were content to be like him, or what was according to his pleasure. When our notion restricts religion to any particular thing, the mind of God is claimed to be the same. Thus if honesty, or industry, or alms-giving, or the horror of hypocrisy, or the searching out and berating the faults of others, is regarded as the sum of religion, such is claimed to be the divine pleasure. We attribute to God certain regards of particular classes, and we cherish the same. Saul of Tarsus thought Christians to be objects of the divine hatred and malediction, and therefore he must persecute them in vindictive madness even unto death. Thus men have regarded the Jews as under the ban of God, and so they—by a gross perversion indeed—have hated and persecuted them. Thus popery has hated and persecuted those it has been pleased to call heretics. Thus the African is despised and enslaved. "Cursed be Canaan." Here is the divine law. And it matters nothing that the negro is not his descendant. We place this curse upon

him, and hence hate and enslave him. Enough that we are like God—like our idea of God.

And as the development and formation of the religious life is according to our idea of God, it is but a corollary to this fact that, the more truthful this idea, the more perfect is the religious development. When this idea is partial, erroneous, or perverted, so must be the religious life formed under its influence. But as this idea is truthful and complete, so will the religious life be the more perfect, symmetrical, and complete. And here we are brought back to those cardinal facts of religion, already presented as such. Most of the perversions of the religious life result from perverted views of the divine goodness and justice. The evil is twofold. First, the divine mind is wrongly interpreted as to what is virtue or vice, and right or wrong; also as to his estimate of men. Our false view holds that to be good or bad, right or wrong in the estimate of God which he does not so regard. Then we claim it is right and virtuous in us, without any warrant from him, to neglect, or hate and afflict such as we assume—falsely it may be—that he regards with displeasure. Now we can reach such false conclusions only by a false or perverted idea of the divine goodness and justice. When we can hold these to be partial; particularly, when we can hold the latter to be partial and arbitrary, oppressive and cruel, and to warrant in us like feelings, then our own wrong notions and feelings follow as the logical sequences. But when our idea of them is truthful, we are saved from such false and perverted sentiments, and cherish only those which are righteous and good.

These principles, which so far determine the character of our religious development, give a peculiar force to certain commands of Scripture; a force deeply felt by the true believer in God. The devotee at the altar of an idol may have no command to be like the god he worships; but all the religious sentiments which his idea of such divinity inspires so command him, even more imperatively than any mere words of authority. As his divinity is, such he feels himself required to be. This fact is often corrupting, as so many of the heathen gods are corrupt. Still it is none the less a religious force, ever present and active. The same force lies in all true faith in God. Here we have such commands as these: "Be ye therefore perfect,

even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect;" "Be ye holy, for I am holy;" "Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful." These are commands of divine authority. But they have far greater weight with the believer whose idea of the character of God is truthful and clear, than any mere authority can give them. They come to him, indeed, with all their weight of authority; but above all this, they come with the inspiration of all his love and reverence for God, his devout admiration of the perfections of his character, his aspirations to be assimilated to him in like excellences, and his longings for the divine communion and blessing. And thus the religious life takes its highest, best form.

Any one at all observant has marked examples of the most perfect religious development in persons of very limited powers and culture. He has found here an intensity, fullness, and symmetry of the religious life, often wanting in Christians of the rarest gifts, the broadest views, and richest culture. How is this? Should not these laws of the religious life, which we have considered, invariably give to the latter the more perfect religious development? Far from it. This development is determined by the clearness and truthfulness of our views of God in those attributes in which he is specially the object of the religious affections. Here the simple-minded man is equal to the gifted and cultured. In some respects he has the advantage. His very simplicity enables him to contemplate God with the deepest religious intensity. He is not perplexed with any difficult or puzzling questions respecting the ubiquity, or unchangeableness, or eternity of God, or the harmony of his prescience with the freedom of human actions. He sees his natural attributes only as they heighten the glory and majesty of his righteousness and love. The light of the divine goodness and justice beams upon his soul, and his religious affections kindle and glow under the vision of their glory. And, religion being so largely affectional, it is legitimate to the laws of its development that it should take a higher form in such a one, rather than with those of far larger gifts and richer culture, whose views of God as the object of religion are not likely to be so simple, clear, and intense, on account of those disturbing questions ever rising to their mind.

We follow the logical sequences of this subject, in applying

its principles to the religious life, under its various forms or dispensations. As the development of that life is determined by the idea of God, it must be largely influenced or modified by the dispensation under which it has its formation. As the true religious idea of God is less or more clearly revealed and received, so the religious life will have a less or more perfect development.

RELIGION UNDER NATURE.—Nature sheds but a feeble light upon the moral attributes of God. Its chief manifestations are of his natural attributes. But these, however clearly seen, make no direct appeal to the religious affections, and, hence, have no inherent formative power over the religious life. Its feeble light upon the moral attributes of God is especially defective as to his goodness. Nature more clearly manifests his justice than his goodness—justice, not as it springs from his holiness, and forms his righteousness, but in its punitive function and visitations of wrath. Whoever will contemplate God simply in the light of nature, will receive a deeper impression of his wrath than of his love. But in saying this, we are not consenting that our afflictions are greater than our blessings. We think them far less. Yet our blessings do not equally impress us. We are more keenly sensitive to pain than to pleasure. Besides, our blessings come to us so constantly and gently that we scarcely observe them; while our afflictions are often sudden and intense. Frequently they come with severity and whelming violence. The result is, that, left to the light of nature, we receive the deeper impression of the divine justice and wrath. Hence, fear is ever the predominant element in the religious life under nature. It has far more strength and intensity than love. This is seen everywhere in the various forms of heathen religion. The vast sum of superstition, so common to heathenism, is but the offspring of this strong feeling. This superstition itself is the very embodiment of fear, and clearly manifests the character of its source. It is this ruling feeling that has filled grove and field, valley and mountain, river and sea, wind and darkness, cloud and storm, with alarms and terrors. So the predominance of fear is manifest, as heathenism has wrought it into religious rites and ceremonies of extreme cruelty and self-torture, for the expiation of sin. It follows from these principles and facts

that the light of nature has but little true religious power. It equally follows that it cannot develop a well-formed, symmetrical religious character, one in which these two profound feelings of love and fear coexist in harmonious proportion, and gather about them all the subordinate graces of a true religious life.

RELIGION UNDER JUDAISM.—Judaism opens the clearest, loftiest views of the natural attributes of God. Here it even excels Christianity; not what Christianity might have done, had there been occasion or need. But there was neither. Here Judaism was all-sufficient. Hence Christianity addressed itself to the higher revelation of the moral attributes of God. These are less clearly manifested than the natural under Judaism. And it is a dispensation rather of law than of grace; rather of wrath than of love. Yet even here there are clear manifestations of the divine goodness and mercy. God is a gracious sovereign and compassionate father. Still, justice has its pre-eminence. Its penalties are severe; its threatenings fearful; its declarations of wrath full of terror. Its judgments were often such as to strike deeply into the soul; far deeper, from their suddenness and whelming ruin, than all the dispensations of divine love. The inevitable result was that fear had its pre-eminence in the religion of the Jew; and, hence, that it tended rather to the outward and ceremonial than to the internal and experimental, and was greatly wanting in the more spiritual, gentle, and kindly graces, to be wrought out under a more perfect dispensation.

RELIGION UNDER CHRISTIANITY.—This is God's final dispensation of truth. It is a system of perfect truth. It makes no higher declaration of divine justice than Judaism, except in the instance of the cross; though it does make a clearer disclosure of the great principles, the equitableness, and impartiality of that justice. But Christianity has its chief sphere and pre-eminence in the higher revelation of the divine goodness. Its central truth of theosophy is, "God is love." Its central fact of grace is, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." It points to the cross, and proclaims: "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for

our sins." This, we say, is the pre-eminence and glory of Christianity. But let us not mistake, and suppose that the leaping lightnings and deep-pealing thunders of Sinai, the dread heralds of the holy majesty and punitive justice of God, are extinguished and hushed amid the milder radiance of Calvary and its celestial voices of love. By no means. Christianity has transferred into her own dispensation, and embodied in herself, all the truth of Judaism as to the justice of God. Here she stands at least upon a level with Judaism. Nay, divine justice has a loftier stand on Calvary than on Sinai. "The prominent article of the New Testament, and which distinguishes Christianity from all other religious systems, is a doctrine of mercy incomparably full, free, and available. And yet this happy announcement of forgiveness of sins takes its stand upon a much more distinct and alarming assertion of the rigor of divine justice, and of the extent of its penal consequences, than hitherto had been heard of, or than the natural fears of conscious guilt would suggest or readily admit." *

Christianity, being such in the revelation of the divine goodness and justice, is pre-eminently the religion of power; of power unequaled over the religious affections. She has more than a Sinai's voice appealing to our religious fear; one which, gathering strength and power from her own light, is sufficient to penetrate the profoundest depths of the soul, and awaken it to the deepest reverence for God. She has a voice of Calvary appealing to our love; a voice of richer melody and charm, of fuller power and pathos than any voice of heaven besides, appealing to the love of man or angel; one all-sufficient to kindle the soul to the intensest love for God. Such is the character of God in Christianity, as the object of true religion in man. Hence her power to develop an earnest religion; a deeply spiritual and practical religion. Her tendency is to the experimental rather than to the ceremonial. And from her power over the emotions proceeds her practical efficiency. Taking so deep and firm a hold on the cardinal religious affections, she wields so mighty a force over the outward life. Thus, too, she develops and forms a religious character at once symmetrical and complete; one blending in fullest harmony the profoundest reverence and purest love for God, and adorning the

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* Isaac Taylor.

religious life with all the gentle and kindly graces that render it so beautiful and lovely.

We would still follow the logical sequences of this subject in the application of its principles to various forms of the Christian faith. But our limits allow us only to indicate, rather than discuss this application.

Romanism.—A great, radical defect of this form of Christianity is, that it so much excludes God from it. This vast system has but little relation to God, and, hence, but little true religion in it. It is so filled with the ceremonial and the human, that but little room remains for the spiritual and the divine. The pope and his subordinates have taken the place of God, and psuedo-sacraments and human ceremonies have superseded the atonement and the work of the Spirit. And such a horde of priestly intruders and canonical saints have crowded in between God and the people as almost to hide him from their view. And to this extent it must be void of true religion.

Besides, this system greatly obscures and perverts the true idea of both the divine goodness and justice. The rewards of approving goodness, and the penalties of condemning justice, are dispensed to men, not upon the ground of their moral character, but of their Church relation and ceremonial observances. However pure and good, if dissenting from Rome, or without her communion, the saving mercy of God is utterly denied, and the penalties of his wrath declared infallibly sure. Can such perverted views, so contrary to all the principles of goodness and justice, benignly impress the soul? Can God be regarded either with profound reverence or earnest love? No; the religious intuitions of the soul utterly forbid it. The commercial use of justice is alike perverting and misleading. While pardons may be purchased, whether at high or low rates, without any reformation of life, divine justice must either be wholly overlooked, or regarded merely as an article of traffic and speculation. Such views never can awaken the soul to true religion. Add to all this the severity and cruelty, oppression and wrong, with which this traffic is carried on, and you have the utterness of perversion and distortion. Hence, Romanism scarcely reaches the religious affections. And with all her vast power over the nations brought under her sway,

she has exceeding little spiritual or true religious power. A true religious life formed under her influence, is rather in spite of it than by its legitimate aid.

Liberalism.—The term is not taken as exact, or of definite application. It is used simply as suggesting several forms of Christianity which deny the divinity of Christ and his atonement, and greatly restrict, or deny, the doctrine of future punishment.

In the denial of all future punishment, divine justice seems too feeble to be impressive. The holiness of God, and the turpitude and demerit of sin, are not manifest. Divine justice is brought down to a level with human justice. And as it admeasures God's estimate of sin, it no longer appears so utterly abhorrent and evil in his sight. So the evil of sin and the obligation of duty are all lessened in our own estimate. Indeed, divine justice itself is thus placed in doubt. Limit its functions to this life, and deny all future punishment to sin and all future advantage to piety, and it no longer appears that God is just. With such false ideas, no strong and moving appeal can be made to the conscience or to the religious affections. Where some future punishment is allowed, this evil is less. But another, and often a greater one, lies in other errors.

In the denial of the divinity of Christ, and the atonement, the idea of the divine goodness is rendered equally feeble. No longer can we, with any lofty significance or deep-felt admiration, exclaim, "God so loved the world!" Often, too, in connection with these errors, all pardon is denied; and, hence, all the goodness of God, and all the motive to love him manifested therein. With such insufficient views of the divine justice and goodness, of the evil of sin and the obligation of duty, and of the motives to love and reverence God, religion must be feeble. And the systems which admit these errors can have but little renovating power upon the soul, and never can awaken its religious affections to an earnest Christian life.

Calvinism.—We have nothing to utter against Calvinists, nor against Calvinism as it usually appears in the actual creed and life of its believers. Practically accepted, it has exceeding efficiency for the development and formation of an earnest, noble Christian life. The fact admits of a clear, philosophical exposition. But this is not the place for it. And the

Christian world may well rejoice for the measure of pure, earnest, spiritual religion developed under this system. Our exceptions are to its logical, rather than its accepted or actual sequences.

Necessity, so far as admitted into this system, must modify the impression which the divine goodness and justice make upon the mind of its believers. Goodness dispensing awards to actions divinely necessitated, is different from the goodness dispensing awards to the same actions, as free. The difference is greater in regard to justice. The impression which we receive from the punitive dispensations of justice upon divinely necessitated actions, must be very different from that received from its dispensations upon the same actions, as free. No power can make them alike, without a radical change of our moral constitution.

There are modifications of the system; none of which, however, afford any special relief. Upon the supralapsarian theory, that God decreed from eternity both the characters and destinies of men and angels, his goodness and justice are both utterly arbitrary, and, hence, cease to be either goodness or justice. In the sublapsarian theory, God, regarding all men as fallen, chooses a part to salvation, and leaves the rest to perish. But this involves the divine goodness in partial, arbitrary limitations. All are precisely the same in the view of God, and all lie equally within the reach of his grace. Now, that goodness which, under such facts, applies itself only to a part, must be partial and arbitrary. There is yet another theory, in which the divine goodness extends the grace of redemption to all, but, all rejecting its provisions, goodness sovereignly applies them to the saving of a part, leaving the rest to perish. But here again that goodness is partial and arbitrary. Now, with such erroneous ideas of the divine goodness and justice, so special in the character of God as the object of all true religious development, the impression upon the religious affections cannot be healthful and benign. Our religious intuitions forbid it. There can be no lofty inspiration of a true, grateful love, nor profound sense of a devout, admiring reverence. And where these cardinal religious affections are wanting in their higher form, the Christian life must be wanting in its completeness and symmetry.

Arminianism.—This form of the Christian faith occupies the broadest ground as to the fullness and purity of the divine justice, and excludes everything which can bring into doubt its equitableness, or the accountableness and guilt of those who suffer its penalties. It has, too, the most impressive views of the duty of obedience and the demerit of sin. With it the divine goodness is infinitely full and free; not partial, or arbitrary, but paternal and universal, flowing down to men specially in the grace of the Cross, and the redemption of all. This system of doctrine, holding the clearest and most truthful views of the goodness and justice of God, and harmonizing with the plainest teachings of revelation and the moral intuitions of the soul, has the highest moral power, and makes the mightiest appeal to the religious affections. Its whole influence is effective and healthful. These cardinal affections, so fully developed, become the source or support of all the Christian graces. And the religious life thus normally wrought is simple and spiritual, deep and earnest, symmetrical and complete.

ART. II.—GERMAN MATERIALISM—THE NATURALISTIC SCHOOL.

[FROM THE FRENCH OF THE REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.]

1. Moleschott, Kreislauf des Lebens, first edition, 1852; fourth edition, 1862. 2. Büchner, Kraft und Stoff, seventh edition, 1862. Natur und Geist, Frankfort, 1857. Aus Natur und Wissenschaft, Leipzig, 1862. 3. Vogt, Bilder aus dem Thierleben, Frankfort, 1857. Physiologische Briefe, Giessen, 1856. Vorlesungen über den Menschen, seine Bildung in der Schöpfung und in der Geschichte, Giessen, 1863. 4. Löwenthal, System und Geschichte des Naturalismus, Leipzig, 1863, fourth edition. 5. Czolbe, Neue Darstellung des Sensualismus, Leipzig, 1856.

"IT is a distinctive trait of the true philosopher," says Feuerbach, "not to be a professor of philosophy." This keen and witty saying, which Mr. Taine might covet, shows us what a revolution in ideas has occurred in Germany since the time when the great professors, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schelling, and Herbart, inaugurated with such pomp the philosophy of the nineteenth century. To-day these great names, which our

laggard French radicals present to our admiration as models of free thought and generous daring, are in Germany superannuated and scarcely-respected names. They are treated as official philosophers, and some go so far as to call them *charlatans.* Hear the somber Schopenhauer, ever inclined to the worst view of things, who even in the Occident, in the old and active commercial city of Frankfort, has entertained the phantasy of renewing the Buddhistic *nirvana*, hear him speak of Hegel and the philosophers of his school. "Pantheism," says he, "has fallen so low, and has led to such insipidity, that it is now cultivated as a means for getting a livelihood. The chief cause of this debasement was Hegel himself, an intellect of mediocrity, who, by all known means, desired to get himself accepted as a philosopher, and succeeded in setting himself up as an idol before a few very young people, at first suborned and now forever shallow." Such assaults upon the human mind go not unpunished. The same philosopher calls Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel *the three sophists*, and he thus sums up the recipe for these philosophers and their disciples: "Dilute a *minimum* of thought in five hundred pages of nauseating phraseology, and trust for the rest to the truly German patience of the reader." So speaks Schopenhauer, one of the most esteemed philosophers of Germany for the last ten years.

Hear, now, Mr. Büchner, author of the book "Force and Matter," and one of the most decided and popular adepts of the materialistic school. "We shall remove," says he, "all the philosophic verbiage by which the *théodétique* philosophy glitters, especially the German philosophy, which inspires just disgust in the lettered and the illiterate. The time has gone by when learned verbiage, philosophic charlatanism, and intellectual jugglery were in vogue." The same writer speaks with the deepest contempt of the "pretended novelty" of German philosophy. "Our modern philosophers," says he, "love *to warm up old vegetables*, giving them new names, to serve them up to us as the last invention of philosophical cookery." We see by these gross words that it is always the lot of those who have reigned a moment to be in their turn despised and insulted. We see that the pantheistic and idealistic masters are to-day no more respected in Germany than the spiritualistic masters are in France.

But how shall we now understand that in Germany, that country of pure speculation, of abstract thought, and where hitherto the universities seemed to be at the head of every scientific movement, how shall we understand that people have come to speak in these terms of those great philosophers lately so idolized, and of university instruction ever so highly esteemed? This is not one of the least curious symptoms of the philosophic tendency of our times. We must go farther back.

I.

When Hegel died in 1832, never did conqueror leave a vaster and, in appearance, less contested empire. He had silenced all emulous voices, even that of his master and rival, the illustrious Schelling. Herbart alone had been able to preserve his independence; but he was not listened to, his time had not yet come. The profound and bitter Schopenhauer began to protest at Frankfort in solitude, and was destined long to brave the indifference of the public. Humboldt jested, in a little coterie, at what he styled the dialectic prestidigitation of Hegel; but outwardly he conducted toward this school as he did toward the authorities, and testified to it a proper respect. In this universal silence the school of Hegel had invaded everything, the universities and the world, Church and State. A common formulary ruled in all the schools. It seemed that a new Church was founded.

However, a philosophic *credo* has never been of long duration. After the first moment of superficial agreement, when minds, animated by common sentiments, and not yet having sufficiently sifted their ideas, accord in words for want of fixing their attention upon things, after the first bewilderment which the dominating authority of a genius produces upon minds of the second rank, each one gradually recovers self-possession and seeks to account to himself for what he professes. After faith comes interpretation, and with interpretation the prestige of unity disappears, heresies begin. This speedily happened to Hegelianism; people explained themselves, and thenceforward agreed no more.

Three different interpretations were given by the disciples of Hegel to the philosophy of the master, one spiritualistic and religious, another naturalistic and atheistic, and between the

two an intermediate school strove to maintain the high conciliatory thought of the master himself, and hold the balance even between spirit and nature. Theism, pantheism, and atheism, such were the three doctrines which divided the heritage of Hegel. They called the three divisions of the school by names borrowed from the language of politics; the *right*, the *center*, and the *left*. From 1833 these schisms were in preparation, and in 1840 they were consummated.

Of these three fractions of the Hegelian school the most powerful, and that which most moved men's minds, was evidently the most radical, the most energetic, namely, the left and the extreme left. The left, represented at first by Michelet of Berlin and Dr. Strauss, strove above all to explain itself upon the divine personality and the immortality of the soul.

It established these two points of doctrine, grown famous in Germany, that God is personal only in man and that man is immortal only in God, which comes to this, that God is not personal and that the soul is not immortal. Yet this part of the school still remained faithful to the Hegelian spirit by distinguishing thought and nature, logic and physics, spirit and matter. The extreme Hegelian left attacked all these scholastic distinctions. Of what use, said they, this logic of Hegel's, which does but express at the outset, in an abstract form, what nature realizes in a concrete form? Why distinguish thought and nature? Thought also is nature. Once upon this steep, nothing further prevented the Neo-Hegelians from recurring purely and simply to the materialistic and atheistic doctrines of the eighteenth century. This is what the extreme Hegelian left did in the writings of Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer, Max Stirner, and Arnold Ruge. Still, the first preserved a species of religion, like that of the positivist school, the religion of humanity. "Man alone," said he, "is the true Saviour! Man alone is our God, our Judge, and our Redeemer!" But the disciples went further and would none of this God-humanity, and of this worship which they called *anthropolatry*. Max Stirner combated the humanity of Feuerbach as a remnant of superstition, and he taught *autolatry*, self-worship. "Everybody is his own God," said he, *quisquis sibi Deus*. "Everybody has a right to everything," *cuique omnia*. Another disciple of the same school, Arnold Ruge, founder of the

"Annals of Halle," the journal of the sect, said, "Atheism is still a religious system: the atheist is no more free than the Jew who eats bacon. We must not struggle against religion, we must forget it." To get an idea of the kind of anti-religious rage which animated the Neo-Hegelians, one should read over some of the atheists of the eighteenth century: a Naigeon, a Lalande, a Sylvain Maréchal.

We perceive that this fanaticism of impiety, in a country which still is profoundly religious, must bring great discredit upon the philosophy and its interpreters. In Germany people love liberty of thought, but they respect holy things. It is permissible to say every thing there, provided it be done in hieroglyphic formulas, inaccessible to the multitude; but precisely the young Hegelian school was weary of these formulas, it wished to speak frankly and aloud, to call things by their name, and did not fear to employ the most gross and brutal language. This is not all. In politics as in philosophy the young school professed the most radical doctrines. Eighteen hundred and forty-eight came; the extreme Hegelian left became the extreme revolutionary left; atheism and socialism struck hands; thereby was augmented the repulsion that Hegelianism inspired, and of which philosophy was to feel the rebound. The reaction of 1850 came to smite it in Germany as it smote it among ourselves. Opinion went against it; silence occurred in the universities occupied in general by men of the second class, some of whom however, especially in criticism, were eminent. All these facts are the easier to understand because analogous ones have transpired among ourselves.

But silence and peace belong not to this world. Philosophy, conquered with the Revolution, confined to universities, apparently forgotten by the public, began speedily to arouse. Neither the human mind nor Germany can dispense with philosophy; but the awakening came from an unexpected quarter: it came from the natural sciences. This phenomenon must have its reason in the spirit of our times, for this is what we have also seen. In fact, it is the positivist school which has gained among us by the penance inflicted upon the philosophy of the schools. Wishing to restrain a free spiritualism, a large and undisputed highway has been completely opened for materialism.

One of the first symptoms of the awakening of philosophy in Germany was the unexpected success of a philosopher, already aged, who, for more than thirty years, wrote amid public indifference, and whose words, full of humor and bitterness, we have cited: we mean Schopenhauer. The incontestible originality of this writer, his style full of coloring and bitterness, of a clearness hardly common in Germany, his pungent invectives against the school philosophy, the strangeness of his character, at once misanthropic and inclined to the worst view of things, a kind of proud and haughty atheism which reminds us of Obermann's, his merits and defects, befitted well enough an epoch of intellectual lassitude when neither faith nor philosophy longer satisfied any one, the first having got no cure from the wounds of Dr. Strauss, the latter being in discredit through the abuses of scholastic formalism. The German schools, smitten at first by the reaction, were now smitten by free and individual philosophy. This we likewise witnessed in France, where the schools, proud of having been checked by the retrograde party, innocently believed themselves the organs and depositories of philosophic liberalism, when they suddenly saw themselves assaulted from without by the critical and positivist movement and the Hegelian movement, at bottom retrograde, but here innovating. Thus we found ourselves constrained, we French spiritualists, to pass at once, and without preparation, from the left to the right.

Yet the success of the philosophy of Schopenhauer seems to have been but a fleeting affair. This philosopher belonged too much to the movement he combated. He is an idealist, connecting evidently with Kant and even with Fichte, and on that side his doctrines are clearly obsolete. What period is that where one could, like Schopenhauer, seriously write and / win faith for such axioms: "I am, because I wish to be?" Moreover one must be profoundly skilled in the mysteries of the philosophic phraseology of Germany to comprehend the difference that may exist between the *absolute will*, which is, according to this philosopher, the essence of the world, and the *absolute idea* of the Hegelian school. A will without consciousness and an idea without consciousness seem to me greatly alike, and are nothing but the instinctive and immanent activity of the absolute Being.

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It was in an order of more positive ideas that Germany was to seek a philosophy. This was furnished her by physiology and the natural sciences. As long as the philosophy of identity reigned, the sciences were isolated and held in reserve. Some great savans, however, Oersted, Oken, Burdach, Corus, and even Müller, had evidently been under the prestige of idealism. Reclamations to this effect were made in the name of experimentalism, and Goethe himself, although a poet, but a *savan* as well as poet, had distinctly perceived the vice of the speculative method and of *à priori* science. "Here for twenty years," said he, "the Germans have been forming a transcendental philosophy. If they once come to bethink themselves of it, they will feel themselves very ridiculous." Still, the empire of philosophy was so strong that it arrogated the right of treating with the highest disdain the objections of experimentalism. When this philosophy was reproached with inability to explain particular facts, Michelet, of Berlin, answered haughtily that "such objections were not above but below erudition." We answer in this way when we are the stronger party, but such responses must necessarily be paid for some day or other. This is what has happened in Germany to the philosophy of nature. "The disfavor of this system is such," says Büchner, "that the name, philosophy of nature, is hardly more than a term of contempt in science." The natural and positive sciences have resumed the scepter which the idealist philosophy had been constrained to yield; in their turn they have had their philosophy, which is no other, it must be said, than the purest materialism. The chief and propagator of this new movement is Mr. Moleschott.

Evidently the school of Moleschott strikes hands with the school of Feuerbach. The latter has made the other possible; but there is a great difference between them; they are of various origin. The school of Feuerbach is of Hegelian origin: it is born of dialectics; doubtless it comes likewise to materialism; but this is through deduction, through the sweeping logic of ideas. It is an abstract materialism, accompanied by atheistic fanaticism and political passion mingled with illusion. Mr. Proudhon, among ourselves, represents well enough this kind of reasoning, violent, and chimerical philosophy. The materialism of Moleschott and his friends has a wholly different

character; it is a physiological materialism founded on science, upon positive knowledge and experiment. The new school resembles rather the school of Cabanis, Broussais, and of Littré. What animated Feuerbach was the revolutionary spirit; what animates Moleschott is the spirit of the sciences, the positive spirit. In a word, it is the revenge of experimentism upon the frenzy of rational *à priori* speculation.

The first publication in which we find the doctrines of the new school expounded is the book of Moleschott, entitled the "Circulatory Course of Life," (*Kreislauf des Lebens,*) a work whose first edition appeared in 1852, and the last or fourth in 1862. It is a collection of letters addressed to the celebrated Liebig, upon the principal matters of philosophy, the soul, immortality, liberty, final causes. In this Moleschott sets forth the principle of the new materialism: "Without matter no force, without force no matter." He maintains the hypothesis of the indefinite circulation of matter, which passes continually from the world of death to the world of life and reciprocally, and he exalts what he calls the omnipotence of its transmutations, (*allgewelt des stoffenwechsels.*)

Moleschott's book made a great stir in Germany, and shook the lethargy of men's minds toward philosophy. But what above all determined the explosion of the dispute between materialism and spiritualism, was the discourse pronounced at Göttingen before the reunion of German physicians and naturalists, by Mr. Adolphus Wagner, one of the first physiologists of Germany. In this discourse, entitled, "Of the Creation of Man and of the Substance of the Soul," Mr. Wagner examined this question: "Where is physiology to-day, according to its last results, in regard to the hypothesis of an individual soul essentially distinct from the body?" For himself, he declares that nothing in the results of physiology leads him necessarily to admit a distinct soul, but that moral order demands such a hypothesis. In another document published to explain his discourse, and entitled "Science and Faith," he carefully distinguishes these two domains, and says: "In matters of faith I love *naïve* and implicit faith; in scientific matters I reckon myself among those who love to doubt as much as possible."

This appeal to implicit faith provoked a keen and biting response from a distinguished naturalist, a pupil of Agassiz,

Mr. Charles Vogt, one of the members of the radical party, sitting in the extreme left of the Parliament of Frankfort, since exiled to Geneva, where he has become a professor and Member of the Council of State. He laughs at this double conscience which the *savan* of Göttingen wished to obtain for himself, one for science and the other for religion, and describes this expedient as "held by lips in a lurch." But it is not in this accidental pamphlet alone that Charles Vogt gives token of materialism. This was done also in his "Pictures of Animal Life," and in his "Physiological Letters," and finally in his last pamphlet, full of spirit and nerve, which appeared a few weeks since: "Lectures upon Man, his Place in Creation, and in the History of the Earth." Mr. Vogt has made himself notorious, especially in this controversy, by the comment which he offered upon the celebrated definition of Cabanis: "Thought is a secretion of the brain." Vogt, distrusting the intelligence of the reader, conceived that he must improve upon this brutal formula, and he tells us that "The brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile and as the kidneys secrete urine," a proposition so clearly false that another materialist, Mr. Büchner, thought himself bound to refute it.

Mr. Büchner in his turn is none the less one of the most ardent disciples of Moleschott, and one of the most decided interpreters of the new materialism. His book, entitled "Matter and Force," is of all the writings of this school that which has enjoyed most success; first published in 1856, it has reached seven editions in five years, and has just been translated into our language by a friend and compatriot of the author, who, to tell things gently, would do well to get his translation reviewed by somebody who is skilled in French. However, this book, nervous and concise, full of facts, written with energy and clearness, qualities quite new in a German book, may serve as a summary of all the others, and contains in a few pages the very marrow of the doctrine. This is the true manual of the New Materialism.

To get an idea, if not complete, at least sufficient, of this singular philosophic movement, Mr. Spietz should be mentioned, who, in his "Physiology of the Nervous System," and in his dissertation upon the "Corporeal Conditions of the Soul's Activity," has expounded a materialistic doctrine which he

strangely combines with faith in revelation, a fact which has given his system the name of *believing materialism.* We must add likewise the "System and History of Materialism," by Edward Löwenthal, a work praised as original by Feuerbach, though it seems, after all, merely to contain the old atomic system. What is much more remarkable is, that the author goes still farther than Moleschott and Büchner: he reproaches them with being eclectic materialists, and that on account of their principle of the union of force and matter. According to him, force is not a primordial and essential condition of matter, it is only a result of aggregation. Let us also cite, but with some reserve, Mr. Czolbe, for he deserves rather to be named among the sensualists than among the materialists, as may be seen in his new "Exposition of Sensualism." The common character of all the works we have cited is to base themselves upon the positive sciences, and to abandon almost entirely the psychologic or metaphysic method, which had previously, whether in Germany, France, or England, distinguished philosophy.

If materialism has raised up a fecund and powerful school in Germany, we must acknowledge that spiritualism in turn has made numerous and powerful protestations. It is particularly in philosophy, properly so called, that spiritualism has recruited itself, but it has found skillful defenders also among the *savans.* We have already said that the fragments of the Hegelian right formed a spiritualistic school of a very marked character. One of the chief representatives is Mr. Fichte, the younger, who bears honorably a name celebrated in science. In his "Anthropology," this philosopher maintains the doctrine of an incorporeal soul, though he seems to admit with Leibnitz that the soul is never without a body; but this wholly speculative book is anterior (at least in its first edition) to the quarrel. Into this Mr. Fichte has more directly entered, by his work upon "The Question of the Soul," which is one of the most important portions of the present debate. The spiritualistic doctrine has been furthermore defended in a philosophic repertory which Mr. Fichte founded, with two of his friends, Messrs. Ulrici and Wirth, which is the most considerable periodical organ that philosophy has in Germany. This is "The Review of Philosophy and Philosophic Criticism," published at Halle. In this repertory the new materialistic doctrine has been exposed and combated

in several articles by Mr. Zeising. One of the editors of the repertory, Mr. Ulrici, professor at Halle, has likewise expounded the spiritualistic ideas, from the religious point of view, in his fine book entitled "God and Nature," (*Gott und Natur*, Leipzig, 1862.) Spiritualism has also found recruits in the school of Herbart, of which Mr. Drobisch is the main representative. We may connect with the same doctrine, though he has not meddled with the actual quarrel, Mr. Ritter, the great historian of philosophy, and Mr. Trendelenborg, one of the keenest adversaries of the Hegelian philosophy, whose "Logical Researches" is one of the most remarkable books that philosophy has lately produced in Germany. Among the philosophers who have directly attacked Messrs. Moleschott, Büchner, and Vogt, we must name Mr. Julius Schaller, author of "Body and Soul," to which he has since added a work less polemic and more scientific upon "The Spiritual Life of Man;" Mr. Drossbach, author of "The Essence of Individual Immortality;" Dr. Michaelis, "Materialism Erected into Simple Faith;" Mr. Robert Schellwein, of Berlin, "Criticism of Materialism;" Mr. Tittmann, of Dresden; Mr. Karl Fischer, of Erlangen, etc.; then, as deserving special mention, those who have defended the doctrine of the soul from a positive-science point of view, and among the latter, in the first rank, Mr. Lotze, an eminent physiologist, who, in two celebrated works, "Medical Psychology" and "The Microcosm," has defended the spiritualistic view. Mr. Lotze returns to the Cartesian dualism, and appears inclined to grant that the laws of life must coincide with physical, chemical, and mechanical laws; but he separates thought from the body: he accords to the soul alone the legislative power, and to the body the executive power. As to the explanation of matter itself, Mr. Lotze adopts the monadologic hypothesis of Leibnitz and Herbart, and strives to adjust it to cotemporary science.

These few details will suffice to show that the two camps are both rich in learned, passionate, and self-persuaded defenders. If we could forget, for a moment, that the dearest interests of humanity are thus delivered up to eternal disputes, we might feel a noble joy at seeing such great questions excite, on either side, so many men of science and talent. These great efforts to resolve such grand problems will ever be reckoned among

the noblest employments of human faculties. We are vainly invited to forget these immortal problems; vainly are we told to look at our feet, and no further. The thirst for the invisible and the unknown will not be extinguished in us. They who reduce everything to matter still pretend to understand the ground of things and to penetrate to first principles. Germany, in sifting, as she has done for ten years, the problem of mind and matter, continues worthily the philosophic tradition in which she has so long occupied the first rank. The time for great metaphysical constructions has passed away, at least for the present. Philosophy is in conflict with the real, with the positive spirit of the age. Will she triumph? Will she succeed in maintaining the idea of the mind at a time when matter seems to triumph on all sides? This is the question agitated in Germany, and which, in another form, is also agitated in France. It will in fact escape nobody, that the phases which we have recounted have a very striking analogy with those that French philosophy has exhibited since 1848. The growing progress of naturalism among us is still a mystery to none. However, it is proper to say that, despite the irresistible tendency which bears it onward to its ordinary consequences, French naturalism has not yet dared boldly to hoist the materialistic flag, and that it excuses itself therefrom with hauteur. It is manifest that French non-spiritualistic philosophy is nearly where the Hegelian left was in 1840. Michelet of Berlin, Strauss, Feuerbach even, have representatives to-day among us whom it is useless to name. As to Moleschott and Büchner, we could hardly find their like among us save in certain desperate positivists, who affirm and deny with boldness where the master had commanded absolute self-restraint. Our polemics are therefore addressed to Germany more than to France. Each can make the application of them that he may deem proper.

II.

The principle of the new materialistic school is thus expressed by Dr. Büchner: "No force without matter, no matter without force." Force, according to Moleschott, is not a God giving impulse to matter; a force which hovers above matter is an absurd idea. Force is a property of matter and is inseparable from it. Try to imagine any matter without force; for

instance, without a force of attraction or of repulsion, of cohesion or of affinity: the idea of matter itself would disappear, for it would then be impossible for it to be in any determinate state. Reciprocally what is a force without matter—electricity without electrified particles, attraction without mutually attracting particles? "Can it be held," says Vogt, "that there is a secretory faculty apart from the gland, a contractile power independent of the muscular fiber?" These are pure abstractions. In a word, as a learned physiologist of Berlin, Mr. Raymond Dubois, ingeniously says: "Matter is not a coach to and from which, in the guise of horses, forces may be hitched and unhitched." Every material particle has inherent and eternal properties, and bears them everywhere with itself. "A particle of iron," says the same writer, "is and remains the same thing, whether it roam the universe in the aërolite, roll like thunder on the iron track of a locomotive, or circulate in a blood-globule through the temples of a poet." It follows from these principles that the idea of a creative force, of an absolute force, separate from matter, creating it, governing it by certain arbitrary laws, is a pure abstraction. It is an occult quality transformed into an absolute being.

Thus matter and force are inseparable, and both exist from eternity. Eternity of matter, eternity of force, such is the second principle of the philosophy we expound. The eternity of matter, long since suspected by science, has become a positive truth through the discoveries of chemistry. Chemistry has demonstrated that the same quantity of matter subsists always whatever may be the different combinations it enters: it is the scales that have secured to us this grand result. Burn a piece of wood, the scales of the chemist will inform you that not an atom of matter has been lost, and even that its weight has been increased through a loss suffered by the air. In all the compositions and decompositions of chemistry, there is always an equation between the elements and the products, and reciprocally. Chemistry demonstrates also that diverse substances continually preserve the same properties. Thus matter never perishes, but it is in perpetual movement; it is, as Heraclitus of Ephesus said, an ever-living play, a play which Jupiter plays eternally with himself. It is an incessant circulation of materials with which each combination begins

and ends, but these materials are found again under one form or another. "The body of the great Cesar," says Hamlet, "may patch a wall." Thus nothing comes from nothingness, and nothing returns to nothingness. The antique axiom of the atomist philosophy is demonstrated.

It is with force as it is with matter, it is eternal; it is transformed, it never perishes. "What disappears on one side," says the illustrious Faraday, "reappears necessarily upon the other." One of the most beautiful and striking applications of this principle is the transformation of heat into motion, and reciprocally. By friction we obtain fire; by steam we get motion. The quantity of motion lost is found again in the quantity of heat; the quantity of lost heat is found again in the quantity of motion. Thus force is conserved like matter, and it is easy to anticipate. From these considerations we may conclude that matter and force have not been created, for what cannot be annihilated cannot be created. Thus matter is eternal, but it alone is eternal; sprung from the dust we return to the dust. Matter is not only eternal, it is infinite. It is infinite in littleness and in grandeur. The microcosm and the macrocosm are both infinite. Here Mr. Büchner speaks like Pascal, though with less eloquence. Who does not recall that magnificent passage upon the two infinites, where Pascal has displayed all the wealth and all the grandeur of his marvelous eloquence? Who has not present to his thought on the one hand, that infinite sphere whose center is everywhere and its circumference nowhere, and on the other that circumference which contains infinite worlds. The new German philosophy is distinguished from the ancient materialism by admitting the infinite divisibility of matter. Neither observation nor reason can conduct us to the atom. This notion of an infinite division frightens our mind, but what can be done? We must resign ourselves to the incomprehensible.

Matter being eternal and infinite, it follows manifestly that its laws are universal and immutable. This is evident by what precedes, for the laws of matter result from its properties. "Laws are necessary relations derived from the nature of things." Now the properties of matter are as eternal as itself; thus its laws are immutable. If its laws changed, it would be because matter had changed its properties, or assumed proper-

ties contrary to its essence; which is impossible. The rest is proved by experience. The laws of nature have never suffered the least change. Miracles take place only for the ignorant or before the ignorant. Savage hordes, mountaineers, ill-enlightened classes see miracles. Enlightened eyes, great cities, centers of civilization, and unbelief do not see them. Hence no supernatural intervention, no accidental and contingent action of a supreme cause.

I know not who has said, "The heavens no longer declare the glory of God; they declare only the glory of Newton and Laplace." Mr. Büchner would gladly accept this maxim; according to him the more the world's science has advanced, the more the idea of creative, supernatural, providential force has everywhere retreated into the sky. We see nothing to-day but a mathematic, mechanic law, a law resulting from the very nature of matter, and which explains all phenomena accordantly with the principles of geometry and mechanics.

From heaven let us pass to the earth. Here likewise is no immediate intervention of the Divinity; science tends to show more and more that the great revolutions which have agitated the globe were produced by causes similar to those with which we are to-day familiar. Time is here the great creator. We perceive that Dr. Büchner admits as perfectly demonstrated the geological system of Mr. Lyell, the system of gradual changes. The creative days are but the insensible evolutions of a continuous activity. At the utmost it might be allowed, that at certain moments the operation of forces that are known to us has deployed itself with very great power. Now behold the great problem: has there not been upon the earth a moment when an absolutely new force has appeared, the force of life? How shall we explain the primitive generation? Everything combines to convince us that life is only a particular combination of matter, and that this combination took place as soon as favorable circumstances were produced. Indeed, as soon as the circumstances occur life appears, and to every change in condition corresponds an equivalent and proportional change in the forms of life. To every terrestrial stratum corresponds in gradation a living world: to the most ancient strata the most imperfect forms; to the most recent strata the most complicated forms. When the sea overspread all the con-

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tinents only fish and aquatic plants could exist. The continent, in proportion as it was formed, was covered with forests which absorbed the mass of carbonic acid, needful for plants, harmful to animals, that filled the air; the air robbed of this perfidious gas became fit for animal respiration. Thus everything seems to indicate that organic forms are results of the external media and conditions in which they are placed.

Dr. Büchner and the German school generally, therefore, admit unhesitatingly spontaneous generation. Where air, heat, and humidity combine their activity, is developed with a certain rapidity the infinite world of microscopic animalcules called infusoria. Yet Mr. Büchner is somewhat shaken by the many and strong reasons that war against spontaneous generation. He escapes by a hypothesis. According to him, we may suppose that the germs of all living beings exist from all eternity, and have awaited for their development favorable circumstances; that these germs, dispersed through space, descended to the earth after the formation of a solid stratum, and were hatched when they found the media which were necessary to them.

An ill-disguised partisan, despite this hypothesis, of spontaneous generation, Dr. Büchner is equally so, as we might anticipate, of the transmutation of species; for whatever part we may be disposed to concede to the generative powers of matter, it is difficult to assert that nature has ever been able spontaneously to produce a man, a horse, or an elephant, especially when we declare that nature has ever employed only such forces as those of which we are witnesses. This is why, when we decide to expel the hypothesis of a creative force and a providential interposition, we are brought to suppose that all organic forms spring from each other by insensible modifications. The author reposes chiefly upon two facts: the germs of all species resemble each other, and the animal, in proportion as he is developed, passes through all the inferior forms of the animal kingdom, or, at least, represents at different stages of his development the chief types of the series; fossil animals seem to be naught but embryos of actual animals. Agassiz has shown this in regard to fish, and he conjectures the same truth respecting all other classes of animals. According to these facts, why may we not conjecture that the animal kingdom

began with the most general and embryonic forms, and that, little by little, under the influence of exterior circumstances, these general forms have been modified and diversified?

The book of Dr. Büchner is anterior to the famous book of Mr. Darwin upon the origin and transmutation of species, else he would not have failed to use it in defending his hypothesis; but he cites it with admiration in a note to his last edition, and tells us he did not surmise that science would so quickly come to confirm his conjectures, and bring most convincing proofs in support of his assertions. Darwin especially aids him in resolving the difficult problem of the adaptation of forms to their situation; in other terms, the problem of final causes.

We anticipate that modern, like ancient, materialism must rise up with great energy against final causes, against the hypothesis of a pretended design in nature. It is pretended that in nature everything was made for the use of man: but of what benefit are so many hurtful animals? Theologians of all ages have tortured their minds in the most comical manner to explain the existence of such beings. Of what use are sickness and physical evils generally? Theologians say that sickness is a result of sin; but this is an error caused by ignorance. Sickness is as old as organic life: paleontology shows us the bones of many animals changed by disease. The colors of flowers, say they, are meant to charm the eyes; but how many flowers have bloomed and will bloom without eye of man to see them? The utility of organs and their adaptation to an end are urged; but comparative anatomy makes known a great many useless and rudimentary organs, which, useful to one species, are wholly useless to other species; for example, the rudimentary mammæ of men, the teeth in whales, etc. There are hermaphrodite animals, which possess the organs of both sexes, and yet cannot impregnate themselves. To what end this complication? Monstrosities are, moreover, a decisive proof against final causes. There are animals, perfectly formed otherwise, which are born without a head, and whose life is consequently impossible. Is it not absurd that nature should take pains to complete such forms, which are perfectly useless? The *vis medicatrix* is invoked, but why have doctors if nature alone heals? And how many times do not physicians see, in

diseases and wounds, nature acting contradictorily and periling the patient's life? "Why," says Mr. Littré, "does not nature inform us when we swallow a poison? Why does she not reject it? Why does she introduce it into the circulation as if it were useful aliment? Why, finally, when the poison is absorbed, does she bring on convulsions which are of no service to the patient, and which carry him off at last?"

But if there is no power in nature which acts conformably to an object, how are those adaptations produced which astonish us? According to Mr. Büchner it is the energy of the elements and of the forces of matter which, in their fatal and accidental encounter, must have given birth to innumerable forms, which were mutually to limit each other, and answer in appearance to each other, as if made one for another. Among all these forms those alone have survived which have found themselves in some manner adapted to their surrounding conditions. What unhappy attempts must have been undertaken and resulted in abortion, because they have not encountered the conditions necessary to their existence!

It is here that Darwin's book came happily to support Dr. Büchner, by furnishing him the principle he needs to account for the disappearance of certain species and the conservation of others. The system of Darwin rests upon two principles: the principle of natural selection, and the principle of vital competition. All living races dispute for food, all combat against each other for preservation or empire. This state of war that Hobbes dreamed of only among the primitive men, is the universal law of animal life. In this strife the slightest advantages may serve to give the superiority to some over others, to assure the conservation of certain forms and the extinction of those that are less favored. Conformity to an end is then a mere result, and not an intention; it is the result of certain natural causes which accidentally have brought to pass these diverse adaptations.

After having sought to establish that the active force of nature cannot be separated from nature itself, materialists employ the same arguments to present this other force, that we call soul, as a simple function of organization. Let us here follow the reasonings of the school.

If there is a proposition evident to the physiologist and the

physician, it is that the brain is the organ of thought, and that the one is always proportioned to the other. The amount of intelligence is always related to the size, form, and chemical composition of the brain. Let us first speak of the size. The animals which have no brain, or which have only the rudiments thereof, are placed low in the intellectual scale. If some animals seem to have a larger brain than man, it is especially by the development of the parts which preside over the functions of relation and sensation: but those which preside over the functions peculiar to thought are smaller than in man. The form of the brain is not less interesting to study than its size. The causes of the differences in intellect have also been found in the cerebral windings and convolutions. Professor Huschke demonstrated that the intelligence of animal races is proportioned to the number of cerebral sinuosities. According to the celebrated Wagner, who dissected Beethoven's brain, that brain presented deeper and more numerous windings than ordinary brains. The striæ of the brain, hardly visible in the child, augment in the adult, and the intellectual activity augments with them. Observations on insanity and idiocy confirm these data. According to Dr. Porchappe, the weight of the brain diminishes in even ratio with the greater or less intensity of the insanity. Cretinism proceeds always from a malformation of the brain. The majority of doctors are agreed in acknowledgment that in most cases of lunacy morbid alterations are found in the brain, and, if we cannot show them in all cases, it is doubtless owing to the imperfection of our anatomical methods. The same remarks apply to the comparison of the human races. What a difference between the skull of a negro and the noble and developed skull of the European race! If intelligence is in direct proportion to the brain, the converse is not less true. The development and exercise of the understanding develop the brain, as the exercise of the wrestler develops his muscles. If we compare modern skulls with ancient skulls, it is indubitable that the European skulls have considerably enlarged in size. The older the type, the more the skull is developed in the occipital part, the flatter in the frontal part. Hatters know by experience that the cultivated classes need larger hats than the lower classes.

As to the chemical composition of the brain it is much less

simple than might be thought, and it contains complex substances found nowhere else, such as cerebrine, etc. Certain fatty substances seem to have considerable importance in the cerebral composition. The *rôle* of phosphorus therein is very important, and Moleschott has made bold to say: "Without phosphorus, no thought."

Even while admitting that the soul, thought, is nothing but an organic function, Dr. Büchner combats the celebrated doctrine of Cabanis, that "thought is a secretion of the brain," a doctrine that another materialistic writer thought himself bound to rejuvenate in these words: "There is the same relation between thought and the brain as between the bile and the liver, the urine and the kidneys." Mr. Büchner, indeed, admits that the comparison is not happy, "for," says he justly, "urine and bile are palpable, ponderable, and visible matters; they are furthermore excrementitial matters which the body has used and rejects, while thought is not a substance that the brain produces and rejects, it is the action itself of the brain." The action of a steam-engine must not be confounded with the steam which the engine rejects. Thought is the resultant of all the forces united in the brain; this resultant is not to be seen; it is, according to all appearances, only the effect of nervous electricity. "There is," says Huschke, "the same relation between thought and the electrical vibrations of the nervous filaments of the brain as between color and the vibrations of the ether." It belonged to Moleschott to profoundly sum up this doctrine in these words: "Thought is a movement of matter."

Such are the outlines of the system of Dr. Büchner and the principal arguments of the new German materialism. It is useless to insist upon the last chapters of the book "Matter and Force," chapters which treat of innate ideas, of immortality, of the difference between man and brutes. These chapters are so void of new views, the solutions and ideas are so foreseen by all who are wonted to these questions, that it would be a loss of time for us to pause longer upon them. Such as they are they finish completely the clearest, frankest, and most luminous exposition of the materialistic system that has appeared in Europe since d'Holbach's famous "System of Nature." The author assuredly cannot pretend to any invention, to any orig-

inality; but he has collected what was scattered, united what was incoherent, spoken aloud what many secretly think, and that in a short, lively, well-written book. He does us a real service by giving us a real adversary to combat, instead of those intangible phantoms which, floating incessantly between materialism and spiritualism, allow no attack at any point.

[To be continued.]

ART. III.—TYNDALL'S "HEAT AS A MODE OF MOTION."

Heat Considered as a Mode of Motion: Being a Course of Twelve Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, in the Season of 1862, by JOHN TYNDALL, F. R. S., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Royal Institution. New York: D. Appleton.

PROFESSOR TYNDALL calls this a "New Philosophy." It may be well to inquire in what sense a doctrine held and advocated by leading scientific men for the last century or more is now to be called "new;" for there is very little in the philosophy of this book that cannot be found in the writings of eminent physicists from the time of Bacon to the present. Yet these statements of it have been for the most part fragmentary, and in such a form as not to attract the attention of the masses of the lovers of science. It remained for Professor Tyndall to make it popular. With his charming style and brilliant experiments he has embodied the whole philosophy in such a form as to bring it within the comprehension of persons of ordinary intelligence, and to make it not only readable, but as fascinating, to even ordinary readers, as a romance. In a popular sense, therefore, he is really the expounder of a "New Philosophy." He claims no originality, however, for the doctrines he illustrates so strikingly. Yet we think his merit no less than that of the first discoverers of them; for the faculty of stating a doctrine clearly is as rare as that of originating it, and without the one the other would be of but little use to the world. In the advancement of science, therefore, the mission of the *expounder* is as important as that of the *investigator*. The popular applause with which these lectures have been received, both in Europe and in this country, we consider to

the fullest extent deserved, for to them the public owes its first acquaintance with this theory of heat, which before had been known only to men of science.

The old *corpuscular* theory of heat, which this displaces, held that heat was matter—a subtile fluid, which filled the pores of bodies, and, as it were, enveloped their atoms. It was usually defined to be " that substance whose entrance into our bodies causes the sensation of warmth, and its egress the sensation of cold." The capacity of a body for heat meant something like the capacity of a sponge for water. When a body expanded or became rarer, its capacity was increased, and heat was absorbed and became imperceptible or latent; when compressed again, the heat was forced out and became sensible, as water was squeezed out of a sponge. On this principle the heat produced by friction and percussion was explained. "The *dynamical theory*, or as it is sometimes called, the *mechanical theory* of heat, discards the idea of materiality as applied to heat. The supporters of this theory do not believe heat to be matter, but an accident or condition of matter; namely, *a motion of its ultimate particles.*"—Page 39. With regard to the precise character of this molecular motion, no satisfactory theory has been agreed upon. It is yet an open question, to be settled by future investigations. Still, the generally received opinion among physicists seems to have been, that this motion consists in excursions or oscillations of the atom across centers of equilibrium external to itself. Later investigations on this point, however, seem to unsettle this opinion. Professor Tyndall himself, in a paper on Radiant Heat, read before the Royal Society in March last, shows conclusively that " the *period* of heat-vibrations is not affected by the state of aggregation of the molecules or atoms of the heated body. The force of cohesion binding the atoms together exercises no effect on the rapidity of vibration." Mr. James Croll, in discussing these results of Professor Tyndall's experiments, in the Philosophical Magazine for May, shows that they are hostile to the theory that heat-vibrations consist in excursions of the atoms across centers of equilibrium external to themselves. For, he contends, the relation of an atom to its center of equilibrium depends entirely on the state of aggregation, and, therefore, the period of its excursions across this center of equilib-

rium must also be affected by the state of aggregation. "These conclusions," he says, "not only afford us an insight into the hidden nature of heat-vibrations, but they also appear to cast some light on the physical constitution of the atom itself. They seem to lead to the conclusion that the ultimate atom itself is *essentially elastic.* For if heat-vibrations do not consist in excursions of the atom, then they must consist in alternate expansions and contractions of the atom itself. This again is opposed to the ordinary idea that the atom is essentially solid and impenetrable. But it favors the modern idea, that matter consists of a force of resistance acting from a center."

There are still several other hypotheses possible, based, however, upon the idea that atoms are absolutely solid and extended. An atom may rotate on its axis, it may describe an orbit, or several atoms may revolve about each other, or about a common center of equilibrium, or, as in case of the planets, several of these motions may be performed at once. The only one of these suppositions, however, that is not inconsistent with the fact mentioned above, as established by Professor Tyndall's experiments, is that of the rotation of the atom about its axis. This hypothesis is also rendered more probable, by the fact that it furnishes a more plausible explanation of the phenomena of polarity than any of the others. Thus we see, that if we assume the correctness of the position that the period of the vibration of the atoms is not affected by the state of aggregation, we have left but two theories of heat-vibrations capable of being reconciled to it: first, that of the rotation of the atom on its axis, based on the idea that the atom is essentially solid and extended; second, that of Mr. Croll, that they "consist in alternate expansions and contractions of the atom itself," founded on the theory of Boscovich, that atoms are only centers of forces, or as he expresses it above, "a force of resistance acting from a center." It is plain, therefore, that until a correct theory of the ultimate constitution of matter is established, it will be impossible to determine the exact nature of the atomic motions, by which, according to this theory, heat is produced.

Let us, therefore, leave this undetermined, and apparently undeterminable question, as to the nature of the motion, and

return to the main idea, which our author endeavors to establish; namely, that heat is produced by *some sort* of motion of the ultimate particles of matter. He says that "from the direct contemplation of some of the phenomena of heat, a profound mind is led almost instinctively to conclude that heat is a kind of motion," and corroborates his assertion by abundant quotations from the writings of Bacon, Locke, and others. These extracts make up the appendices of several of the lectures. We have room for but a small portion of them. Bacon, in the twentieth aphorism of the second book of the "Novum Organum," says, "When I say of motion that it is the genus of which heat is the species, I would be understood to mean, not that heat generates motion, or that motion generates heat, (though both are true in certain cases,) but that heat itself, its essence and quiddity, is motion, and nothing else." Locke expresses the same opinion: "Heat is a very brisk agitation of the insensible parts of the object, which produce in us that sensation from whence we denominate the object hot; so what in our sensation is *heat*, in the object is nothing but *motion*." In an essay read before the Royal Society, January 25, 1778, entitled "An inquiry concerning the source of the heat which is excited by friction," Count Rumford, after giving an account of his well-known experiment of boiling water by boring a cannon, discusses the question after this fashion: "By meditating on the results of all these experiments we are naturally brought to that great question which has so often been the subject of speculation among philosophers, namely, What is heat—is there any such thing as an *igneous fluid?* Is there anything that, with propriety, can be called caloric? . . .

"In reasoning on this subject we must not forget *that most remarkable circumstance*, that the source of the heat generated by friction in these experiments appeared evidently to be *inexhaustible*. It is hardly necessary to add, that anything which any *insulated* body or system of bodies can continue to furnish *without limitation* cannot possibly be a *material substance*, and it appears to me to be extremely difficult, if not quite impossible, to form any distinct idea of anything capable of being excited and communicated in these experiments, except it be MOTION."

This is the first and perhaps the best argument on this point, based upon a series of sufficient and carefully-conducted experiments. To Count Rumford, an American by birth, therefore, really belongs the honor of originating the theory that *heat is some kind of motion.* Sir Humphrey Davy, the associate and successor of Count Rumford, at the Royal Institution, also, in the early part of the present century, instituted an important series of experiments upon the production of heat by friction. In his *Chemical Philosophy*, page 95, he thus states his opinion on this point: "It seems possible to account for all the phenomena of heat if it be supposed that in solids the particles are in a constant state of vibratory motion, the particles of the hottest bodies moving with the greatest velocity, and through the greatest space; that in fluids and elastic fluids, besides the vibratory motion, which must be conceived the greatest in the last, the particles have a motion round their own axis, with different velocities, the particles of elastic fluids moving with the greatest quickness; and that in ethereal substances the particles move round their own axes, and separate from each other, penetrating in right lines through space. Temperature may be conceived to depend upon the velocities of the vibrations; increase of capacity, on the motion being performed in greater space, and the diminution of temperature during the conversion of solids into fluids or gases, may be explained on the idea of the loss of vibratory motion, in consequence of the revolution of particles round their axes, at the moment when the body becomes fluid or aëriform, or from the loss of rapidity or vibration in consequence of the motion of the particles through greater space."

When we consider the source from which this doctrine originally came, and the clearness and force with which it was stated, it seems somewhat surprising that it should have made so little impression. Yet we must bear in mind that scientific as well as social and political revolutions require time. A few eminent men may at once grasp a new truth, but it is hard to overcome the prejudices of the majority of even scientific men, and persuade them to give up old familiar theories for new ones. The corpuscular theory of heat is so simple, and its terms so easily comprehended, that it was no easy matter to induce men to exchange its substantial doctrines for this new and apparently

more unreal and fanciful hypothesis as an explanation of the familiar phenomena. The *dynamical* theory, it is true, had advocates, and able ones, in the early part of the present century, yet it was not until the publication of Mayer's calculation in 1842, and Joule's experiments in 1843, to determine the mechanical equivalent of heat, that it began to acquire prominence, and attract the attention of the scientific world. Since then, through the persevering labors of Thomson, Rankine, Faraday, Grove, Clausius, Helmholtz, Holtzman, and others, a revolution in scientific thought has been slowly and silently accomplished, and now Professor Tyndall comes with his facility of expression and wealth of illustration, at a time when the world is prepared to hear and adopt the "New Philosophy."

His main object in these lectures is "to bring the rudiments of a new philosophy within the reach of a person of ordinary intelligence." His success in doing this can only be fully appreciated by reading his book; otherwise it is impossible to get a good idea of the aptness and clearness with which every point is illustrated by the most delicate and striking experiments. Though all the apparatus used on this occasion was of the most perfect and costly character, the success of the lectures was in great part due to the use of the thermo-electric pile and galvanometer, by which the slightest variation of temperature was at once made apparent to a large audience.

By a series of experiments on the friction and percussion of solids, liquids, and gases, he shows that the heat can only be accounted for by the supposition of motion communicated to the atoms of bodies, and not by forcing out the heat already stored up in them. The quantity of heat produced in all these cases seems inexhaustible, and incapable of an explanation by supposing that it was contained in the small quantity of matter acted upon. Count Rumford, as we have seen, came to the same conclusion from his celebrated experiment of boiling water by boring a cannon, described in the paper quoted above. But the subsequent experiment of Sir Humphrey Davy is perhaps the most decided proof of the immateriality of heat; on this point it is an *experimentum crucis.* He took two pieces of ice in a room whose temperature was below 32°, and carefully excluding all external heat, he rubbed them together until both

were melted to water, whose temperature was found to be 35°. Now this could not be accounted for by supposing the capacity of the ice for heat to be diminished by the friction, for the capacity of ice for heat is only half that of water at the same temperature. The capacity for heat has, therefore, been doubled by the melting. That is, the water contains twice as much heat as existed in the ice. It follows, then, that there must have been a *generation*, not a mere *transference* of heat. This can only be accounted for on the theory that a motion or vibration of the particles of ice is produced by friction. "Therefore," Davy says, "we may reasonably conclude that this motion or vibration is heat or the repulsive power." Thus we see that speculation and experiment both lead us inevitably to the conclusion that heat is not material, but is caused by some kind of motion of the atoms of bodies.

We have abundant application of this principle in all cases where heat is developed by percussion or friction. When a leaden bullet is heated by the descent of a cold sledge hammer, this theory affords a ready explanation of the phenomena. Instead of the force of the descending hammer being destroyed by the bullet and the anvil, as was formerly supposed, we say that the motion of the mass of the sledge is transferred to the atoms of the lead, and manifests itself as heat. The heat generated by chemical combination may be explained in the same way. The motion of translation, by which the atoms approach each other in consequence of their mutual attraction, is changed into a vibratory motion of the atoms, and is converted into heat. Thus when the atoms of hydrogen and oxygen fall together to form water, heat is produced by a transference of motion, just as in the case of the hammer and the bullet. Likewise in ordinary combustion, the heat is caused by the clashing of the atoms of the oxygen of the atmosphere upon the atoms of the carbon of the combustible. An attempt has also been made to account for the heat of the sun by supposing it to be caused by the showering down of meteoric matter upon its surface. This is known as the Meteoric Theory of the Sun's Heat, and was first advanced by Meyer in his "Beiträge zur Dynamik des Himmels." It has since had some able advocates; and, when we consider that no other theory of the sun's heat yet advanced is even as satisfactory as

[illegible]

this one, we may be inclined to think it less chimerical than it would at first sight appear.

It is well known that when a body is expanded heat disappears. By the old theory, it is absorbed and becomes latent; by the new, it is consumed in producing the motion of the atoms in expanding, or it is used up in interior work in changing the state of aggregation of the atoms; that is, in converting a solid into a liquid or a liquid into a gas. Thus latent heat is only heat changed into motion. It therefore disappears as heat. But when the body is condensed, the same motion of translation is changed back into that of vibration, and appears again as sensible heat.

In all cases of friction the same theory applies. Here the motion, destroyed by friction, shows itself in the form of heat or molecular motion. A railway train furnishes a good illustration. "It is the object of the railway engineer to urge his train bodily from one place to another, say from London to Edinburgh, or from London to Oxford, as the case may be; he wishes to apply the force of his steam, or of his furnace, which gives tension to the steam, to this particular purpose. It is not his interest to allow any portion of that force to be converted into another form of force which would not further the attainment of his object. He does not want his axles heated, hence he avoids, as much as possible, expending his power in heating them. In fact, he has obtained his force from heat, and it is not his object to reconvert the force thus obtained into its primitive form. For, for every degree of temperature generated by the friction of his axles, a definite amount would be withdrawn from the urging force of his engine. There is no force lost absolutely. Could we gather up all the heat generated by the friction, and could we apply it all mechanically, we should by it be able to impart to the train the precise amount of speed which it had lost by friction. Thus every one of those railway porters whom you see moving about with his can of yellow grease, and opening the little boxes which surround the carriage axles, is, without knowing it, illustrating a principle which forms the very solder of nature. In so doing he is unconsciously affirming both the convertibility and indestructibility of force. He is practically asserting that mechanical energy may be converted into heat, and that when so

converted it cannot still exist as mechanical energy, but that for every degree of heat developed a strict and proportional equivalent of the *locomotive force* of the engine disappears. A station is approached say at the rate of thirty or forty miles an hour; the brake is applied, and smoke and sparks issue from the wheel on which it presses. The train is brought to rest. How? Simply by converting the entire moving force which it possessed at the moment the brake was applied into heat."—Page 21.

By the consideration of these examples, and others of like character, we are forced to recognize the doctrine of "correlation of forces," or the mutual convertibility of the various forms of force. This doctrine is now universally recognized as a principle of science, and has already been productive of many astonishing results. Not only is motion convertible into heat, but as every mechanical force is measured by the motion it produces or the work it performs, so every form of mechanical energy may be ultimately expressed in terms of heat.

The establishment of this principle, now become axiomatic, was a grand step in the advancement of science; but another step yet remained to be taken in the same direction. The *quantitative* determination of the *mechanical equivalent* of heat remained to be made. For even after the point that heat and mechanical force were qualitatively convertible was reached, the question yet remained, How much mechanical energy can we get out of a given quantity of heat? or a fixed amount of mechanical energy being given, how much heat will it produce? This practical question has been answered by two different persons, working independently of each other, and by entirely different processes, yet arriving at the same result. In 1842 Dr. Mayer, of Heilbronn, Germany, determined the mechanical equivalent of heat by a calculation based upon the known constitution of elastic fluids and their rate of expansion under a constant pressure. The result of Mayer's calculation, though entirely theoretical, was corroborated by the experimental determination of the same question in 1843 by Dr. Joule, of Manchester. By agitating water and other fluids by paddles turned by measurable forces, by causing metallic disks to rotate against each other, and by forcing water through capillary tubes, he determined in each case the exact quantity

of heat generated and the amount of force expended. By these experiments, patiently carried on for years, he not only established the correctness of the principle before advanced theoretically only, that under all circumstances the quantity of heat generated by a given amount of force is fixed and invariable, but also obtained the exact measure of it. This *mechanical equivalent* of heat, as obtained both by Mayer's calculation and Joule's experiments, may be stated thus: The heat sufficient to raise the temperature of one pound of water one degree Fahrenheit will generate force enough to raise seven hundred and seventy-two pounds one foot high, or one pound seven hundred and seventy-two feet high; and conversely, if one pound falls seven hundred and seventy-two feet, it will generate heat enough to raise the temperature of one pound of water one degree. Or in other words, if we consider the heat required to raise one pound of water one degree Fahrenheit as the unit of heat, and the force necessary to raise one pound weight one foot high as the unit of force, we find that one unit of heat is equivalent to seven hundred and seventy-seven units of force. This is called "Joule's Law."

This determination completed one of the greatest triumphs of modern science. The introduction of the balance into chemistry by Lavoisier afforded the means of proving the indestructibility of matter; but the experimental discovery of the exact value of the unit of heat has led as inevitably to the adoption of this higher principle of the *conservation* or *persistence of force.* This doctrine, it is true, had already been recognized as a legitimate deduction from the indestructibility of matter; for, as we have no knowledge of matter except by the force it exerts, so if matter is indestructible, the force behind it, of which it is but the manifestation, must also be indestructible. But now it is firmly established on the basis of experiment, and must be admitted in all our hypotheses regarding the action of matter as a physical principle equally with the invariability of gravity and the indestructibility of matter. Faraday calls it "the highest law in physical science which our faculties permit us to perceive." "No hypothesis," he says, "should be admitted, nor any assertion of a fact credited, that denies the principle. No view should be inconsistent or incompatible with it."

While this principle of the correlation and conservation of *physical* forces is universally admitted by scientific men, it is considered premature as yet to attempt to extend it to vital forces, though the attempt has been made by Mayer, Helmholtz, Carpenter, and others, and with much ability and ingenuity. The phenomena of life are not yet well enough understood to admit of much more than a merely speculative application of it. This, however, is one of the new fields of investigation which this new philosophy has opened to science, and a rich harvest of interesting and useful results may soon be expected from it.

Let us now consider some of the practical applications of Joule's law. This *mechanical equivalent* of heat being known, it is easy to apply it to the measurement of any form of *physical* force in nature. "From these considerations," says Professor Tyndall, "I think it is manifest that if we know the velocity and weight of any projectile, we can calculate with ease the amount of heat developed by the destruction of its moving force. For example: knowing as we do the weight of the earth and the velocity with which it moves through space, a simple calculation would enable us to determine the exact amount of heat which would be developed, supposing the earth to be stopped in her orbit. We could tell, for example, the number of degrees which this amount of heat would impart to a globe of water equal to the earth in size. Mayer and Helmholtz have made this calculation, and found that the quantity of heat generated by this colossal shock would be quite sufficient not only to fuse the entire earth, but to reduce it in great part to vapor. Thus, by a simple stoppage of the earth in its orbit, 'the elements' might be caused to 'melt with fervent heat.' The amount of heat thus developed would be equal to that derived from the combustion of fourteen globes of coal, each equal to the earth in magnitude. And if, after the stoppage of its motion, the earth should fall into the sun, as it assuredly would, the amount of heat generated by the blow would be equal to that developed by the combustion of five thousand six hundred worlds of solid carbon."—Page 57.

We have no better or more striking application of this law than in the calculation of the mechanical energy exerted in the passage of water through the various stages of its existence.

When one pound of hydrogen combines with eight pounds of oxygen to form nine pounds of steam, the concussion is found to be equivalent in mechanical value to the raising of forty-seven million pounds one foot high. The force with which the atoms of these nine pounds of steam fall together to produce water is sufficient to lift six million seven hundred and eighteen thousand seven hundred and sixteen pounds one foot high. Again, in changing to ice, the nine pounds of water have a fall whose mechanical value is nine hundred ninety-three thousand five hundred and sixty-four foot-pounds. "Thus our nine pounds of water, in its origin and progress, falls down three great precipices; the first fall is equivalent to the descent of a ton weight, urged by gravity down a precipice twenty-two thousand three hundred and twenty feet high; the second fall is equal to that of a ton down a precipice two thousand nine hundred feet high; and the third is equal to the descent of a ton down a precipice four hundred and thirty-three feet high. I have seen the wild stone avalanches of the Alps, which smoke and thunder down the declivities with a vehemence almost sufficient to stun the observer; I have also seen snow-flakes descending so softly as not to hurt the fragile spangles of which they were composed; yet to produce from aqueous vapor a quantity of that tender material which a child could carry, demands an exertion of energy competent to gather up the shattered blocks of the largest stone avalanche I have ever seen, and pitch them to twice the height from which they fell."—Page 164.

Thus far heat has only been considered as existing in the bodies in which it was generated. We are yet to consider the method by which it is transferred from one body to another with which it is not in contact. That it *is* so transferred is proved by our sensations on approaching a hot body. This is radiant heat. By the corpuscular theory, radiation of heat was easily explained. On the supposition that heat was matter whose particles were self-repellant, it was easy to understand how these particles must be driven off in straight lines in every direction through space by their own repulsion. But when we reject the materiality of heat, and consider it nothing but the vibrations of the atoms of matter, the question at once arises, How are these vibrations to be transmitted through

space? It is plain that there must be some medium capable of receiving and transmitting the motions of the vibrating *atoms*, as the air receives and transmits those of vibrating *bodies* in the case of sound.* That air is not the medium by which heat is communicated, is proved by the fact that it is transmitted through a vacuum more readily than through the air. Even in the absence of experimental proof, we would be likely to reach the same conclusion theoretically; for it is easy to see that the atomic vibrations are too delicate, too rapid, and within too narrow limits, to be transmitted from one atom of the gross matter of the atmosphere to another across the wide space that must exist between them. We are thus led to the supposition that there must be another kind of matter pervading space, filling up the pores between the atoms of the atmosphere, and so subtile and refined, and so infinitely elastic, as to be capable of communicating these delicate vibrations of the heated atoms. This fluid has been called *ether* by physicists, who hold that its existence may be inferred from a series of refined and careful experiments instituted for the purpose of establishing the undulatory theory of light. We must admit, however, that, although the existence of this ether is almost universally accepted as a fact by scientific men, there must arise in the mind of a scientific skeptic serious obstacles in the way of its unqualified adoption; and that, even after it is adopted, there remain difficulties in the transmission of atomic vibrations still unexplained. Yet, since it is necessary to adopt some hypothesis, and as this is the only one which accounts for *most* of the phenomena, we must perforce accept it, at least until a better one is proposed. Besides, after having adopted it to explain the transmission of light, it is easy enough to receive it as the theory of the communication of heat. Its adoption is rendered still less difficult when the intimate relation between light and heat is considered. These two always accompany each other in the rays of the sun, and in all cases

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* Newton considered some such medium necessary in the case of gravity. He says: "That gravity should be innate, inherent, and essential to matter, so that one body may act upon another at a distance, through a *vacuum*, without the mediation of anything else, by and through which their action and force may be conveyed from one to another, is to me so great an absurdity that I believe no man who has in philosophical matters a competent faculty of thinking can ever fall into it." See Newton's Third Letter to Bentley.

of ordinary combustion. If we examine the solar spectrum, we will find their relation curiously illustrated. In the violet ray, where the undulations are the fastest, their amplitude the shortest, and the refraction the greatest, no heat at all is found. But as we approach the red ray, where the undulations are the slowest, their amplitude greatest, and the refraction least, the heat increases, and becomes most intense beyond the red, where there is no light at all. These facts plainly suggest the idea that light and heat are produced by the same kind of vibrations of the atoms, but that those of heat are slower and of greater amplitude than those of light. Chemical action would also fall into the same category; for as we go toward the violet end of the spectrum its actinic power increases, and becomes the greatest beyond the violet, where the undulations seem to be too rapid to affect the sense of sight at all. Sound furnishes an analogy to this. The slow and heavy vibrations of a sounding body, as in the case of thunder, the roar of a cannon, or even the lower tones of an organ, produce a corresponding jarring sensation over the whole surface of our bodies, and are felt, while the more rapid vibrations affect only the ear, and are heard. But when the vibrations exceed thirty-six thousand five hundred per second, they fail even to affect the sense of hearing. So the ethereal vibrations are capable of producing different kinds of impressions. While they are slow and of great amplitude, they affect our sense of feeling only, and produce heat; as the rapidity increases, our sense of sight is affected, and light is produced. But when the rapidity increases beyond a certain point, impressions are no longer made upon the eye, but chemical action is the result. In the homogeneous rays of the sun these vibrations, having different velocities and amplitudes, accompany each other, and the three effects, light, heat, and chemical action, are produced simultaneously. But, in consequence of the different refrangibilities of these sets of vibrations, arising from their different velocities, we are able, by means of the prism, to separate them from each other in the spectrum, and examine each one by itself.

Dr. Draper's beautiful experiments throw light on this point. By subjecting different substances to the action of heat, he found that as the body began to be heated the heat was of the lowest refrangibility, but increasing in refrangibility and energy

of vibration as the intensity of the combustion increased. When the temperature reached one thousand degrees, the heat-vibrations became rapid enough to affect the eye, and light was produced. As the temperature rose, the colors of the spectrum appeared successively in the order of their refrangibility—red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, and violet. When the temperature reached two thousand one hundred and thirty degrees all the colors were produced, making *white light*, which, besides light and heat, was capable of producing chemical action, like the homogeneous white light of the sun. As the body became cool, the colors again made their appearance in the reverse order, the red disappearing below one thousand degrees.

Thus far we have only discussed the relation between light, heat, and chemical action. To these must be added electricity and magnetism, for it has been experimentally proved that the close mutual relations that exist between the others extend to these also. They all belong to the same group, and must be considered but different manifestations of the same force. Whenever any one of these forces is exerted, it is always accompanied by a collateral manifestation of one or more of the others. Examples of their mutual convertibility into each other are abundant. Thus, chemical action in the battery develops electricity in the conducting wire; the current in turn generates magnetism in a bar of soft iron at right angles to its course; if it be passed through an imperfect conductor, light and heat will be produced; and if passed through a compound in solution, chemical decomposition is the result; or, if we begin with any one of the series, by furnishing the proper conditions all the others may be produced in succession. Not only has the mutual correlation of these forms of force been experimentally shown, but the *quantitative* relation of all of them, except light, has also been determined, thus furnishing additional proof of the fundamental doctrine of the "conservation of force." That light has a fixed and definite relation to the other forces is to be presumed, though experiment has not yet determined its exact value. This is yet an interesting and promising subject for further research.

There yet remains one outstanding physical force of whose nature and relations we are as yet entirely ignorant—gravita-

tion. All attempts to bring it under the law of the correlation and conservation of forces have thus far failed. That it is to remain an exception to this fundamental principle, no physicist, in view of the progress of the last few years, would be willing to admit. But, on the contrary, it is confidently believed that future investigation will reveal its true character and assign it its proper place in the family of correlated forces. There is no reason to doubt that, when the nature of polarity, or the condition of matter which gives rise to attraction and repulsion, is fully comprehended—and this difficulty is not now regarded as insuperable—it will be possible to explain all the wonderful phenomena of Universal Gravitation on the theory of ethereal undulations, and thus establish the complete identity of all the forms of physical force.

We may now see how great a step the adoption of this *dynamical theory* of heat, with all its practical and speculative results, has been toward the sublime end to which all philosophical thought and scientific investigation now seem to be tending. To demonstrate the grand unity and harmony of the forces producing all the endless variety of the phenomena of nature, is the great work which modern science has now presented to it. And, when we consider the earnestness and energy with which it has addressed itself to its work, we may hopefully look for results still more astonishing and far-reaching in their consequences than any yet obtained. For what has already been accomplished, wonderful and even startling as it may seem compared with our past knowledge, is really but indicative of the tendency of the great current of scientific thought, and prophetic of higher and wider triumphs yet to come.

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ART. IV.—PHILANTHROPY IN WAR TIME.

The Philanthropic Results of the War in America. Collected from Official and other Authentic Sources by an American Citizen. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1864.

If we look back to the records of history we shall find—it may seem strange to say—that philanthropy, in its broadest sense, has always found the widest sphere of activity in war time. In the times of the Crusades, Christian maidens established along all the route of the army of the Crusaders hospitals for the sick and wounded soldiers, and ministered to their healing with such skill as they possessed; while at home, high-born matrons and maids gave from their own stores the food and clothing needed by the families of the men-at-arms who had followed their lords to the contest against the Paynim host.

In the civil war in England, which resulted in the dethronement and execution of Charles the First, not only were the sweet charities of domestic life called forth for the succor of the wounded, but education received a new and higher impulse; and from that period dates the foundation of some of the best institutions of learning in the land.

Not less productive of deeds of charity, though among a greatly impoverished people, was our own war of the Revolution. The sacrifices of the women of that period for the sake of the army, and the abundant contributions, even in the midst of the most grinding poverty, of all classes, mitigated greatly, though they could not wholly prevent, the sufferings of the soldiery. It was amid this fearful strife, too, that the foundations of some of our best colleges were laid; and though the times seemed unfavorable for the promotion of education, yet our fathers, strong in their faith of the glorious future, determined to secure for their children the opportunities of instruction.

It is not, then, so utterly without precedent as our impulsive reader has assumed, that philanthropy should find ample field for exercise in time of war; though never has it attained to such extraordinary proportions as in the struggle in which we are now engaged, as indeed in no contest of modern times has there been so much occasion for its ministration.

Various and multiform have been its manifestations. State legislatures, acting for the nonce in accordance with the will of their constituents, voted almost unanimously sums greatly beyond any previous expenditure of the state, for arming and equipping or giving bounties and extra pay to their own citizens who volunteered. Counties, cities, towns, and corporations appropriated large sums, in some instances millions, for bounties and the relief of soldiers' families. Individuals possessing wealth undertook the cost of fitting out whole regiments, or paid large bounties to stimulate men to enlist, pledging themselves at the same time to the support of their families; while others, though themselves exempt by age or ill health from personal service in the army, desiring to be represented there, sent a stalwart soldier to fill their place. In this form of patriotic service many ladies of wealth participated. One citizen presented to the government a steamship of unsurpassed beauty and speed; a gift estimated at eight hundred thousand dollars. Another having performed some great service for the government, paid into the United States treasury his entire commission, amounting to twenty-five thousand dollars. The same spirit actuated all classes of loyal citizens; those who had not large sums to give gave what they could, but all felt that they must contribute something. Nor has this desire to contribute to the maintenance and increase of the army yet ceased. Villages which before the commencement of the war could not have raised for any public purpose whatever five thousand dollars, have contributed, year after year, their subscriptions of from ten to fifteen thousand dollars to increase the bounties of volunteers, in addition to taxes of equal or larger amount for the same purpose; and cities and larger towns have given in like proportion, and each new call is responded to as cheerfully as those which preceded it.

The little work whose title we have placed at the beginning of our article computes the amount thus contributed to January last, by states, counties, towns, corporations, and individuals for the equipment, bounties, and extra pay of volunteers, and the relief of their families, together with other purposes of national defense, at a little more than one hundred and eighty-seven millions of dollars. A somewhat careful inquiry into the contributions of the northern and northwestern states during the past summer

convinces us that the estimate is below the truth, and that, with the addition of the bounties, etc., offered under the two calls of the present year, it cannot be less than two hundred and twenty millions. This vast sum, it is to be remembered, is entirely independent of all that has been appropriated in the shape of equipment, pay, or bounties by the United States government, that being regarded in the light of a business expenditure.

But the expenditure of this sum, large and liberal as it was, only contemplated the placing the soldier in the field and the care of his family at home. It had no reference to his possible sickness or wounding, to the sanitary condition of his camp, and the prevention of disease by suitable precautions of clothing, food, exercise, and location, and made no provision for his intellectual or moral improvement.

The care of the soldier, in some of these particulars, appertained properly to the medical department of the army; but that department, though admirably adapted to an army of twenty-five thousand men, for which it was originally designed, expanded slowly and with great difficulty to the care of a million, and mean time there was need of a more flexible voluntary organization to supplement its deficiencies and make up for its lack of service. Provision for the intellectual and moral wants of the soldiers was for the most part beyond the scope of the governmental authority.

The physical necessities of the soldier had excited the sympathies of the great mass of the people from the beginning of the war. As soon as the troops began to move toward Washington in April and May, 1861, supplies of comforts and delicacies of all kinds were forwarded to them by express in such abundance, that before the first of June the principal express companies broke down under an accumulation of goods beyond their utmost power of delivery. Everywhere the women were at work for the soldiers; clothing of every description, havelocks, and articles of food to vary the dull monotony of the ration, were prepared and forwarded in quantities far beyond the immediate wants of the army. At first there was little system or order, and as a consequence great waste. But with the talent for organization so characteristic of the American mind, this chaos of philanthropy soon took form and shape,

and there emerged from it institutions of practical and permanent value to the army. Prominent among these was the SANITARY COMMISSION, having its origin in the joint efforts of three associations formed in New York city for the purpose of aiding the government in the care of the soldier. These associations were, the "Women's Central Association of Relief," which had undertaken the furnishing of hospital supplies and the training of nurses; the "Advisory Committee of the Board of Physicians and Surgeons of the Hospitals of New York," which had given much thought to the present and prospective sanitary condition of the army; and the "New York Medical Association for furnishing Hospital Supplies in Aid of the Army," whose officers, though purely medical, are sufficiently described by its title. Each of these associations appointed members of a joint committee, to visit Washington and ascertain from the War Department in what way the aid which all felt would soon be needed could best be rendered to the government, in the improvement of the sanitary condition of the army, and the prevention and successful treatment of the diseases which would undoubtedly visit the camps. The men composing this committee were Rev. Dr. Bellows, and Doctors W. H. Van Buren, Elisha Harris, and Jacob Harsen; all men known throughout the country for their professional ability and their previous labors in the cause of sanitary science.

They found matters in great confusion at Washington. The medical bureau was not only physically inadequate to the vast volume of labor unexpectedly thrown upon it, but many of its members were so wedded to routine that they could not be made to comprehend the new and enlarged duties thrown upon them by the emergency, and were attempting with feeble persistence to manage the hygienic affairs of an army rapidly approaching a half million of men with the machinery intended for a force of twenty or twenty-five thousand. They could give the committee no information, declined all proffers of assistance, regarding themselves as abundantly competent to supply all the medical wants of the army, and turned a cold shoulder upon their proposals.

It happened that Dr. Van Buren, one of the members of this New York committee, had himself been an army surgeon, and fully understood the capacities of the medical bureau, and

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its inability, without an entire reorganization, to perform satisfactorily a tithe of the duties now fast accumulating in every department of its work. The surgeon-general of the army, from age and long service, had been laid aside from his duties, and the acting surgeon-general, Dr. R. C. Wood, a personal friend of Dr. Van Buren, was not so wedded to routine as some of the other officers, and could comprehend the necessity for assistance from without.

After careful deliberation, the committee resolved to lay before the War Department a plan for the organization of a sanitary commission which should co-operate with the medical bureau, promote the sanitary welfare of the army by suggestions and instructions relative to the location of camps, diet, clothing, and exposure of the troops, and aid in furnishing hospital supplies, delicacies, medicines, etc., for the sick and wounded, under the direction and with the approval of that bureau.

This memorial was supported a few days later by a communication from Dr. R. C. Wood, the acting surgeon-general; and on the twenty-third of May the delegation addressed to the Secretary of War a paper containing a "Draft of the Powers asked from the Government by the Sanitary Delegates to the President and Secretary of War." In this paper they developed the plan and objects of the Sanitary Commission, substantially as they have since existed, and indicated subjects of inquiry which have since been investigated to the manifest advantage of the army.

The plan at first met with strong opposition in high quarters, the Secretary of War and the President both regarding it as a mere whim of a few benevolent clergymen, physicians, and women in New York, possessing no practical value, and capable of being turned to evil account. The President pronounced it "of no more use than a fifth wheel to a coach." The evidence which was adduced that it was called for by the great body of the medical profession, and by the more intelligent citizens of all classes, and the earnest advocacy of the project by the acting surgeon-general, at length so far overcame their objections that authority was reluctantly granted for its organization, but only with the proviso that it should at any time be disbanded when it became evident that its assistance was not necessary

to the medical department. Having received its authorization from the government, and numbering in its list of constituent members clergymen, physicians, and citizens of the highest intelligence and the most exalted social position, the Commission entered upon its work with great zeal and energy. All its members served without fee or reward as members of the Commission; two only, the secretaries of the eastern and western departments, Mr. F. L. Olmstead and Dr. J. S. Newberry, who had left lucrative positions to enter upon its service, received a compensation for their labor. But money was needed for the publication of its medical and other documents, for the maintenance of its system of relief agencies, for the support of its homes for sick and wounded soldiers, for the transmission of its supplies, and the other items of expenditure required for its varied and important operations. It appealed to the public for such amount as it needed, and with success. The tens of thousands of soldiers' aid societies which had been formed in the villages and hamlets, as well as in the cities and larger towns throughout the northern states, gradually, with but few exceptions, became affiliated with the branches of the Commission which were established at Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh, and from these numberless rills the supplies for the sick and wounded flowed in, in a constantly augmenting stream, and were distributed to the different armies where they were needed. The organization of the different departments of service in the Commission was perfected as the need for each was developed. It now comprised, first, *The Preventive Service or Sanitary Inspection*, for which purpose it employs a corps of medical inspectors, skillful and experienced physicians, who visit the camps, hospitals, and transports of the army to which they are assigned, watch the perils from climate, exposure to malarious influences, from hard marching or active campaigning, from inadequate food or clothing, growing out of imperfect facilities of transportation; and while directing the relief agents under their charge to supply as far as possible the deficiencies of the government purveyors, report to the chief inspector or the associate secretary who has the matter in charge, the facts as they find them. These reports form the basis of interesting and important

statistics relative to the health of the army and the causes which affect it. To this department also belong the corps of special medical inspectors, selected from the most eminent and skillful physicians of the country, who from time to time make the circuit of the general military hospitals of the country, now more than two hundred and thirty in number, and report upon their wants, condition, progress, ventilations, *personnel*, and capacity for improvement. An abstract of these reports is prepared confidentially, for the use of the surgeon-general. A third agency in connection with this preventive service, is the preparation and circulation of sanitary and medical tracts and pamphlets containing the diagnosis and best mode of treatment of the diseases and wounds most common in the service. These tracts, prepared with great care by the eminent surgeons and physicians connected with the Commission, have proved of inestimable value to many of the surgeons and assistant surgeons of the army; and those which are rather sanitary than medical in character, have been of great benefit to both officers and men, among whom they have been widely circulated.

2. *The Department of General Relief.* The supplies of food, clothing, bedding, delicacies for the sick, stimulants and cordials for the wounded on the field, or the sick and wounded in the hospitals, are sent by the branches of the Commission, under the direction of the central agency, to the depot nearest the army or the hospitals for which they are ordered, having been previously carefully repacked, assorted, and invoiced at the headquarters of the branch commission. On the field, or at the base of supplies, or in the storehouse of the hospital, they are under the care of an agent of the Commission, and are distributed with great care, usually on the requisition of the surgeons of the hospitals or in the field, having in view the principle that the object of the Commission is to *supplement* the necessary deficiency in the government supplies, and not to furnish that which it is the duty of the government to provide. The agents of the Commission are instructed also to give of their supplies for the relief of the rebel wounded when left on the field or taken prisoners. They are also directed to supply them to the agents or delegates of other organizations who may be ministering to the wounded on the field.

3. *The Department of Special Relief.* This includes the soldiers' homes, and lodges for the reception of sick, wounded, or discharged soldiers, or soldiers on their way to or from their regiments. There are fifteen or sixteen of them, at those points where the soldiers must necessarily gather. They are furnished with food and lodging, and where necessary with clothing; the sick or wounded receive medical attendance and nursing, their back pay, bounties, etc., are collected for them, and where without their own fault they are put down as deserters, measures are taken to relieve them from this dishonorable charge. They are also protected from the tricks of sharpers and swindlers. To this department also belong the hospital directories, of which there are four, at Washington, Philadelphia, New York, and Louisville. In these are kept constantly recorded the names of all the sick and wounded admitted into any military hospitals in the United States, their company, regiment, and state; their rank, age, term of service where it can be ascertained, date of receiving wound or commencement of sickness, and condition; and also a reference to any letter of inquiry which may have been sent, and the answer given, both of which are kept on file. On application, friends of sick or wounded soldiers are furnished without cost with information concerning their condition and location. To this department also belong the hospital transports, of which there are now four or five in the service of the Commission, which bring the wounded and sick to hospitals remote from the field, and carry back supplies and stores for those who cannot be removed; and also the hospital cars, fitted up for the easy and comfortable transportation of the sick and wounded. Of these there are fourteen on the roads leading to Chattanooga, and several on the eastern railroads.

The supply of food and clothing to our prisoners at Libby prison and Belle Isle, so long as it was permitted, was conducted by this department of the Commission; and the *field relief* system, employing a special agent and several assistants with wagons and ambulances, to be attached to each army corps and march with them, supplying their wants, and in case of battle bringing off their wounded and ministering to them at once, is an outgrowth of the department of special relief.

After or in the progress of our great battles, the Commission has always had a large force on the field or in its immediate vicinity, receiving, nursing, and caring for the wounded, and furnishing its needed supplies in generous abundance. Often in these cases its prompt and liberal action has saved hundreds, and in some instances thousands of lives, which but for its labors must have been sacrificed.

The receipts and expenditures of this organization have been very large. During the past year the money receipts have been greatly increased by a succession of fairs held in the principal cities of the northern states. The exact amount of money received from the organization of the Commission to the present time we cannot give, but it considerably exceeds four millions of dollars, aside from the amounts received by several of its branches, and which, though partially expended for supplies, are also in part appropriated to local charities connected with the soldiers or their families. The value of supplies, clothing, food, antiscorbutics, delicacies for the sick, and cordials contributed exceeds nine millions of dollars, making the entire aggregate receipts of money and goods in less than three years and a half more than thirteen millions of dollars. In the months of May and June, 1864, the Commission expended five hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars on the Army of the Potomac alone.

But the Sanitary Commission, though the largest, has been by no means the only channel through which the free gifts of a loyal nation have flowed out toward that nation's defenders. The Western Sanitary Commission, organized at St. Louis in the summer of 1861, has been very active and efficient in its benefactions to the soldiers, and in the establishment of soldiers' homes, as well as in the care of the freedmen, to whom it has proved the best of friends. It has recently, also, been affording aid to the thousands of white refugees who are flying from the ruthless conscription and intolerable cruelties of the southern despotism. This Commission has managed its affairs with the utmost prudence and economy, the greater part of its officers and many of its employes having rendered their services without fee or reward. Its receipts have been, in round numbers, two and a half millions of dollars, of which nearly one half has been in money.

Aside from these, there have been several other state organizations, some of them called State Sanitary Commissions, which have raised large sums intended for distribution primarily to the soldiers of their respective states. Of these, Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and Wisconsin have been most prominent. About one million three hundred thousand dollars have been contributed through these associations.

There should also be enumerated, among the independent organizations which have had for their object the solace and care of the disabled, sick, or wounded soldier, the Ladies' Aid Society of Philadelphia, the earliest association for the promotion of the welfare of the army in the country; the New England Soldiers' Relief Association at New York, and the Baltimore Union Relief Association; all three institutions worthy of notice for their unwearied labors and untiring zeal in behalf of the army. The aggregate contributions received by these three associations exceed seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Nor should the volunteer refreshment saloons of Philadelphia, which have fed in the aggregate a million of soldiers, and have furnished lodgings and medical care to many thousands, be forgotten. The spontaneous promptings of the hearts of the loyal poor of that portion of Philadelphia in the beginning, they have continued their course of noble and beneficent charity without intermission, and without wearying of their good work, for nearly three and a half years. A hundred and fifty thousand dollars have been expended in these saloons. There are also state relief organizations, representing most of the loyal states at Washington, and a few at other points, which have been active in distributing the supplies of money, clothing, delicacies, etc., sent from their respective states for the army; and in some instances individuals, usually ladies, often of high social position, have engaged in a similar work both in the hospitals of the capital and among the wounded men at the front. Careful estimates indicate that more than two millions and a half of dollars have been contributed through these sources.

The supplies of books, postage, stationery, delicacies, etc., contributed directly to the two hundred and thirty general hospitals and numerous temporary hospitals during the past three years, exceeds on the average five thousand dollars to

each hospital, or one million two hundred thousand dollars in all.

From numberless towns east and west, after every great battle, especially in the earlier period of the war, supplies were contributed in large amount and sent by some one of the citizens, who usually gave his services for the work, to the relief of the wounded. An approximate estimate by officers east and west who have been familiar with the extent of these contributions, fixes their value at not less than four millions of dollars.

Asylums and permanent homes for disabled soldiers, and asylums or orphanages for the children of deceased or disabled soldiers, have been established in several of the states, and some of them have been liberally endowed. The amount expended for the erection, endowment, and support of seven of these exceeds five hundred thousand dollars.

The building and maintenance of twenty-six ambulances, at a cost of about twenty thousand dollars, by the firemen of Philadelphia, for the transportation of the sick and wounded soldiery who arrived there to the hospitals, was but one of numerous indications of the deep interest taken in the welfare of our army by the masses. The erection of the citizens' volunteer hospital, at a cost of twenty-three thousand dollars, in the same city, almost wholly by the labor and contributions of mechanics residing in the vicinity of the Baltimore station house on Broad-street, was prompted by the same feeling. The thousands of instances in which employers paid the salaries of clerks or journeymen to their families, and retained their positions for them, when called out as militia in the service of the United States government, indicated the general prevalency of the same spirit.

But there was felt to be a necessity for more direct influences to act upon the moral and intellectual nature of the soldier, while his physical wants were supplied. The Sanitary Commission had incidentally accomplished much in this way; but the lack of efficient chaplains in the army, and the very generally prevalent feeling that measures were necessary to counteract the vices prevalent in the army, led to the organization, in December, 1861, of the CHRISTIAN COMMISSION.

This Commission has sent its voluntary, unpaid delegates

into the field to preach to the men in their camps, to circulate among them religious newspapers and books, as well as other reading of a moral and instructive character, to visit and converse with officers and men, and hold religious meetings with them, to minister to their spiritual as well as physical wants when suffering from sickness or wounds, furnishing either from its own stores or those of the Sanitary Commission such clothing and delicacies as were needed, and endeavoring to lead them to Christ as the only ground of comfort and trust. It has undoubtedly accomplished great good by its efforts; and though some of its volunteer delegates have exhibited a zeal which was out of proportion to their knowledge, and have compelled the Commission to rely to a greater extent than was at first intended upon paid agencies as the most permanent and reliable, its course has been in general marked by the highest beneficence, and has resulted in turning many to righteousness. Of its receipts it is impossible to speak with exactness, but they are understood to have reached nearly a million of dollars in money, and somewhat more than that amount in books, pamphlets, papers, hymn books, stationery, clothing, and food and delicacies for the sick.

The American Bible Society, the two national tract societies, the several missionary societies, and most of the denominational publishing societies, have contributed very large amounts for the circulation of Bibles and religious books and the support of missionaries and colporteurs in the army and navy. In the aggregate, the appropriations from these societies somewhat exceed seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

There has been contributed for the relief of the freedmen, and for the maintenance of teachers and others to instruct them, more than half a million of dollars. For white refugees, for the most part unionists from the southern states, who have been deprived of all that they possessed by the infuriated rebels, and often have seen their earthly protectors murdered before their eyes, more than three hundred thousand dollars have been collected.

The claims of the suffering operatives over the sea, reduced to starvation by the non-exportation of cotton, appealed strongly to the sympathies of our people, who saw with admiration that these brave sufferers remained their stanch friends,

while the aristocracy and moneyed class in Great Britain were, with strange inconsistency, avowing their preference for the rebels; and from our ample stores of grain, breadstuffs to the value of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars were sent to the Lancashire sufferers, and one hundred and twenty thousand more to Ireland. While there has thus been poured into the treasury of benevolence, for objects connected with or growing out of the war, the vast sum of fully two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, a larger amount than has been expended upon Christian missions during the present century, it is a matter for thankfulness that at the North every cause of religious or intellectual progress has been greatly prospered. An unusual number of new churches have been erected, church debts extinguished, the salaries of clergymen almost universally increased, the treasuries of missionary, tract, and Bible societies abundantly replenished, and new enterprises of philanthropy undertaken; the orphan, the widowed, and the indigent liberally cared for, and our institutions of learning more liberally endowed than in thirty years before. The amounts contributed by private donors for the endowment of colleges in the northern states since the commencement of the war exceed five millions of dollars.

But grand and noble as is this outpouring of a nation's treasure for the maintenance of a just cause, and the perpetuation and advancement of a civilization which is its best birthright, there is a higher and nobler sense in which the philanthropy of our people has been displayed.

The bestowment of money, even in such vast sums as those we have noticed, although it may have gone to the extent of partially impoverishing those who have given it, is yet inferior in value as a gift to that consecration of personal service, or that relinquishment of all that made life valuable, for the sake of our national life. The instances where this has been done at the bidding of a sublime patriotism by those who have enlisted in the army to serve the national cause, and if need be to lay down their lives for its sake, leaving home, children, friends, and all that made life blissful, are numberless; but it is not of these particularly that we propose to speak. There is and necessarily must be something of romance, of chivalry, of heroism in the conception we all form of the battle-field; and

the scarred and war-worn veteran, as he returns to his home, finds no little cause for innocent self-gratulation as he "fights his battles o'er and tells how fields were won."

But there are those, and many of them, who from almost the beginning of the war have devoted their whole time, and often at great personal inconvenience, to the labor of preparing food and clothing for the sick and wounded, or to the drudgery of superintending the forwarding of it to the general and field hospitals where it was needed. There are others not less heroic, who amid all the discomforts and inconveniences of the camp or the general hospitals at advanced posts, have ministered faithfully to the sick and wounded soldiers, often amid scenes intensely painful and distressing, and in too many instances have fallen victims to diseases contracted in their ministrations. Others still, compassionating the condition of the unfortunate Africans, suddenly set free from a life-long bondage and utterly ignorant of what was before them, have reduced the chaos of disorder to perfect system, and by arranging them in orderly households, organizing schools for their instruction, and leading them on step by step to a higher life, have fitted them for their new duties as free men. Others still, on hospital transports on the waves of the stormy Atlantic, or exposed to death from the stealthy attacks of guerrillas on the rivers of the West, have bound up the wounds and medicined the maladies of war's victims. And yet others, on those bloody battle-fields where hurtling shot and screaming shell fell fast and thick, have toiled patiently to stay the fast outflowing tide of life and to bring back the desperately wounded to the consciousness of existence, sometimes even when the columns of our armies were retreating past them, and the surgeons had already fled. Of the actors in those heroic deeds, some were clergymen, men occupying high positions in their respective denominations; others were physicians of high reputation, lawyers of extensive practice, or merchants whose ships floated on every sea. By far the larger proportion, however, were women, many of them members of families of the highest social position in the northern states, refined, cultivated, and winning in manner, and all or nearly all of them had left homes where they were tenderly cherished and surrounded by every luxury, to encounter, without murmur or complaint, the

privations and discomforts of life in the camp or in the hospitals of the border.

It has been remarked by one who has himself been a prominent actor in this great work of active philanthropy, "that this war has been worth all that it has cost, both in blood and treasure, for the ennobling and elevating influence it has had on the women of our land." Thousands who before the commencement of the war were leading lives of frivolity, with no lofty aim, no fitting mission to purify and elevate their natures and convince them of the blessedness of an existence of usefulness, have found in the duties they have assumed in the hospitals, the aid societies, the ministering to the wounded at the front, or the civilization and elevation of the freedmen, the very stimulus which has given life its highest zest, and filled the aching void in their hearts.

There has doubtless also been developed in the minds of these gifted women, with more or less distinctness, the feeling that this conflict was one in which they had a special interest; that the contest was one between the civilization of the North, with its lofty and almost chivalrous regard for the rights, the elevation, and the progress of woman in all fields of noble and holy endeavor, and the civilization of the South, with its utter disregard of womanly purity, its brutalization of the women of the servile race, its degrading lusts, and its denial of all true womanly culture of brain or heart.

Impressed, consciously or unconsciously, with this conviction, the women of the North have made the costliest sacrifices, and have accomplished the most heroic deeds ever recorded of the sex in the world's history. The dwellers in the mountains of New England, who, by hoarding their scanty earnings and the severest thrift, have managed after weeks and perhaps months of toil to make a hospital shirt, a quilt, and a pair of socks for some wounded soldier in the hospital, (their own loved ones who had volunteered for the war meantime lying low in soldiers' graves at Bull Run, or Fredericksburgh, or Stone River;) the poor lone sister in northern New York, who twice a month made a toilsome journey of twelve miles on foot to procure from an aid society clothing to make up for the hospitals; the school-teacher at the West, who, abandoning her position as principal of the female department of a

large city school, gave her services for year after year without compensation in the management of a soldiers' aid society; the fair, accomplished ladies, moving in the highest circles of society, who day after day for three years and more have gone amid winter's snows and summer's heat to their work of procuring, preparing, and forwarding hospital supplies, as regularly as the banker or merchant goes to his daily business; the refined and cultivated women who at Cedar Mountain, at Centerville, at Antietam, at Fredericksburgh, at Vicksburg, Chickamauga, and Chattanooga; at Gettysburgh, at Morris Island, amid the burning sands; at Belle Plain, and Fredericksburgh, and City Point, and in the vast temporary hospitals, have toiled night and day with a zeal which knew no weariness, and a skill which fully met every emergency, in those ministrations of love and mercy to which so many thousands of our brave men owe their lives; and those other heroic souls who at Hilton Head, and Beaufort, and Fernandina, at Vicksburg and Milliken's Bend, at Helena and at New Orleans, have trained the children of the freedmen and taught their mothers all womanly virtues and housewifely skill; all these, and others too many to be even reckoned by classes in our enumeration, are deserving of a record which shall transmit their names to the latest history. Many daughters have done virtuously, but these have excelled them all. In this personal consecration of so many of our noblest spirits to the work of a holy philanthropy, we see grounds of hope for the triumph of a grander and more self-sacrificing Christianity in the future. The order of Beguines, the predecessors of the Sisters of Charity, had its origin in the necessities and sufferings of Europe in the time of the crusades; the order of Sisters of Charity was called into existence by the exigencies of the wars of the continent in the sixteenth century; the first great development of modern Christian missions in Europe was one of the results of the French Revolution. The development in this country of that "Inner Mission" founded in Germany by Wichem and his coadjutors within the last thirty years, which has for its objects the education of the ignorant and degraded, the reformation of the vicious, the improvement of prisons, the care of the sick, and the presentation to the sorrow-stricken, the wearied, and the woe-worn, the consolation of the religion of Christ, is des-

tined to be the first-fruits of the discipline of war which our nation is now undergoing; and if there shall be in the magnificent future before us any other work requiring the unblenching zeal of the martyr, or the entire self-consecration of the Christian heroine, there will be found, depend upon it, no lack of willing candidates for that work, even though the tortures of the rack or the flames of the martyr's stake should rise in full view as the goal of their career.

With a spirit so cultivated to sacrifice, to hardship, and to toil for the luxury of doing good, we may justly expect to see a new impulse given to the foreign missionary enterprise; and some already on the stage may live to see the earth subdued to the dominion of the King of kings as an indirect result of the terrible civil war which has so devastated our land.

ART. V.—HIBBARD ON RELIGION OF CHILDHOOD.

The Religion of Childhood; or, Children in their Relation to Native Depravity, to the Atonement, to the Family, and to the Church. By F. G. HIBBARD, D. D. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1864.

WE regard this book as a valuable contribution to the literature of our Church. It discusses a theme which belongs to the times, and especially to the adherents of the Wesleyan theology. Till the present century began, there was, in this country at least, little chance for the discussion of the relation of infants to the atonement and the Church. The theology of Calvin, cold, stern, inexorable, held sway, enthroning almighty self-will, and attributing to it alone all the events of history, and the destinies of all souls. In his Institutes he asks the significant question, "I inquire again how it came to pass that the fall of Adam should involve, without remedy, so many nations with their *infant* children in eternal death, unless because it was the will of God? A horrible decree, I confess." The Westminster Confession, with some ambiguity of speech, affirms that "*Elect* infants dying in infancy are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when, where, and

how he pleaseth. So also are other elect persons who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the Word. Others not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the Word, and may have some common operations of the Spirit, yet they never truly come to Christ, and, therefore, cannot be saved."

Thus Calvin asserts, and the Confession hints, that some who die in infancy are doomed to eternal death. We heard a Calvinistic minister, not six years ago, preach at the funeral of a little child, and we remember well one remark which he made, to this effect, that when an adult dies we can look back at his character and conduct, and thus arrive at an opinion of the probable state of the soul after death; but that when an infant dies there is nothing upon which to base an opinion, and consequently he had in this case none to offer; he knew not whether the child was saved or lost.

It is evident that these sentiments, not only held in theory, but made a basis of reasoning and action, must affect the whole doctrinal scheme in regard to little children and our duty toward them. If, as Calvin declares, "All are not created with the same destiny; but to some eternal life, and to others eternal death, is foreordained," and this applies to infants, living or dying, as well as adults, no system of doctrine, no plan of Gospel labor, is sound and reliable which fails to take it into account. If the Genevan theory be scriptural, the predestined number will be filled up, no matter what we do or what we fail to do for the souls of others. It is true that the means are appointed as well as the end, but the decree so secures the whole that there can be no failure in the result; and the fortunate soul destined to eternal life will be saved, too, when the set time comes, not a day sooner or later, no human agency sufficing either to hasten or retard the hour.

There was a time when these unscriptural theories really affected the views with which the Church regarded souls. If a man sinned long and boldly, the probability that he was a reprobate grew stronger as the years increased. If he professed penitence and faith, a probability of his being elect was established, and increased in strength as he persevered in the way. But in regard to the infant all was uncertain. Whatever her fond hopes might be, the mother could never know whether

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she held on her bosom a future angel or a predestined devil; but whether the one or the other, the matter had been determined from all eternity, as Calvin says, "*absque remedio.*" With this iceberg resting upon the Church, there was no call for an inquiry into the "Religion of Childhood."

Nor will any genuine Calvinist now feel much interest in the investigation. The subject belongs, of right, to those who hold a general atonement and a free salvation; and outside of their ranks our author, we imagine, will find no open sympathy, and yet, perhaps, encounter little criticism. We, indeed, regard the remorseless system of Calvin as a defeated theology. It still remains in the old formularies, we admit, and is duly subscribed by candidates for the ministry, but the tendency to interpret its terms more and more mildly is universal and irresistible. The mind revolts at the harsher features of it, and anxiously seeks relief. Some go about to defend its arbitrary giving and withholding of saving grace, on the supposition that man, without divine aid, can repent and believe, (though they tell us that it is absolutely certain that without grace he never will,) and thus they fancy that they clear the character of God from the charge of cruelty. Others, wise and learned men too, take the strange position that both Calvin's absolute election and reprobation, and Wesley's free salvation, are taught in the Scriptures, and that we are to believe both, leaving it to God to reconcile the contradiction. Meanwhile, the preaching, the prayers, the labors of all the orthodox denominations of Christians, the whole system of Gospel activities whereby the Church seeks to reach and save the world, are such as can logically grow only out of the conviction that every soul may be saved; that Christ died for all, and that those who die eternally perish not by God's neglect, but their own. Sometimes the minister, feeling in his heart a divine compassion for souls, and at the same moment remembering his theories, employs ingenious forms of speech, which, to his own mind, seem to save the creed, while they leave the appeal to the sinner in full force. But these niceties do not reach the multitude. The people pronounce the sermon "real Methodist doctrine," and receive it and are saved by it, and herein do we rejoice. The ingenious Calvinistic wad falls down at the muzzle of the

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gun, while the solid Gospel truth speeds to the mark, and pierces the heart and conscience, not to kill, but to "make alive."

With this virtual return of the Churches to the true Gospel of Christ, there is a general tendency to regard the young as the most hopeful part of the field, and to strive, in all right ways, to lead them to the Saviour. Sabbath-schools are established as an integral part of the Gospel enginery, and the Church which neglects them is deemed twice dead and ready to be plucked up. But, as might have been foreseen, the new field of labor cannot be cultivated with all this ardor and Christian zeal, without originating questions in regard to the religious status and capabilities of childhood. If the teacher is to instruct his class in religious truth, what part of religion is he to teach, its creed, its morals, or its spiritual experiences? The child is exhorted to believe the creed, and practice the morals, but what is he to do with the experience? Having memorized a definition of repentance, is he then to be exhorted to repent? Having learned what faith is, so far as the words of another can teach it, is he to be encouraged at once to trust in Christ for his own salvation? At what age will you feel at liberty to urge upon him the attainment of spiritual piety? Again, if you teach a little child to pray, however simple your language and your modes of explanation, you must in reality tell him how God regards him, how God is affected toward him. Will you teach him to stand afar off, with fear and trembling, confessing his sins to a stern embodiment of relentless law? Or will you assure him that God is his friend, and encourage him to come as to one that loves him? And where will you tell him that he stands in reference to the Church of God? Is he at a distance, with a mighty wall between, or with his foot upon the threshold of an open door? And then comes the great question of all, What does the word of God authorize you to say in regard to all these things? Thus our Sunday-school system originates questions which touch the very vitals of our faith, and demand answer before we can proceed to our work with clear convictions in regard to the thing to be aimed at, and the means to be employed in the pursuit. In our own communion these questions have begun to attract great attention; and they are destined, we think, to attract

more and more, till our theory is settled, and its spirit is fully infused into our economy.

Dr. Hibbard's book will aid much in the final adjustment of some important points of the interesting problem. He discusses the subject in eight chapters, of which the *first* traces the history of the doctrine of infant salvation, stating the opinions held by the various Churches and theological leaders of the past and the present; the *second* treats of natural depravity, affirming emphatically the doctrine of John Wesley, the Church of England, and the seventh of our own Articles of Religion; the *third* and *fourth* set forth the relation of childhood to the atonement, showing that the infant is so included in the provisions of the atonement that it is no more a child of wrath, but an heir of the kingdom of God, so that dying it is eternally saved, or living begins accountable life in the favor of God, which it retains without interruption, unless by willful sin, and voluntary rejection of divine mercy, that favor is forfeited. Our author argues that all infants, by virtue of their relation to the atonement, are, "in a qualified sense" of the term, regenerate. The *fifth* chapter, which comprises more than a fourth part of the entire volume, discusses the relation of childhood to the family and the Church, taking the position that infants are eligible to the Church relation, and that we are bound "to NOW recognize them as legitimate members of the spiritual commonwealth." The family is declared a "normal Church agency," by which the infant disciple is to be taught and trained in divine wisdom and all holy living, as the precepts of the word of God, the example of the patriarchs, the institutions of Moses, and the customs of the primitive Christians testify. The *sixth* chapter gives abstract argument to prove the efficacy of early religious training; the *seventh* cites numerous examples in corroboration of the abstract argument; and the final chapter inculcates the "duty of the Church in the devotional and experimental culture of the children."

The points about which our interest chiefly gathers are three in number, infant regeneration, infant Church membership, and the religious capabilities of early childhood; the first and the second because they are matters of controversy, the third because of its great practical importance. In regard to the regeneration of infants, on one point there is no dispute; no

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Church, no theological writer has denied its possibility. The most ultra of Calvinists admit that some infants, dying in infancy, are saved, and as we have already seen, the Westminster Confession assumes that these are "regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, which worketh when, where, and how he pleaseth." Even Luther, who contended that no soul can be saved without faith, contrived to satisfy his own mind with the incomprehensible notion that "a certain beginning of faith, which, nevertheless, is the work of God, exists in infants, according to their measure and proportion, of which we are ignorant."

Our author's position is thus defined:

> We are fully aware of the difficulty of reasoning, or of using analogies in a subject which, like this, loses itself in inscrutable mysteries of psychology, and hence we venture only to the extent of what we deem the beaten path of exegesis. We offer no dogma beyond these simple truths: 1. That children are in a state of salvation through the atonement; 2. That the effect of redeeming love to them is direct, and not dependent upon any outward ordinance; 3. That it is not merely legal and nominal, but, being expressed in such words as *justification*, *justification of life*, *righteousness*, *illumination*, *membership in the kingdom of heaven*, there must also be a moral effect wrought upon them. The extent, manner, and nature of this moral effect we are not called upon to assert, are not able to explain, cannot explain it even in adults; but we hold that it has the efficacy to restore children to the favor and kingdom of God.—Page 188.

Alluding to it again in the preface, he remarks:

> A dispute about words I decline. The meaning intended will be best understood by a candid and close reading of the argument. If the word *regeneration* is to be used at all in reference to the moral state of infants, it is to be used only in that qualified sense. I have given it in chapter four. We do not, however, recommend the use of the term in this application, because, being true only in a qualified or elemental sense, it would be liable to misapprehension and abuse.

With every statement made, save one, every Methodist will cordially agree without hesitation. We believe with all our heart, and soul, and mind, and strength, that the atonement avails for little children, for all of them, placing them in the divine favor, and constituting them heirs of the kingdom of God. If they die in infancy, it secures their eternal salvation. If they live, they enter upon accountable life, the recipients of

Divine grace, not the children of wrath, but the "prisoners of hope." But we confess a doubt in regard to the third item, which speaks of the "moral effect" wrought in children by virtue of the atonement. Viewing the matter from our author's own standpoint, it is certainly unwise to affirm that all infants are regenerate. Dr. Hibbard himself says that the term is not applicable to them in the same sense in which it applies to a believing adult. Assuming this, it is clear that we ought not to confuse language by needlessly applying the same term to different things. To take a word or phrase familiar to the public ear, and attempt to fix upon it a "qualified sense," is to court misapprehension and misrepresentation. "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor's landmark." Let us not clip the current coin of the realm, even if we try to repair the evil by putting on it our individual stamp to show how much it has been shorn of its original value.

Again, who can tell how far the power of God, dealing with little children in their unconscious infancy, purifies, renews, transforms them into the divine image? Who knows that all infants are truly regenerate, that the work done in them is such as to warrant the use of the term? Dr. Hibbard argues that there can be no valid title to heaven without a fitness for it, that children have this title, and, therefore, must be "new creatures" in order to be fit for it. Yet he says in so many words:

> This grace changes their legal and moral condition so as to render them fit for and entitled to eternal life, *but does* not remove their natural depravity. . . . As in the regenerated adult, it leaves them with a fallen nature, which, of itself, would lead them away from God.—Page 156.

If the seeds of corruption may remain in the regenerate adult, to chill devotion, and perpetuate spiritual conflict, and he yet enjoy a title to heaven, where is the proof that in the case of the infant, where depravity is dormant and inoperative, the work of purification must be even begun before the child can be an heir of the kingdom? If we do not need dying grace till we are about to die, wherefore do we need before its hour grace to live accountable life or fit us for heavenly existence? To those who die in infancy, there will come a renewal which will wholly fit them for heaven. To those who

live, there will come preventing grace at the very dawn of moral intelligence. Dying or living, the infant sustains the same relation to the divine law, and has the same title to heaven as the believer; and what more need we know, either for curiosity or for consolation? The fact is that when we reason from the word of God in regard to the relation which infants sustain to the atonement and the economy of grace, we are like Hopeful in the dark river, we "feel the bottom and it is good." But when we undertake to infer when and in what way the work of the Holy Spirit must be wrought, we are "in wandering mazes lost." That no one whose eternal doom is not yet fixed is wholly surrendered to the dominion of his inborn depravity we can readily believe. We also admit that God may impart a gracious influence to the soul of an unconscious infant. At the same time we feel that there is a limit to knowledge in this direction, and the area of certainty is not large. Therefore, as Dr. Hibbard disclaims all anxiety in regard to the word "regenerate" in this discussion, and affirms that it can be applied to infants only in a "qualified or rudimental sense," he will agree with us in the opinion that it is clearly inexpedient to disturb the current use of the term by a new application of it, especially in view of the fact that the work of the Holy Spirit in the soul is a mystery too deep for us to fathom. It is enough to know that God loves little children; that the atonement, with its fullness of grace, reaches them; and that, until they forfeit it by voluntary transgression and rejection of divine mercy, they have a divine pledge of all needed help, and inward working of the Spirit for preparation or for strength.

The second topic indicated, the relation of little children to the Church, is one of no small interest. Our author defines his position thus:

> Here is no hyperbole, no exaggeration, no strong language that needs to be pared down and qualified till it suits the sentiments of a remiss or worldly Church; but a literal and glorious declaration of the Head of the Church, a command to NOW recognize them as legitimate members of the spiritual commonwealth.—Page 210.
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> But an impression often obtains that the Church membership of an infant differs somehow essentially from the Church membership of an adult believer; that after reaching responsible years, the believing disciple who was baptized in infancy still requires

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> another process for admission into the Church proper; that baptism, indeed, unites to the covenant, but some other condition is required for uniting with the Church. The difficulty seems to be in determining what relation a baptized child holds to denominational communion. Does baptism confer the full immunities of denominational Church life? In answering this question, we must state that all creeds, symbols of faith, forms of Church government, or special covenant obligations, such as denominational branches of the catholic Church may adopt, are only their views of Scripture doctrine and duty, and are applied only as prudential tests of fitness for adult membership. . . . These denominational tests do not have the effect to admit the person to a new Church different from that to which the baptized child belongs, but only to supply an adequate test of adult membership in the old Church, the catholic, New Testament, Abrahamic Church. Such test becomes requisite only upon a new condition of the candidate, namely, a condition of personal responsibility. The fitness and Church rights of the child during childhood are determined on other grounds. But in either case, the Church is the same. If denominational ecclesiasticism assumes a higher ground than this, it does so by usurpation against the spirit and intent of the Church charter.
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> We say, therefore, that the child, though admitted to the same Church of the adult believer, and entitled to all the rights and privileges which its age and capacity require, yet, upon reaching responsible years, should answer for itself, *pro forma*, and before the Church, touching all fundamental points of doctrine, and for the obligations of its baptism and Church covenant. . . . In the one case the child had a right of membership vesting in him through the unconditional grace of the atonement; in the other, the same right is perpetuated on condition of obedience, faith, and confession.—Pages 211, 212.

It is a matter of importance to the Church, that we adopt the true scriptural theory in regard to the relation which infants sustain to it. Whether an infant, as such, is to be accounted an actual member of the local organization, seems, indeed, a thing of small moment; but it assumes significance when we consider that whatever the relation is, it remains in full force until the child having attained the age of accountability, necessitates by his own action a change of that relation. In defining his ecclesiastical status there is danger on either hand. If the child upon whose mind religious truth begins to dawn finds himself repelled from the Church, on account of something in him of which he is not conscious, and which he does not understand, evil is done. If he is made to feel that there is no place for him among the people of God until he undergoes certain spiritual processes of which his age renders

him incapable, he will conclude, logically too, that nothing remains for him to do at present but to live on in sin and condemnation. A very little child will see that he is under no obligation to attempt impossibilities. If he finds, from the language of his teachers, that they have no expectation of his being a Christian now, he will cease to try or to hope to be one. Nor will it help the difficulty very materially for parents, and pastor, and Sabbath-school teacher to refrain from revealing to the child their views of the case. Silence is often more significant than speech. If those to whom he looks for instruction think that he cannot now serve God acceptably, he will be very sure to find it out. He will feel it, too, in the depths of his soul, sometimes trembling at the dire necessity, sometimes contemplating it with a sense of relief as a furlough from duty, an opportunity to try "the pleasures of sin for a season."

And can this be true? Does childhood belong to sin, as infancy belongs to God? Between the gracious state of the unconscious babe and the peace and blessedness of the believer, must there of necessity stretch a dreary wilderness of wasted years, a very region and shadow of death? Is it a part of some inexorable plan of the Author of life, that in our journey to the promised rest we must toil over a wide and flinty desert, where is no rain, nor dew, nor running stream, nor springing grass, nor shadowing tree, a solitude of silence and desolation? We cannot accept any theory which involves conclusions so utterly at variance with the whole tenor of the Gospel of the Son of God.

But, on the other hand, to assure little children that they are already members of this or that Church seems almost equally objectionable. The plan of birthright memberships is very apt to be ruinous to spirituality and holy living. It is burdened with embarrassments without number. If children from the hour of their birth or their baptism are accounted members of the local Church, when will you subject them to regular Church discipline? At what age, and on what conditions, will you admit them to the table of the Lord? If we take the position that they are not amenable to Church law, nor to be admitted to the eucharist till they give satisfactory evidence of true piety, their membership becomes a merely

nominal thing, a shadow, a nullity. If you decide to admit them to the sacrament, except where open sin shows that the child has lost the grace imparted in infancy, who shall sit in judgment on the question of moral fitness? Some boys of seven or eight years of age will fight, and lie, and swear. Will you invite them, or even suffer them to come to the sacramental table? Certainly not. Will you arraign them before the Church for trial? Will you admit or exclude the evidence of other boys of eight years? If the fond mother appears for the defense, and contradicts the testimony that has been given against her darlings, declaring with tearful or blazing eyes that she is confident that *her* children never do such things, how will you dispose of the question of fact? How deeply will you investigate the question of mental development? When you arraign two boys of the same age for the same offense, and decide that the one may still be admitted to the sacrament because he knew no better, while the other, being more mature in mind, must be excluded, will you be able to explain your verdict to the satisfaction of both families? Will not the parents of the one cry out against your partiality, and say that your action would not be what it is if they were not poor, and the others rich? Will not the others arise in measureless indignation and withdraw from the Church, because you have formally declared that their boy is not as bright as their neighbor's? To assume that little children, by virtue of their birth or their baptism, are members of the local organization, is either to establish a thing in words, and make it nothing in reality, or to found a Church whose ranks will be liable to be filled up with members without spirituality or even outward correctness of life; members who are scarce "under the law," to say nothing of grace. It is not uncharitable toward those Churches which have tried the birthright principle, to say that it has not worked well for the cause of true piety.

We confess a doubt in regard to our author's meaning on one important point. He says:

> Children are related to the Church spiritually, really, vitally. When our Lord said, "of such is the kingdom of heaven," he affirmed a spiritual relation. He did not predicate their membership in his kingdom of the simple fact of their baptism, or their circumcision, but of their being redeemed children. Their relation to the "kingdom" arose from their relation to the King, and it

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applied to all children as such. If children have a spiritual relation to Christ, their relation to his Church is that of spiritual members. Baptism is only the sign and seal of membership; the spiritual relation, which is the real one, precedes the emblematic and the conventional, and is the moral ground of the latter.—Page 209.

Now we believe this most firmly. But if children, with or without baptism, are spiritual members of the Church of Christ, baptism does not create, but merely recognizes that membership. This too we believe, and so does our author. Our book of Discipline inculcates the same view: "We hold that all children, by virtue of the unconditional benefits of the atonement, are members of the kingdom of God, and therefore graciously entitled to baptism."—*Discipline*, p. 38. Three centuries ago, Henry Bullinger, one of the first reformers, stated the thought thus: "To be short, [we baptize infants] because we believe that God of his mere grace and mercy in the blood of Jesus Christ hath cleansed and adopted them, and appointed them to be heirs of eternal life. We therefore, baptizing infants for these causes, do abundantly testify that there is not first given unto them in baptism, but that there is sealed and confirmed which they had before." (Quoted by Dr. H., p. 167.) But what is that membership which baptism does not create, but recognizes? Only one answer can be given: it is a membership in the great Church of Christ which is composed of those, and those alone, whose names are "written in heaven" as the heirs of life. But the infant before baptism was not a Methodist, a Presbyterian, nor an Episcopalian; and as baptism only recognizes that which already existed, the rite does not make him a member of any local organization. Dr. Hibbard, if we do not mistake his meaning, labors to establish some kind of a membership in the local Church to which the child's parents belong, or where it was baptized. We think that when the child arrives at years of understanding, and gives evidence of genuine piety and of a willingness to comply with Church rules, he may claim a place among the people of God; and so he might had he been a heathen, and cast upon the Church an unbaptized foundling. In either case he has no real membership in the Methodist Church, or any other, till he has satisfied the proper authorities in regard to his loyalty to the fundamental doctrines and the discipline of the Church.

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Our theory may be stated thus: There is a general Church of Christ, composed of all who have through grace a title to heaven. Some of these are believers; others are little children too young to be required to believe, yet in a state of salvation because Jesus died for them, and they have not forfeited the grace bestowed. All who are now in a state of acceptance with God really belong to this body, whether their names are enrolled in Church registers or not. All not in a state of acceptance are not members of this general Church, however high their names may stand on the earthly records. The denominations are related to the general Church much as the army stands in relation to the state. They are the regiments of the Church militant, the organizations of those who are able to bear arms, and who are banded together for discipline, for safety, and for duty. When the patriot father goes to the field, the infant which he leaves at home is as truly a member of the state as he is himself; but where would be the gain if we call the son a soldier now, when he can neither drill, nor march, nor fight, when military discipline is inapplicable, and military duty impossible? If we put down his name on the roster his place there is purely nominal, and the whole proceeding useless.

So in regard to infants in the Church. They are citizens of the heavenly state, and may in time be its warriors. But at this present hour they can bear no part in the operations of the Church; they cannot adopt its faith; they cannot be subject to its laws; their spiritual safety as infants is in no wise dependent on its organization. When their reason dawns the Church will have a high and holy duty to perform, in teaching them the things of God. They are members of the "general assembly and Church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven." But to enroll them in infancy as members of the Methodist or any other Church would either create a nominal and therefore useless membership, or else, by conferring a real one so far as ecclesiastical law can do it, load the Church down with manifold embarrassments, and surround it with dangers to its spirituality and efficiency.

The Discipline of our Church goes as far in this direction as we can go scripturally and safely. In defining the relation of baptized children to the Church, it declares that before their

baptism they were "members of the kingdom of God," and that by their baptism they are "placed in visible covenant relation to God, and under the special care and supervision of the Church." It then asks the question, "What shall be done for the baptized children of our Church?" The answer explains the whole force and value of the relation which the Church assigns them. 1. Their names are to be carefully registered.

> 2. At the age of ten years or earlier, the preacher in charge shall organize the baptized children of the Church into classes, and appoint suitable leaders, (male or female,) whose duty it shall be to meet them in class once a week, and instruct them in the nature, design, and obligations of baptism, and the truths of religion necessary to make them "wise unto salvation;" urge them to give regular attendance upon the means of grace; advise, exhort, and encourage them to an immediate consecration of their hearts and lives to God, and inquire into the state of their religious experience; *provided, that children unbaptized are not to be excluded from these classes.*
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> 3. Whenever they shall have attained an age sufficient to understand the obligations of religion, and shall give evidence of a desire to flee from the wrath to come and to be saved from their sins, their names may, with their consent, be enrolled on the list of probationers; and if they shall continue to give evidence of a principle and habit of piety, they may be admitted into full membership in our Church, on the recommendation of a leader with whom they have met at least six months in class, by publicly assenting before the Church to the baptismal covenant, and also the usual questions on doctrine and discipline.—*Disc.*, pp. 39, 40.

These provisions for our children and youth are eminently wise and scriptural. Classes are to be formed for the especial benefit of the "baptized children of the Church;" and the language of the Discipline assumes that they will attend, as a thing of course. We imagine, however, that when the plan becomes incorporated into the regular operations of our Churches, it will soon be found that attendance is a voluntary thing on the part of the child. It is clear that parental authority may be rightly exercised to prevent neglect of the public worship of God, or of the Sabbath school; nevertheless it is not so clear that it will be wise to compel the child, willing or unwilling, to attend the new class.

Advice, exhortation, earnest entreaty may be in place; but mere authority is of doubtful utility in the case. Practically, the disciplinary arrangement will assume this shape: classes

will be formed, and *all* the children of the Sabbath-school and the congregation will be invited to attend, and "encouraged to make an entire consecration of their hearts and lives to God." Conversing with each member of the class, the leader is to learn "the state of their religious experience," and instruct, warn, and encourage, as individual cases require. Those whose declarations and whose lives give "evidence of a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins," become eligible to the preliminary Church membership of probation. Desiring to take this additional step, they are received as probationers, and according to universal usage among us, as we understand it, are admitted to the sacrament of baptism if not previously baptized, and to the table of the Lord. Nevertheless, they are not yet members of the Church in the full sense of the term, but are merely accepted as hopeful candidates for that relation. Employing all the means of grace to which access is thus given them, and continuing faithful to God and their duty "for at least six months" longer, "giving evidence of a principle and habit of piety," they are eligible to full membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

We hold that these provisions of the Discipline are wise and right, in perfect accordance with the spirit of the Gospel, and in the highest degree calculated to foster early piety. Thus the whole attitude of the Church toward the child is one of invitation and encouragement; the privileges given meet every need and every desire of the awakening mind, and at the same time the heart is not lulled into a false rest by a virtual assurance that the work of grace is already completed, however unconscious the soul may be of the fact. For the youngest lamb of the flock a warm fold is prepared. The smallest child whose heart is touched by the Spirit of God finds a hearty welcome and guidance and protection, and a plain path leading to a full participation in all the privileges of God's people. At every step "the Spirit and the Bride," and he "that heareth, say, Come." And we doubt whether more than this can be done, without danger of making membership in the Church a matter of birthright or of baptism, irrespective of a genuine experience in the things of God. Certainly we ought to do no less.

But the chief good that we hope for from Dr. Hibbard's book, is the stirring up of Christian parents, and the Church generally, to seek more earnestly than ever the salvation of the children, and to cultivate with more of faith and hope the earliest indications of religious thought and feeling among them. No one that reads it will fail to feel more deeply our obligations to encourage them to serve God in their childhood. The Sabbath-school and the religious training of the family circle are too often conducted with the expectation of seeing the fruits not now, but hereafter. Sowing upon the waters and gathering after many days has been the favorite figure. The husbandman, with his "long patience," waiting for the early and the latter rain, has been our oft-quoted exemplar. Indeed, there are many cases to which these passages apply, and where they furnish much needed encouragement. But have we not too often assumed virtually, especially when teaching young children, that there is little or no hope of reaping a present harvest? Why may not a very little child be truly religious? An infant whose age is a single twelvemonth, is capable both of feeling and of manifesting confidence, love, and the spirit of obedience; and these elements of character and conduct, elevated, deepened, purified, centered on God, constitute true piety. God is unseen, and, therefore, piety toward him cannot exist as early as do reverence and love for parents. The child must be taught. It must acquire a knowledge of that which lies beyond the range of the eye, the ear, the hand. The mind must be put in possession of the great idea of God, his being, his works, his attributes, his attitude toward men, before the heart can love. Consequently there must be some knowledge of the signification of words, in order that these great first truths may be learned. Yet the child scarcely emerges from infancy before he becomes capable of receiving the elements of this knowledge; and just as soon as he acquires even a dim and shadowy conception of the infinite idea, he may know and feel that it is his duty to believe, love, and obey, and in his heart may yield to the demand. His duty toward his earthly father shows him the nature of his duty toward his Father in heaven. The same faith, love, obedience, centered on the divine instead of the human, constitute true piety, and place the soul in communion with God.

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In the one case, it is as a vine trailing on the ground, and clinging to objects on a level with itself; in the other it is the same vine, twined about its true support, and with every day's growth rising higher into the sunbeams and the summer breeze. The faith, the love, the obedience of the adult Christian will be more intelligent and less imperfect than the child's; but who shall say that they are, therefore, less real, or less acceptable to God? When the father returns home after a week's absence, his children do not all greet him in the same way. The daughter of twenty years meets him with intelligent words and with a face beaming with pleasure. The boy of six or eight years rushes up to him with a noisy shout of childish rapture. The infant of a year has no words of welcome, nothing but a smile, an inarticulate murmur of joy, and a feeble pressure of two little arms about his neck. But who shall tell which is the most acceptable to him who receives these tokens of love? The child of six years has a deeper, more intelligent, abiding affection than the infant; the daughter of twenty excels the boy of six as much as he excels the infant; but the parental heart responds to each and all with the same fullness of happiness. And so to our great Father above, the lofty adoration of the thoughtful sage, the ardent devotion of impulsive youth, and the wondering reverence and timid awe of the little child, may be equally acceptable.

Have we not been slow to believe this? Have we not by our neglect, our unbelief, our silence, when we ought to have spoken words of cheer, suffered many a beautiful opening germ of piety to be blasted? Has not many an infant soul heard in the darkness of its own scanty knowledge, like the child Samuel of old, a divine voice, and wist not that it was God speaking to him? And have we not been so unbelieving, or so unmindful of spiritual indications, that unlike Eli, we failed to perceive that "the Lord had called the child?"

To at least the superficial observer, it seems as if even some pious parents take it for granted that Satan has a sort of preemption right to the soul of a child; and that religion is so foreign to it, that the young immortal is capable of attaining enormous heights of wickedness long before conversion is at all possible. We all admit that the undeveloped intellect and scanty knowledge of the child do not prevent him from acting

out the sinner at a very early period, nor prevent his falling into condemnation for his own acts; but the misfortune is, that we seem to assume that it must be so, that the child must of necessity live for years under the dominion of depravity; that a child's profession of repentance and faith must be regarded with great suspicion, and weighed in a very nice balance; and that as a rule, from fifteen to eighteen years of life must be lost before religious experience is reliable. This error, whether theoretical or practical, is prolific in evil results. Wherever it exists, it prevents parents from seeking the early conversion of their children; and worst of all, the child gets the impression that he is not expected to be religious till some years hence, and so shakes off serious thoughts and quenches the Spirit. But are not the heart and the intellect which are capable of sin, also capable of obedience? Must grace always of necessity take souls at second hand, worn and rent in the service of the world, the flesh, and the devil? Some insects spend a good portion of their brief lives as unseemly grubs, blind, ravenous, reveling in loathsome food, before the eyes open and the wings start. Must the immortal soul of man thus surrender the precious years of early youth to blindness and spiritual death, because nothing else is possible? No, we cannot admit it. No part of human life is given up of God to the dominion of Satan. God claims as his own every hour of our existence. Depravity may show itself very early, and so may divine grace. The one is as prompt to lift toward heaven, as the other is to drag downward toward hell. The child who is old enough to be capable of sinning, is also capable of repenting and believing. But they who repent and believe are forgiven, and become children of God and heirs of the kingdom. He who is old enough to be a sinner, is old enough to be a Christian. Consequently there need be no interval of sin and condemnation between the gracious state of the unconscious infant and the acceptance of the believer; for in the same hour that the child becomes capable of forfeiting, by sin, his first title to heaven, he becomes capable of attaining another by faith in the Son of God.

In his seventh chapter, our author, on the principle that facts are the best arguments by which to sustain a theory, cites numerous examples of genuine piety in very early life. The

childhood of Christ is adduced as a type of what we should hope and pray for in all our children. Samuel, Timothy, Polycarp, Origen, with others of more modern times, are brought forward as examples. Of these, the most striking case, because most definite in regard to age, is that of Polycarp. When ninety years of age, being threatened with death for his religion, and yet offered his life if he would renounce it by cursing Christ, he replied to his persecutors, "Eighty and six years have I served him, and he hath done me nothing but good, and how could I curse him, my Lord and Saviour? If you would know what I am, I tell you frankly, I am a Christian." At four years of age, therefore, he began the Christian life. Our author's list of examples might be very easily enlarged. Old Fox, in his Book of Martyrs, gives one instance which ought not to be forgotten. At Antioch, in November, in the year 303, a little boy was seized for the crime of confessing Christ and speaking against idols. When the question was put to him by the furious persecutor, "Who taught you this?" he replied, "My mother, with whose milk I drank in this lesson, that I must believe in Christ." This child was scourged till even the heathen spectators wept; yet he bore it all without a murmur. He smiled when the executioner tore the scalp from his head, and died clinging to the blessed truths of the Gospel, which his pious mother had taught him. Was he not a Christian? Yet the historian tells us that he was only seven years old.

In his "Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in Northampton," which occurred in 1735, Jonathan Edwards remarks that "God in his work has shown a remarkable regard to little children. Never was there such a glorious work among persons in their childhood." During this revival, religious meetings were held by the children, who themselves conducted the exercises. Mr. Edwards approved of these meetings, and in his volume defended them, declaring that many of these children had "more of that knowledge and wisdom that please God, than many of the great and learned men of the world." He relates at considerable length the experience of Phœbe Bartlett, a little girl of four years and four months of age, who, after many prayers, and many seasons of weeping, could at last say with a joyous countenance, "The kingdom of God is

come to me," and who served God sixty-five years, and then "fell on sleep." Who is not ready to conclude, as did Edwards, after he had witnessed these things, that "there is not so much difference, before God, between children and grown persons as we are apt to imagine?" Dr. Hoge, of Virginia, who died many years ago, was accustomed to declare that "*he could not remember the time when he did not love the Lord.*" Blessed experience! Would that all the children of praying parents might share it.

In conclusion, we wish to repeat the declaration that we deem Dr. Hibbard's book an able discussion of one of the most important themes which the modern Church is called to consider. The volume is worthy to be read by every Christian parent. The subject demands earnest attention and careful study on the part of those who minister in holy things, and who desire to be workmen that need not to be ashamed, and to them we commend this volume. Differing with the author, perhaps, in regard to the application of a technical term, or in some theoretical point, they cannot but admire the religious spirit, the patient research, the thoughtfulness, the earnestness, the love for God, the Church, and souls, apparent on every page, nor will they fail to find much to quicken their own zeal, and guide them in the performance of their own duty to the most attractive and promising portion of the Gospel field.

Art. VI.—THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

The Genuine Works of Hippocrates, translated from the Greek, with a Preliminary Discourse and Annotations. By Francis Adams, LL. D., Surgeon. In two volumes, pp. 872. London: Printed for the Sydenham Society. 1849.

Professional life has a tendency to withdraw those devoted to it from sympathy with the general community, by absorbing their attention in interests exclusively their own. This is evident, particularly from the literature, both permanent and periodical, belonging to each of the professions. Few but clergymen read the profoundest theological books; a large

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majority of the subscribers to theological reviews are clergymen, and still fewer but physicians and lawyers respectively read the strictly professional legal and medical works. While this is, perhaps, to a degree inevitable, from the shortness of life and the demand of each profession upon its members, yet it cannot be doubted that serious misunderstandings, misappreciations, and under-estimations of each other arise from extreme exclusiveness. The noblest thinkers in all generations have not submitted to the trammels of any profession. Their horizon has embraced the universal field of thought. No man can properly see a part who does not glance over the whole. Bacon was almost as familiar with medicine and theology as with his own profession; such men as Cuvier, Boerhaave, and Sir Humphrey Davy would never have been heard of beyond their immediate neighborhood had they been mere physicians; Sir Isaac Newton was as deeply interested in theology as in astronomy; Jonathan Edwards was a metaphysician and a close observer of nature before he was a divine, while the ablest of divines in all ages have endeavored to make themselves as familiar with the works and words of man as with the works and word of God. Moses Stuart attributed his success as a defender of orthodoxy to his familiarity with the German language, but though he knew it not, it was more the result of his early training as a lawyer; while such men as Whately and Hitchcock, and others of their kind in our own day, exhibit the good effects of the habits of study indicated by the proverb which Dr. Adam Clarke made his life motto: "Through desire a man having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom."

We hope yet to see some of the universally applicable subjects of legal and medical science presented in our theological reviews, from a religious standpoint, as frequently the profoundest subjects of morals and religion are discussed with more or less ability in our medical and legal writings, and too often from an anti-religious standpoint.

By a time-honored custom, amounting to common consent, three leading professions in the realm of practical investigation are acknowledged as the indispensable supporters of Christian civilization: Theology, Medicine, and Law. Each can trace a history up to remote antiquity. All are blended in the

earliest developments of society, each assumes its separate foundations and limitations as civilization becomes more matured.

Civilization properly has regard principally to the state. Civilized human beings are united by a social compact. They are protected and developed by laws adopted by common consent. Without these restrictions, human beings are loose fibers shaken by the wind, or promiscuously gathered into irregular knots, decaying often into rubbish; with them, they are twisted into ropes or cables, and woven into fabrics that seem to have almost an organic life. Thus China has had a low order of civilization from earliest times. India has had several successive and many rival inferior civilizations. Ancient Egypt was civilized, and so are modern Mohammedan communities, after a fashion. Greece was civilized in several distinct and successive types. Rome had the grandest and most powerful social organization of ancient times; in compactness, majesty, extent, and unity, never surpassed. Indeed, its body of law still holds the people of several nations together.

In all of these the medical profession was in a nascent and rudimentary state. Physiology and the healing art suffered from two defects, the want of science and the want of Christianity. The prodigal waste of human life and of human comfort, therefore, was immense.

In ancient Greece physicians were a separate class of men, well educated and useful, according to their standard; and they suffered less than any other class of scholars from the defects of the Aristotelian philosophy, and the want of that system of inductive reasoning which was afterward so ably developed under the influence of the Christian spirit by Bacon, and on which, more than on any other, the true art of medicine is based.

In that knowledge of the human body, which can be acquired by the patient study of the external form, the Greek physicians excelled; in an empirical acquaintance with gymnastics and the regimen requisite for strength, agility, and beauty, they certainly were eminent; but of all that close and minute acquaintance with the internal organism, and with the forces working in it, that constitutes modern medical science, they were almost totally ignorant. No one can notice the

allusions to physicians in the Dialogues of Plato, for instance, without perceiving that some of the profound maxims of modern medicine were well known then, and that in the art of developing and invigorating the healthy man more was demanded then than now; and in the nursing of the feeble, and in the treatment of the diseased, the Greek physicians were far from being unskilled.

In one place Plato remarks that "skillful physicians, when one comes to them with a pain in the eyes, do not attempt to cure the eyes alone, but they attend to the head, and not the head alone, but the whole body."* But he soon after adds an expression which betrays the measureless inferiority of the ancient philosophers to the moderns in accurate observation: "The Thracian physicians are reported to render men immortal." This simple remark betrays the great defect of ancient science, the want of care in *collecting and scrutinizing facts.* They did not discriminate between rumors and realities. They spun beautiful theories out of their own brains, they had too little careful study of science. Literature they had, poetry, oratory, logic; in arts they excelled, such as architecture, painting, sculpture; even in some material forms of industry they were eminently superior, such as the making of roads, aqueducts, and bridges. But their philosophy was fanciful and theoretical, and often led them to slight the patient study of facts. Nevertheless this charge is not applicable to all of their medical writers. Medicine in Greece was regarded as an art rather than a department of philosophy, and this, though a degradation at the time, was really a great advantage. Practical arts must be cultivated on the inductive system. As has been well remarked by Macaulay: "The inductive method has been practiced ever since the beginning of the world by every human being. It is constantly practiced by the most ignorant clown, by the most thoughtless school-boy, by the very child at the breast. That method leads the clown to the conclusion, that if he sows barley he shall not reap wheat. By that method the school-boy learns that a cloudy day is the best for catching trout."

All this is undeniably true. Even "clowns," or *coloni,* (etymologically the same,) if such people do in England sow

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* Platonis Charmides.

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barley, must exercise the rudiments of observation, though many generations of them have believed that wheat changes into chess, and that the moon "changes" exactly four times in every revolution around the earth, and wonderfully affects the weather just then, and that it would be very foolish to sow seeds or cut timber without reference to her lunar majesty, all of which, and numerous other like baseless notions, show that clownish induction is a very unsafe guide, and that it is a great pity that the philosophers of old had not come down from their misty fog-land of theory long enough to apply their well-trained intellects to the close scrutiny and classification of facts.

The devotees of medicine did attempt to do it. They did not claim to be philosophers, but honest, useful men. They were indeed originally the priests of a god, and used mummeries and incantations and the other enginery of superstition. But there was an element of close investigation from the beginning, which continued to grow, and the frippery of superstition to diminish, till in the writings of such men as Hippocrates, Aratæus the Cappadocian, and Celsus, you seek in vain for any hypotheses or recommendations betraying credulity or deception, or any logic less severe, or inductive less careful, than in the writings of Carpenter, Dunglison, Warren, or Payne. You will not find in Hippocrates so foolish an observation as the one above quoted from Plato: "The Thracian physicians are reported to render men immortal."

The works of Hippocrates alone demonstrate that the people from whom he sprang must have had a class of highly cultivated men, in many respects fully equal to the notions of modern Europe. It would be regarded as proof that the modern Greeks were fully equal to the ancient, if Greece should now produce so great a man as Hippocrates. He lived in an enlightened epoch, in a century fully equal to the famous nineteenth century of our Lord in its impress on the world. Indeed, considered in the simple light of truth, we have great reason to believe that twenty-five hundred years hence the fourth and fifth centuries before Christ will be justly regarded as superior in their influence upon coming time to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries after Christ. Then lived Confucius, the founder or moulder of Chinese society for thousands of years, and Zoroaster, of Persia, almost his equal;

then Rome was laying the foundations of her Republic, and beginning to assume the gristle of her strength. Then flourished the wonderful trio, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, the latter two of whom, shaped by their master, Socrates, swayed an intellectual scepter over Christian thought for nearly two thousand years, and still exert their wondrous power; and then lived and wrote Hippocrates, the "father of medicine." He too is fully worthy to be ranked with the greatest names of that great age.

Greece then was remarkable for her brain-power. Her philosophers had practically repudiated idolatry by their lately invented system of allegorizing the mythological absurdities. On her stage, the comedies of Aristophanes and his cotemporaries represented the gods and goddesses in so laughable and foolish actions, as to show that the populace, or at least "the middling classes," if the anachronism is allowable, were fast losing that unquestioning faith in mythology which Grote labors so hard to prove of the inhabitants of Greece. The philosophers believed either in a fate, the blind and soulless divinity which even yet Bible-denying philosophers like Spence seem to believe in, and were better men than their modern imitators, since they had not the great light to sin against, or they believed in a God governing the universe according to law as firmly even as modern Christians. The idols they believed in with more or less faith did not interfere with their theism any more than the Christian's belief in angels affects his reverence for the Supreme Being. Thus thought, confined to a small and exclusive aristocracy of thinkers, unaided by Christianity, was bringing about its best results, demonstrating at once its own great power and the need of a revelation. Plato, indeed, as is oft quoted, seemed to have arrived so far as to perceive the necessity for a revelation from God, and to earnestly desire it.

The hygienic, social and moral condition of the people was not described by any of these writers. Indeed, the ancients spoke of the people with none of that respect which Christianity has inspired. They were viewed in the mass, not even accurately numbered, and prized only as so much war material. It seems, however, to be universally conceded, that in all the heathen nations the primitive times were the best. There was

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a gradual depravation of manners. No wide-sweeping reforms are mentioned in their history. Idolatry had no "revivals" or "reformations." The people were not, however, universally depraved. Personal integrity and social purity were perhaps fully equal to what we see, on the average, in our own communities among that large portion of our population who make no profession of regard for the teachings of the Church. It may have been equal to the condition of some of the people of modern Europe.

One of the most remarkable institutions in Greece were "temples of health," or what might be termed hospitals, though we find no evidence that the poor and helpless were systematically admitted to them for medical treatment; and yet as these hospitals were religious temples, consecrated to the worship of Æsculapius, it may be reasonably doubted whether a suffering person would be excluded from refuge in them on account of poverty.

These Asclepia, or temples of health, were usually erected on elevated, salubrious spots, sometimes by mineral springs, or on the sea-shore, well furnished with baths, and were undoubtedly as numerous as hospitals are now in modern Christian nations.* Schulze, in his history of medicine, gives a list of sixty-four of these temples, and Sprengel maintains that the practice of medicine in them was consistent and scientific. Grote, referring to the *gens* or tribe of physicians who had charge of these temples at Trikku, Kos, Knidus, Epidaurus, and many other places in Greece, remarks that there can be no doubt that their means of medical observation must have been largely extended by their vicinity to temples so much frequented by the sick, who came in confident hopes of divine relief, and who, while they offered up sacrifice and prayer to Æsculapius, and slept in the temple in order to be favored with healing suggestions in their dreams, might, in case the god withheld his supernatural aid, consult his living descendants, the physicians.†

The people undoubtedly attributed their cures largely to the god, but the physicians who gave the medicines and took their

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* See Xenophon's Memorabilia, iii, 13. Also Pausanias, ii, 2.

† Grote's History of Greece, part i, chapter ix. London edition, 1851, vol. i, pp. 250.

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pay out of sacrificial offerings soon learned that the cure depended upon their skill and faithfulness.

Hippocrates enjoyed all the advantages of a medical superintendent of a large hospital. He was the most noted physician in the famous temple of health at Cos. Here, on this small and beautiful island, enjoying the salubrious breezes from the ocean, prescribing for patients who resorted to the splendid temple of Æsculapius, he seems to have spent all of his long life, except the intervals that he devoted to travel, that he might improve his professional skill by observation and conversation with other eminent men.

He was trained as a physician from his boyhood. He lost no time in studying other languages, living or dead; he simply extended his researches into science and philosophy, as the demands of his profession seemed to require, and as the library connected with the temple, and the scholars who from time to time resorted to it for rest and the renewing of their health, afforded him opportunity. The Asclepiadæ or physicians had noted down with care the cases of sickness that had come before them, and the means resorted to for cure, and the result. These Hippocrates studied. He availed himself also of the information of the *periodentæ* or traveling physicians, who in those days itinerated, each with his iatrium, or store of drugs and surgical instruments. That there were skillful physicians and good medical writers before Hippocrates, the "father of medicine," what reasonable man can doubt? It is true the works of none are extant. So, too, where is the poetry that preceded Homer? Where is the philosophy that preceded Plato? Where is the logic that preceded Aristotle? To suppose that these men flashed up as meteors, with the permanency of stars, is contrary to reason, and to the ordinary course of nature. Socrates is represented by Xenophon as expressly stating that medical works were numerous in his time, and in one of the treatises attributed to Hippocrates the same fact is mentioned. He himself writes of "Ancient Medicine," attributing the origin of the profession not to Æsculapius or Apollo, but to the efforts naturally made by reasonable men to improve their diet by observation, both in health and sickness. Hygiene was, in the opinion of Hippocrates, the mother of medicine. Two of the works attributed to him by many writers, the First

Book of Prorrhetics, and the Coan Prognostics, were undoubtedly written before his time, and were a part of the library which he was accustomed to study.

Mercifully, perhaps, much of the past has perished. Even Solomon could exclaim, "of making many books there is no end," though of the volumes that called forth the remark not one is now extant. But for the art of printing, and but for such associations as Historical Societies, antiquarians, etc., how long would the Anglo-Saxon and English poems that preceded Milton, and the works that formed the foundation of the stories of Shakspeare, abide? Spenser and Chaucer even, to say nothing of the hundreds of minor writers, would soon shrink into a sentence, or effloresce into a few poetical myths. The past cannot be reproduced. The picture we have of it must be largely fanciful, though in its day filled with fact.

The writings of Hippocrates undoubtedly had many rivals for the esteem of the profession in their day. They have perished; his abide. Whether merit, chance, or Providence has saved them, none can tell. We may naturally infer the former. His writings deserve all the eulogy they generally receive. None can read them without admiring his candor, breadth of view, science, and sound judgment. Dr. Francis Adams, himself an eminent medical practitioner, as well as author, says, "I verily believe him to be the highest exemplar of professional excellence which the world has ever seen." Indeed, it would be difficult to point out what in him was wanting.

The works of Hippocrates consist of sixteen tracts or treatises, varying in length from about a single octavo page to a hundred pages, in all constituting perhaps a volume of five hundred pages as large as those of this Review. Written in a singularly concise style, containing observations professing to be based entirely on fact, it would be difficult to find a modern treatise of the size exhibiting a sounder judgment or a more patient study of facts. Besides these are several other treatises, attributed to Hippocrates on the same principle that anonymous witticisms always cluster about the names of famous wits. His genuine works are enough for the glory of one man, and the others, many of them being worthy of his reputation, only demonstrate

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the perfection of the medical profession in ancient Greece. In none of his writings do we detect any traces of superstition, though he lived in a temple consecrated to a heathen divinity. He even states of "the sacred disease," epilepsy, that "it appears to me to be nowise more divine nor more sacred than other diseases, but has a natural cause from which it originates like other affections." He argues at length against the practices of mountebanks and charlatans, who in those days pretended to have intercourse with the gods, and expresses incidentally his own opinion thus: "Neither truly do I count it a worthy opinion to hold that the body of man is polluted by God, the most impure by the most holy; for were it defiled, or did it suffer from any other thing, it would be like to be purified and sanctified rather than polluted by God. For it is the divinity which purifies and sanctifies the greatest of offenses and the most wicked, and which proves our protection from them."*

This same sentiment he also very clearly expresses in his hygienic treatise on Airs, Waters, and Places.†

It is remarkable that some of the most modern ideas and discoveries in the profession are foreshadowed in his writings. Even the fundamental principle of homeopathy, *similia similibus curantur*, is clearly laid down and illustrated in the treatise "On the Places in Man," which is attributed to Hippocrates by all ancient authorities. While, however, he recommends practice on this system in certain cases, he takes the ground of physicians generally, that these cases are few and exceptional, and that the proper method generally is to attack a disease with an antagonistic medicine.

Physicians in ancient Greece were a kind of clan, or *gens*, like the priesthood, bound to sustain their profession. This is illustrated by the oath which was written by Hippocrates, evidently to be sworn to by medical students. As an illustration of the ancient character of the profession it is worthy of preservation. It was as follows:

> I swear by Apollo the physician, and Æsculapius, and Health, and All-heal, and all the gods and goddesses, that according to my ability and judgment I will keep this oath and this stipulation—to reckon him who taught me this art equally dear to me as my

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* Vol. ii, p. 846.

† Vol. i, p. 216.

parents; to share my substance with him and relieve his necessities if required; to look upon his offspring in the same footing as my own brothers, and to teach them this art if they shall wish to learn it, without fee or stipulation; and that, by precept, lecture, and every other mode of instruction, I will impart a knowledge of the art to my own sons, and those of my teachers, and to disciples bound by a stipulation and oath according to the law of medicine, but to none others. I will follow that system of regimen which according to my ability and judgment I consider for the benefit of my patients, and abstain from whatever is deleterious and mischievous. I will give no deadly medicine to any one if asked, nor suggest any such counsel; and in like manner I will not give to a woman a pessary to produce abortion. With purity and with holiness I will pass my life and practice my art. I will not cut persons laboring under the stone, but will leave this to be done by men who are practitioners of this work. Into whatever houses I enter, I will go into them for the benefit of the sick, and will abstain from every voluntary act of mischief and corruption; and further, from the seduction of females or males, of freemen and slaves. Whatever, in connection with my professional practice, or not in connection with it, I see or hear in the life of men which ought not to be spoken of abroad, I will not divulge, as reckoning that all such should be kept secret.

While I continue to keep this oath unviolated, may it be granted to me to enjoy life and the practice of the art respected by all men in all times! But should I trespass and violate this oath, may the reverse be my lot!

Such was the theoretical standard of honor in the profession in Greece twenty-three hundred years ago. Such was the division of labor then that regular physicians did not perform the surgical operation of lithotomy, leaving that to a particular class of skilled performers, though the physician was to direct when the operation was necessary.

Hippocrates lived to the age of eighty-five years, dying in the year 370 B. C., having neither sought nor attained any honors outside of his profession. His work was too human, scientific, and precise to expose him, like Æsculapius and perhaps Apollo, once mere physicians like himself, to an apotheosis after death. His works live after him, and he has simply the high honor of being regarded as "the father of medicine," the first man who is known to have swept the whole field of the profession with a scientific eye, and an analytic and comprehensive mind. Though all that he learned may seem but small compared with the vast and minute researches of modern times, yet he constructed the very frame-work of the science,

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and all who follow him have but to enlarge and complete the edifice.

The great want of the profession in ancient times was a Christian principle in the community, in the general tone of thought and feeling, to fall upon for support and guidance. How could the profession be highly esteemed when idolatry embruted the ignorant, and philosophy justified to the intelligent infanticide, suicide, and unnatural vices, and questioned the propriety of rearing the feeble or making any effort to remove chronic complaints! A Christian civilization alone prizes human life. This also is the true basis of the healing art. The prime Christian idea, manward, is: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" and Christianity alone recognizes in every human being a neighbor, a person so precious that his life must never be sacrificed unless he has forfeited it by crime to the demands of general justice. This faith alone renders the medical profession a necessity. Let the doctrines of Malthus on population, and of Darwin on the struggle for existence, prevail, and physicians, as a whole, become a pest to the world. Of course physicians should not be influenced by this selfish consideration to decide against atheism, or a belief in a lifeless, soulless divinity, but should indorse only the truth; still it may be worthy of note that the test of Christ, "By their fruits ye shall know them," in this as in all other respects, demonstrates the truth of his religion.

Heathenism may have had her temples of Æsculapius thronged by the sick who could afford to reach them, supported by the voluntary offerings of the people; but if so, the benevolence was spasmodic, intermittent, and so inefficient as to be scarcely noticed in all her literature; and there can be no doubt that her feeble children were generally, as among savages, left to perish; old age was not tenderly provided for; the insane wandered about or were confined without systematic care; and the average length of human life was far lower than now. In these days, through medical science and the information of the people, and the tone of thinking and belief on these subjects due to the teachings of Christ, life is both improved and lengthened; human beings live more in the same time and also more time; and thus each one has a better and longer probation. The gigantic physical evils of society are exposed

and attacked; and though much remains to be done, the era of hope has succeeded the reign of despair.

The modern improvements of the profession are due principally to those modern institutions, medical schools. A thoroughly trained body of physicians cannot be obtained in any other way.

Solitary study would only betray the imbecility of one who should depend upon it. Study with a single preceptor will not usually make a full scholar. Single teachers are necessarily limited in views, and opinionated. Besides, every district of country has its peculiar nosology and therapeutics. What is applicable in one place is injurious in another. Nor can books supply the place of living teachers. Books are the petrified voices of past thoughts. They are at best photographic portraits; not men. They have but one expression. They make no reply when questioned. They are far more suggestive to friends, who have heard the voice, than to strangers. The mature mind may gather profit from them, by supplying deficiencies, correcting errors, rejecting falsehoods; but the immature are as often led by them into error as into truth. A book alone is a feeble thing without a living ministry.

The medical literature of modern times is rich and full, mostly the product of professors in medical schools, and of great use to those properly trained to understand it. Human life in all its stages, from conception to death, in all its infinite diversity and conflicts, has been studied more within the past one hundred years, in Christian countries, than ever before. While due credit is given to ancient times, it is only the truth to claim that the severe science of modern times and the enlightened Christian benevolence of the last two centuries, have together elevated the medical profession more, if possible, than the general average of society.

The medical profession in America has been compelled to struggle with peculiar evils, which it has creditably mastered, principally through the influence of medical schools. The political institutions of all Christian countries may be grouped into three grand divisions, each of which exerts a specific influence on the profession of medicine: Absolutism, Aristocracy, and Freedom. The first may be seen in such nations as Russia and Austria, the second in Great Britain and Germany, and

the last in our own country. Where absolutism prevails the training, character, privileges, and duties of a physician are fixed, and cannot be disregarded. Under the mixed system of aristocracy the power of the law is nearly as strong, and any deficiency is supplied by the omnipotent pressure of caste; and though quackery may be allowed to exist and even thrive, as in Great Britain, it must ever have the disgrace of open irregularity and vulgarity.

In the perfect freedom of the profession America stands alone among the great nations. The profession has therefore in this country peculiar obstacles and peculiar advantages. Whether on the whole it is better situated or not, is a question that will be answered largely according to the temperament of the inquirers. Viewed however in the serene light of impartiality, there can be little doubt that those who have the strongest faith in truth will decide that the greatest amount of liberty that men will properly use, and a little more to discipline them, is the best.

The medical profession in this country are obliged to depend upon their own merits. This has rendered them alert, energetic, enterprising. It has led them to the establishment of medical schools and associations and periodicals of a high character. That they have met with extraordinary success is universally conceded. The standard of the profession, and the character of original medical works in this country, are of the first rank.

It is questionable, however, whether the profession has not hitherto been too dignified and retiring, and has not neglected the proper means to make its claims understood by the whole community, and particularly by the other professions. Were they understood, could it be possible that clergymen, and in a very few instances lawyers, with their titles appended to their names, would recommend secret medicines—the most of which are either alcoholic mixtures seducing many into drunkenness, or dangerous drugs, or mere innoxious mixtures, to cheat the ignorant and suffering out of their money? The recommendation of quack medicines is a breach of courtesy to one of the most ancient, honorable, and philanthropic of the professions; a profession as old as that of the clergy, into which every irregular practitioner "has climbed up some other way" if he

claims connection with it; a profession bound by a traditional code of observances rigidly honorable to protect innocence and relieve suffering. When a true physician discovers, or thinks he has discovered some new remedy, or the hitherto latent cause of any malady, or any fact or principle bearing on his science or art, he does not, like an alchemist of the dark ages, bury his discovery in an anagram, nor, like an inventor, enter his caveat in the Patent Office and obtain exclusive right to use it, nor send out a mixture mysteriously labeled in bottles or boxes, to be swallowed indiscriminately by human beings irrespective of age, ailment, or temperament, but he publishes it to all the profession, and makes it a part of the common stock by which pain is to be alleviated and life prolonged. Thus has the profession been raised to its present glory. There is not a discovery or an invention made in or out of the profession that by any way becomes known to an honorable member of it, that is not converted into common property. All new methods, regular and irregular, are fairly tested. A profession based on such a foundation should take the proper means to make its character known; it should not avoid the light, for its deeds are good.

The medical and theological professions have a natural bond of union. They were once united; they should always be friendly and co-operate with each other. In the investigation of science it is first necessary to divide, but ultimately necessary to recombine. The physician deals primarily with the body, but also necessarily with the soul. With the clergyman the conditions are simply reversed. Both are together attracted toward the broad field of metaphysics. Neither should be ignorant of the other. Either studied alone leads inevitably to erroneous theory and to dangerous practice.

The present success and vitality of medical study and practice is not therefore primarily nor chiefly due to the cultivation of science. Science alone is based only on curiosity and the love of truth. Curiosity alone might even lead to reckless experimentation with man, individually and in organized bodies, to test some of the innumerable theories of social life suggested to the fruitful imagination. The love of truth leads merely to a thorough investigation of the facts and laws of existence. Nor is the personal wish for longevity and dread

of death, superadded to the above, sufficient to afford a reasonable basis to the immense efforts made in modern times for the improvement of the condition of man. There must be a native profound regard for the welfare of man, as a thing essentially and always desirable. This is furnished alone by Christianity.

Nothing therefore so triumphantly illustrates the fortunes of Christianity as the invisible, all-permeating spirit of modern times toward progress and improvement. It seems to be a recognized axiom that evils must be exposed and combated and annihilated. Whether in the form of servitude, ignorance, error, feebleness of body or mind, it is instinctively felt to be an enormity that must be removed. The insane must be made rational, the idiotic must be enlightened, the ignorant must be educated, slaves, though contented, must be emancipated, licentiousness must be prevented, the feeble must be reared into strength, and the superstitions of ages must be exposed and removed. It is the spirit of Christ that is the unseen cause of this mighty upheaval. It is the Gospel that promises "the tree of life for the healing of the nations." Thus the missionary spirit operates far wider than through its own acknowledged agencies, and it will yet be found the only one principle competent to animate the whole man.

Medicine, therefore, must embrace in its investigations the laws of mind as well as of matter; it must deal with the soul as well as with the body, and in so doing it will continue to advance in modern times much more rapidly than in the past. A horizon far broader, and aims much higher than those of Hippocrates, are now presented to every devotee of the healing art.

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ART. VII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE CHURCH CONGRESS OF BRISTOL.—The annual Church Congresses of the Church of England may now be regarded as permanent institutions, like the German and Scandinavian Church Diets, and the Catholic Congresses of Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium. Though established only four years ago, they already belong among the most interesting religious meetings of Europe. This year the Church Congress met at Bristol, and it seems to have rivaled the success of the preceding meetings at Cambridge, Oxford, and Manchester. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Dr. Ellicott, was, of course, the president, and among the distinguished members who attended were the Bishops of Chichester, Ely, Bath and Wells, Kilmore, Guyana, the Earl of Harrowby, Lord Lyttleton, Mr. Beresford Hope, Archdeacon Denison, Dr. Pusey, Canon M'Neele. As at the former congresses, all Church parties were again represented, though High Churchism was obviously in the ascendency.

Quite a sensation was produced at the Congress of Bristol by the unexpected appearance of the founder of the "English Order of St. Benedict," the already famous "Brother Ignatius." According to the reports of most of the English papers, his appearance was the signal for an outburst of hisses, mingled with little applause, though other (High Church) papers say that the applause prevailed. An effort was made by a portion of the audience to prevent him from speaking, but the president, who introduced him as a member of the congress and a deacon in the Church of England, procured him a hearing. Brother Ignatius, habited in serge, with sandals on his feet, and shaven crown, then addressed the meeting on the question how the Church of England was to reach the untended thousands of their town population. It maintained that the ministers of the Church of England, under the present parochial system, were unable to grapple with the evil, and recommended the establishment in the large towns of collegiate churches and monasteries. His views, as far as monasteries are concerned, were not supported by any other speaker, while the establishment of collegiate churches appeared to have many friends in the assembly.

The other subjects discussed by this Congress were home missions and lay agency, foreign missions, synods of the Church and rural deans and diaconal chapters, church architecture and decorations, the collegiate system in large towns, the mutual relations of the Church in England and Ireland, free and open churches, the social hinderances to the spread of Christianity, the education of the clergy with special reference to the systematic cultivation of English composition, public reading, and speaking; the aiding of the widows and orphans of poor clergy, the general question of education, church music, and a few minor topics. This is a larger budget of topics than any similar religious convention of Europe has ever discussed, and as most of them drew forth some very able addresses, the Church Congress is sure to secure the attention of all other religious denominations. We glean from the proceedings a few items which are of general interest.

In the discussion on foreign missions, Canon Lyttleton suggested the establishment of one or more professors in the universities, who should act as inspectors of missions, their office being to ascertain, by personal inspection on the spot, the actual results in some select area of the mission field, and report them fully and impartially at home. Mr. Knight rejoiced over the step implied in the consecration of a negro bishop, and Canon Trevor strongly urged the importance of attending to the vast differences which separated different heathen tribes and nations, and endeavoring to obtain a specific instead of a mere general preparation for our missionaries.

The Rev. Canon Kennaway read a paper on the increase of the episcopate. Speaking of the onerous duties of the bishops, he said: When the population of England was 1,250,000, twenty-one bishops were not thought too many; when it had risen to 4,000,000 there were twenty-six bishops; but now they had only twenty-eight bishops for over

20,000,000 of people. Nearly all the speakers on the subject were agreed that the number of bishops should be increased, and various propositions were made.

A very important discussion took place on the revival of synodical power, in which the present state of the courts of ecclesiastical appeal came under review. The Rev. Prebendary Trevor insisted that a bishop was as much bound to hold his diocesan synod as to perform any other episcopal offices. Episcopacy without a synod was neither apostolical nor catholic, and the plea of disuse was of no more validity than actual neglect of duty. The Rev. T. Lathbury referred to the position of convocation or general synod historically. Never did Parliament interfere with spiritual questions until they had been decided in convocation, and then only to add to their confirmation. The articles of the Book of Common Prayer were settled by the synod, Parliament merely sanctioning the work of convocation. Dr. Pusey stated the aspect of the question as regarded in the light of all Church history. He said: 1. The synod was from the first the court of appeal for all who thought themselves unjustly condemned by their own bishop. 2. The synod under further appeal in grave matters to the whole Church, was the place where the doctrine of the Church was affirmed against emergent error. In England the synods existed in the ancient British Church, were renewed when their Saxon forefathers were converted, survived the Norman conquest, and all the trouble, until Henry VIII., being merged in the Upper House of Convocation. When the late Dr. Bloomfield (Bishop of London) proposed the substitution of this court as the final court of appeal, his bill, with the whole weight of the then government against him, was only lost by a majority of twenty in the House of Lords. Dr. Pusey understood that another plan would be more favorably received, according to which the facts of the case should be adjudged solely by civil judges, but the doctrine of the Church, whereon any question should arise, should be laid down by the synod.

One of the most foolish and objectionable speeches at the Congress was made by a fanatical lay member, Mr. Henry Hoare. He spoke as a churchwarden who had ten men *in limbo* who would not pay their church-rates. He brought them before the magistrates in petty session, and got a conviction against them. Twelve had paid him, but ten others refused, and he had no doubt he should have to enter their houses and take their goods. Let the Church do her duty, and do what she could to bring all into her bosom, and all who would not come let them be guilty of schism. To the honor of the Church Congress it can be said, that the fanaticism of the speaker called forth strong marks of disapprobation.

GERMANY.

THE CHURCH DIET.—The thirteenth meeting of the German Church Diet (*Kirchentag*) took place this year at Altenburg, the capital of the duchy of Saxe-Altenburg, from the 13th to the 16th of September. The participation in it was again quite numerous, some eight hundred ministers and laymen from all parts of Germany being present. The Duke of Saxe-Altenburg afforded to the assembly likewise a great sympathy. The proceedings of the Church Diet are far from being so varied as those of the English Church congress. They were, in fact, confined, on the first and second days, to a discussion of the question, What gain can the Evangelical Church derive from the recent works on the life of Jesus? and, on the third and fourth, to a report on the German Home Missionary Society, and a discussion of the relation between Christianity and social life.

About the 13th of September, Professor Beyschlag of Halle opened the discussion of the question, What profit can the Evangelical Church derive from the recent works on the life of Jesus? Among the latest representations of the life of Jesus, he said he should only take notice of Rénan's and Strauss's. He attaches little importance to the work of Schenkel, because the notice which this book has received in Germany was, in his opinion, chiefly to be attributed to the incongruity of such a production with the station in the Church which its author occupied. He commenced his exposition by saying, "The object of these books is to undeify Jesus Christ; but if Jesus is no longer very God and a man without sin, then, however finely you may talk about him, the heart of Christianity is taken out of it. Yet the Christian Church might ex-

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tract great profit from these works. We are instructed by Church history that even the most subversive errors are leveled against weak and improvable points in the structure of the Church. Even the books of Rénan and Strauss cannot be explained from conscious hatred of Christ. If the Frenchman does not feel the moral blemishes which he affixes to our Lord, and if he yet stands in admiration before him, ought we to doubt the sincerity of that admiration? If Strauss has never felt what the Saviour is to Christians, and if he yet discerns in Christ an appearance of the highest beauty, ought we to deny that a ray of the sun has shone upon him? And is not the astounding approval which the false representations have met with due in part to the Church's not having succeeded in representing aright the life of Jesus?" The scientific contemplation of the life of Jesus is the most recent of our theological disciplines, and it was forced upon evangelical theology first of all by her adversaries. The Church from the beginning subordinated the interest of the fact and history of the life of Christ to that of the doctrine or dogma, and the dogmatic development of the idea of Christ became, therefore, one-sided. Not taking hold of the vital unity, the Church obtained an arithmetical union of the divine and human nature, but not a human historical person. The works of Rénan and Strauss obtained such an influence, because they appear to afford us a genuine human history, such as we could not possibly get from orthodox principles. This is the point from which the Church has more to learn. The human and historical essence must be recognized in the life of Jesus: then will the image of Christ be present to men with such truth as it has never since the days of the apostles. This is the profit which the Church ought to derive from these works.

Professor Beyschlag then dwelt on the scriptural account of the life of Jesus, vindicating especially his miracles and his sinless character. Sinlessness, he said, leads us to divinity, in which we must distinguish the union with God of his historical life, the parity with God of his glorified essence, and his derivation from God, and this in such a way that the two latter may follow the former. The historical union with God leads to a conclusion relative to the prehistoric existence. But the pre-existing person must not be conceived as a person that from all eternity has been realized, has proceeded from him, and attained to independent existence before his face; but as ideally inhering in God, as the principle and the power of the universal creation, and as a person first in the historical personality of Jesus of Nazareth. That which enters the historical narrative is the perfect material and capacity for representing the image of God in perfect purity. And if humanity is formed in the image of God, then the eternal type in God is the true man; and son of God and son of man are not two factors to be added together, but are congruous and identical.

Another long essay on the life of Christ was read by Professor Kostlin, of Gottingen, who also urged that the human and historical side of the life of Christ be emphasized. He concluded by saying, "In treating of the life of Jesus, let us be cautious of giving offense to the weak, but let us denounce that false delicacy which conceals the difficulties that God would have us to contend with. Let us, above all, place the totality of the person of Jesus before the eyes of the nation.

Dr. Liebner, of Dresden, one of the veteran evangelical theologians of Germany, returned thanks for the discussion of this subject, in which the Kirchentag, he said, had stepped from the circumference to the center. The problem for the Church now was to compile a life of Jesus, in which full justice would be done to the human character of Jesus.

Other addresses were made by Dr. E. de Pressensé, the editor of the *Revue Chrétienne* of Paris, Dr. Tischendorf, of Leipzig, who pronounced a galling censure on the romantic absurdities and profanities of Rénan's book, Dr. Krummacher, Dr. Dorner, and Dr. Hoffmann.

AUSTRIA.

Protestant General Synod.—The first General Synods of the Lutheran and the Reformed Protestant Churches in the German and Slavic provinces of Austria was opened on the 22d of May, 1864. The holding of such a synod is in itself a proof of the great progress which the principle of religious toleration has made even in Roman Catholic countries; for never, during the preceding three centuries, had the government

of Austria been willing to concede to the members of the two great Protestant Churches the right to assemble in general synod, although in the second half of the sixteenth century Protestantism predominated in a considerable portion of the Austrian territory. The greater liberty which the Austrian Protestants now enjoy dates from the year 1848, when the establishment of full religious liberty was one of the chief demands of the progressive party, which the government found it necessary to concede even after the suppression of the revolution. An imperial letter of April 8, 1861, and a Church Constitution of April 9, 1861, proclaimed by the government, provisionally regulated the affairs of the two great Protestant Churches, (Lutheran and Reformed.) The Churches of Hungary were to have a constitution of their own, which they, however, refused to accept, claiming the right to retain their former Church constitution intact. The Lutherans and the Reformed of the combined German and Slavic crownlands were to have each a general synod, which was to revise the draft of Church constitution prepared by the government, and have hereafter the chief control of the ecclesiastical affairs of the two Churches. The convocation of the first General Synod was delayed no less than three years, and did not take place until the 22d of May of the present year. The synods of both the Churches met in Vienna on the same day. Both synods passed a resolution to discuss such topics as are not of a strictly denominational character in joint session. The provisional draft of a Church constitution was adopted in all its essential points. The synods are resolved to present, conjointly, to the emperor, the following memorial containing the chief demands of the Protestants of the empire:

> The General Synod protests: 1. Against the denomination of *non-catholic*, which is the term used in the decrees and ordinances of the political authorities to designate the adherents of the two Protestant confessions—the Augsburg and the Helvetian; 2. The Synod demands that those obstacles which, in some parts of the monarchy, are still presented to the establishment of Protestant congregations, shall be removed; 3. That booksellers shall be allowed to deal in Protestant books; 4. A community of cemeteries; 5. The admission of Protestant pastors, as of priests, into houses of retirement and charitable institutions, to exercise their functions in them; 6. The establishment of the equality of the Protestant and the Catholic festivals, in order that the authorities may be bound to protect the festivals of the Protestants in the localities in which they are the most numerous; 7. The Synod protests against all interference by the subordinate political authorities in the affairs of the schools of the Protestant congregations; 8. It protests against the ordinance which prohibits the children of Jews from frequenting Protestant, if there are Catholic schools in existence in the same locality; as it also protests against the ordinance which forbids Catholic parents placing their children with Protestant foster-parents; 9. The General Synod advances claims on the funds of the normal schools in favor of the Protestant schools; 10. It demands the admission of Protestant teachers in the medial Catholic schools; 11. The institution of Protestant catechists in the schools; 12. The incorporation of the Protestant Theological faculty into the University of Vienna; 13. The representation of the Evangelical Church in the Diet and in the municipal council.

The proceedings in both the General Synods were very harmonious. A union between the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches, as it has been consummated in several German countries, was not resolved upon, but both synods will continue to meet simultaneously, and at the same place, and to deliberate on all subjects not strictly denominational in joint session. The nationality question, which produces so much trouble in the political life of Austria, led, on some questions, to a disagreement between the German majority of the synods and the Slavic minority, as the former did not think it possible to concede all the demands made by the latter. The hostility, however, which prevails among different nationalities in the political assemblies of Austria, seems fortunately to have not yet sprung up in the General Synods.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BELGIUM.

THE CATHOLIC CONGRESS.—The Catholic Congress, held in 1863, at Malines, Belgium, was undoubtedly the greatest success which thus far has been obtained by any Roman Catholic assembly of the kind. A strong recommendation by the pope and the bishops of the several countries which were represented at it would probably have sufficed to

secure for it an equal success in subsequent years, and to make it the annual rendezvous of the leading Catholics of all Europe. This approval, however, has not only been withheld from it, but it is admitted by the Roman Catholic papers themselves, that the most remarkable feature of the congress, and which chiefly gained for its proceedings the attention of the world, the great speech of Count Montalembert on religious liberty, has called forth the censure of the pope. In consequence of this censure, Count Montalembert, as well as several other leaders of the liberal school of French Catholicism, did not attend the congress this year, and their absence produced such a palpable difference in the character of the proceedings that even the Roman Catholic press has to admit that the congress of 1864 stands no comparison with that of 1863. The most important speech was this year made by Bishop Dupanloup of Orleans; but, though not deficient in point of eloquence, it altogether failed to produce upon the world at large anything like the electric influence of the speech of the Count Montalembert. Among the prominent topics of discussion were the following: Education on Catholic Principles; the Benefits Conferred on the World by the Religious Orders; Protest against State Interference in Church Matters; a Better Observance of the Sabbath; the Opening of Popular Circulating Libraries. The Vicomte de Kerchove designated as the most important work for the congress, "to constitute a real and permanent union among Catholics throughout the world, and to create a Catholic popular opinion which, wherever the cause of Christianity is at stake, shall organize a pacific agitation throughout the whole Catholic family."

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Professor Hilgenfeld, of Jena, is the most prolific among the living writers of the Tübingen school. To his numerous former works he has now added a "Monograph on Bardesanes," the last of the Gnostics. (*Bardesanes, der letzte Gnostiker.* Leipsic, 1864.) Bardesanes is especially interesting on two accounts, as an ornament of the Court of Edessa, the first Christian kingdom in the world, and as the father of Syriac poetry. As a poet, his fame rested upon the one hundred and fifty psalms which, in imitation of David, he composed for the edification of his countrymen. The popularity of this work was immense, and when Ephraim Syrus subsequently replaced it by another more agreeable to sound doctrine, he was compelled to associate his orthodoxy with the heretical tunes to which the musical genius of his antagonist had given birth. None of Bardesanes's psalms are preserved, and we only know that his metrical system was entirely of his own invention, and was based upon accent instead of quantity. Nor are any of his prose writings extant; a dialogue under his name, fragments of which have been preserved by Eusebius, being undoubtedly spurious, and chiefly derived from the recognitions of the pseudo-Clement.

The Life of Jesus by Schenkel, Professor of Theology at Heidelberg, and President of the Ecclesiastical Seminary in the same city, has produced a great commotion among the evangelical clergy of the Grand Duchy of Baden. The Supreme Church Council has been petitioned by over one hundred and seventeen clergymen, to remove the author of the work from the presidency of the seminary, in which every candidate for the ministry in the State Church has to pass at least one year. To this petition the Supreme Council replied, on the 17th of August, that the ministers of Protestant Churches have not only the right, but the duty, to subject the doctrines of their Churches again and again to new investigations; that the work of Schenkel does not attack the fundamental truths of Christianity, and that they can only blame the protest of the one hundred and seventeen clergymen and the manner in which it has been circulated among the people.

Professor Dozy, of Leyden, Holland, one of the most distinguished Orientalists in Europe, has published a very in-

teresting work on "The Israelites at Mecca from the time of David until the fifth century of our era." He maintains that the Jewish tribe of Simeon left Palestine during the reign of Saul, moved southward, settled in Mecca, and there introduced the "Pilgrim Festival." If this assertion should prove true it would shed an entirely new light on the Jewish elements of the Koran and the Mohammedan religion. Hitherto it has not been believed that the Pilgrim Festival and the worship of the Kaaba and the Black Stone were of Jewish origin, but Dozy vindicates these and other portions of the Islam to the Jews. The name of the author is a sufficient guarantee that his opinions are not wild speculations, but keen investigations based upon extensive learning.

Dr. Kahnis has recently published the second volume of his Dogmatics, under the separate title, The Church Creed in its historical development, (*Der Kirchenglaube Historichgenetisch Dargestellt.* Leipzig, 1864.) The author was formerly looked upon as one of the pillars of the old High Church Lutheran party, but the first volume of his Dogmatics contained several statements which brought upon him the charge of having deviated from the fundamental tenets of evangelical doctrines. In the preface to the second volume Dr. Kahnis reviews the opinions expressed about his book by the leading theologians of the Lutheran and other ecclesiastical parties. We give a few extracts from this review, as it is an interesting contribution to the present state of theological parties in Germany.

> On the same day (says Dr. Kahnis) on which an orthodox theologian of great reputation as a writer on Dogmatics, expressed to me his joy at the combination of evangelical sentiments and truth-loving science to be found in my work, I read in the *Evangelical Church* of Hengstenberg that I was on the point of apostatizing from Christianity. To defend myself against a charge which was sure to be read by many thousands, I published the pamphlet, "Testimony on the Fundamental Truths of Protestantism against Dr. Hengstenberg." (*Zeugniss von den grund wahrheiten des Protestantismus*, 1862.) I had not yet finished this pamphlet, when Dr. Dieckhoff, (old Lutheran, Professor at the University of Rostock,) commenced his series of articles against me, which are written in a tone so unworthy and so destitute of ability, that they gave the greatest offense, not only outside of the camp of the old Lutherans, but also within. Of the same stripe was the pamphlet of a Lutheran pastor of Russia, published at Dorpat: (*Meditationen eines Lutherischen Pastor uber die Dogmatik des Dr. Kahnis*, 1863.)

This pamphlet did, however, not meet with general approval in the Lutheran Church of Russia, although this Church is firmly attached to the old doctrinal standards of Lutheranism, and it was especially opposed by Dr. Berkholz, the editor of one of the papers of the Lutheran Church of Russia. A large portion of the Lutheran press joined in condemning the work of Dr. Kahnis, without, however, specifying the doctrines to which they objected. When the first excitement was over, two distinguished Lutheran scholars opposed the views of Dr. Kahnis in a worthy and scientific manner; Dr. Höleman, (Professor at Leipsic,) in his work on the "Unity of the two Accounts of Creation, (*Nachweis der Einheit der beiden Schöpfungsberichte Genesis, chap.* i *un* ii. Leipzig, 1862,) and Dr. Delitzsch, (Professor at Erlangen,) in his pamphlet, *Für und Wider Dr. Kahnis*, (For and Against Dr. Kahnis, 1863.) Dr. Delitzsch, who is one of the foremost exegetical scholars of Germany, and a prominent champion of the theory of verbal inspiration, recognizes in the work of Dr. Kahnis a spirit of thorough investigation and some remarkable results, although he censures his (Kahnis's) views of inspiration and of several Christian doctrines, in particular his opinion about the subordination of the Son to the Father. Dr. Kahnis persists in claiming Luther as an opponent of verbal inspiration, and refers for a proof of this opinion to the work of Dr. Köstlin, on the "Theology of Luther." Finally, he infers from the preface written by the venerable Dr. Nitzsch, to the Manual of Introduction into the Scriptures by the late Professor Bleek, that this distinguished theologian is far from condemning the views advanced by him.

Professor Huber, of Munich, has written a work on the Idea of Immortality, (*Die Idee der Unsterblichkeit.* Munich, 1864,) in which he refutes, from the standpoint of philosophy, the attacks of the recent pantheistic and materialistic literature upon the doctrine of personal or individual immortality.

A new work on Church Constitution has been published by Dr. Amen, a cler-

gyman of the State Church of Prussia, under the title, "Fundamental Principles of the Evangelical Church Constitution." (*Grundbestimmungen der Evangelischen Kirchenverfassungen.* Gotha, 1864.) The author is of opinion that in the constitution of the Evangelical Church the idea of the universal priesthood ought to be more fully carried through than is usually the case. Proceeding from this fundamental idea, he demands that no member of the Church be excluded from an active participation in the ecclesiastical affairs of the Church; that all offices of the Church be strictly regarded as offices of love, which require the free consent of the members of the Church; that the conscience of the teachers of the Church should not be fettered by external formulas; and that the evangelical Church must always be regarded as including every society which believes in justification through Jesus Christ.

Dr. Hefele, one of the ablest Catholic Church historians now living, and author of the best History of Ecclesiastical Councils, has commenced the publication of a Collection of Essays, published by him in the *Theologische Quartalschrift* of Tubingen, of which he is one of the editors. Some of the essays contained in the first volume, which has been published, are critical, as those on Tertullian and Athenagoras; others are designed to clear up obscure and controverted matters, such as the introduction of celibacy among the clergy; some are historical; and two of the most interesting are devoted to the Russian and the Greek Churches. A second volume is to follow, which will chiefly relate to ecclesiastical archeology and liturgies. (*Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte, Archeologie and Liturgik, vol.* 1. Tubingen, 1864.)

A new volume of the Biblical Commentary to the Old Testament, by Keil and Delitzsch, has been published, containing the Commentary to the Books of Samuel, by Keil. *Biblischer Commentar über das Alte Testament.* Leipzig.)

An important work on the "History of the Ecclesiastical Separation Between the East and the West from its First Beginning until the Present Times," has been commenced by Dr. A. Pichler, lecturer on (Roman Catholic) theology at the University of Munich. The first volume, containing the "Byzantine Church," has just been published. The spirit and scope of the work may be seen from the following words in the preface: "My work offers the first attempt at a complete history of the ecclesiastical separation between the East and the West. The separation of the two Churches, the Latin and the Greek, exercised upon the whole development of Europe in an ecclesiastical and political, as well as scientific and moral point of view, a powerful influence, which on the whole is scarcely inferior to that of Protestantism. The correct answer of the two questions, Who is guilty of the origin of this separation? and why have the numerous attempts at effecting a reconciliation failed? is therefore of great importance, not only for the theologian, but for the historian and for every educated man. The common opinion that the overbearingness and the stolid obstinacy of the orientals was the cause of the one and of the other, appears to me to be insufficient for any earnest thinker. I deemed it necessary to consider the separation of the Greek Church in connection with the history of the papacy, its rights and the doctrines which in the course of time prevailed respecting it, and the history of the European states in general. I have thus obtained the result that the West (the Roman Catholic Church) is also not free from a share in the guilt respecting the origin and the perpetuation of this schism."

The fifth volume of the "Theological Lectures of the late Dr. Neander," published by Dr. J. Müller, contains Neander's Lectures on the History of Christian Ethics, published by Dr. Erdman. (*Neander's Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Christlichen Ethik.* Berlin.)

Dr. Winer's Chaldee Reader, consisting of selections from the Targum of the Old Testament, with notes and a dictionary, has been thoroughly revised by Dr. Fürst, of the University of Leipsic. (*Chaldäisches Lesebuch.* Leipzig.)

FRANCE.

"French Society and English Society in the Sixteenth Century." (*La Societe Française et la Societe Anglaise au Dix-Huitieme Siecle,*) is the title of an important new work by Cornelis De Witt, a son-in-law of M. Guizot. M. De Witt, like Guizot, shows himself penetrated with Christian principles, and vindicates to religion the important position in so-

ciety which so many historians are only too ready to ignore. The following extract will give some idea of the views of this author:

> The disastrous political and economical effects of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes have frequently been set forth, but too little has been said of the deplorable consequences which it has had upon the moral and religious state of society. It lies in the nature of Protestantism to exercise by its presence a vivifying influence upon even those who accuse it, with the greatest bitterness, of bowing only to the sovereign authority of the state. The principle of free inquiry sets in motion and keeps wide awake the very spirits who combat it as a principle of revolution and anarchy. It leads them, they may be willing or not, to study the liberty which they attack and the authority which they defend. It induces them to render to themselves an account of the faith, and to conform their lives to it. It imparts to their faith a more personal, more rational, more energetical, more efficient character. Protestantism is a stimulant of which the Catholic Church in France, during the eighteenth century, stood greatly in need, and which was wanting to it through the fault of Louis XIV. The weakening of Catholicism in France dates from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. At the same time, while it caused the Church to disarm, and to become absorbed in internal quarrels of the most illiberal character, it furnished terrible weapons against her to the unbelievers, and deprived her of a valuable auxiliary in her struggle against materialism. It delivered her, inert, unpopular, and divided, to the blows of the freethinkers. The system of religious coercion had in France the effect to paralyze Protestantism, to weaken and bring into ridicule Jansenism, to make the Jesuits odious, the priests indifferent, the philosophers fanatical, and the country philosophical.

M. De Witt borrows the following anecdote from Saint Simon. Louis XIV. having asked the Duke of Orleans whom he took with him into Spain, the duke mentioned Pontpertius. "How, my nephew?" replied the king, excited, "the son of that lady who followed Arnault to the end? the Jansenist? I do not wish that." "Sire," replied the Duke of Orleans, "I do not know what his mother has done, but as for the son being a Jansenist, he does not even believe in God." "Is it possible?" answered the king, "and you assure me of it. If that is so there is no harm in it; you may take him with you." The people at the court and in the city laughed much at it, and the greatest freethinkers wondered how far the Jesuits were carried by their fanaticism. The saying is worthy of a monarch who could not endure the heretics in his kingdom, and who had so much vice at his court. But the most culpable were the first to be punished. When the Jesuits were expelled from France in 1762 (says Mr. De Witt) a malignant joy was manifested throughout the country. People remembered their persecutions, and they themselves admitted that they were stoned with the stones of Port Royal, which they had destroyed under Louis XIV.

An interesting work on the "Relations between Church and State" has recently been published by M. Franck, a Jew, and Professor at the College de France. The views of Mr. Franck are generally applauded by the Protestant papers of France. The author establishes the rights of individual conscience and those of the association formed to profess in common a religious faith. His views are especially interesting, as the fact of his being a Jew makes him an entirely impartial observer of the combats between the Christian Churches and the State. Mr. Franck defends with remarkable vigor the need of a religious faith and of the liberty of all the Churches, by showing that the progress of the human mind and the autonomy of conscience are neither destroyed nor compromised by religion, as long as the latter lays no claim to a civil and political authority, and does not seek to impose its belief upon others. (*La Philosophie du Droit Ecclésiastique, des Rapports de la Religion et de l'Etat.*)

One of the most important publications which has been called forth by the tercentenary of the death of Calvin is a collection of the Correspondence of the French Reformers, under the title *Correspondence des Reformateurs dans les pays de la Langue Française, par A. L. Herminjard.* The work, which is to be published at Geneva, will consist of from eight to ten volumes, of about five hundred pages each, and will aim at a completeness which is but rarely reached by works of this kind. The editor has collected more than four thousand letters and documents, many of which have never before appeared in print, and he hopes to add considerably to this number while his work is going through

the press. It will not only embrace the correspondence of men like Calvin, Farel, Vienet, and Beza, but in general of all who took an active part in the reformation in the countries of the French language during the period from 1512 to 1565. Every single folio is to be furnished with a brief summary and historical and biographical notes.

The relation of the Christian Church to Slavery is a subject which is now frequently discussed in Europe also, in consequence of the profound interest awakened in the subject by our war. A new work on the subject has been published in France, under the title "The Church and Slavery," by Armand Riviere. The author traces the history of the relation of the Church to the classes living in involuntary servitude during ten centuries. He charges the Church with having done little or nothing toward promoting emancipation.

The question of the unity of the human races has been recently the subject of an animated discussion among the scholars of France. The unity has especially been defended with great talent by M. de Quatrefages, while the contrary opinion, the plurality, has found a defender in G. Pouchet. (*De la Pluralité des Races Humaines.*)

The number of translations from English and German into French seems to increase. We notice among the last translations from R. W. Emerson, Sallet, and Feuerbach. (Emerson, *Les Lois de la vie. Trad. par Xavier Eyma.* L. Feuerbach, *La Religion, Mort, Immortalité; Religion. Trad. par Joseph Roy.* Sallet, *Evangile. Trad. par Desti.*)

A member of the order of the Jesuits, Carayon, has published a Bibliographical History of his Order, or a Catalogue of Works relating to the History of the Jesuits from their origin to our days. (*Bibliographie Historique de la Compagnie de Jesus.*)

The number of assailants of Biblical Christianity in France has received a dangerous addition by the publication of a new work by Michelet, entitled the "Bible of Humanity." M. Michelet has acquired a reputation among the scholars of France by his former scientific works, and is a member of the French Academy. At the same time he is very popular among the masses of the people, among whom his latest works on "Love," on "Woman," and others, have had a very large circulation. In his new works M. Michelet preaches a kind of mystic naturalism. He undertakes to draw a brief outline of the history of religion from a scientific point of view, and, as usual in the writings of Michelet, the greatest brilliancy is found by the side of the greatest confusion. His attacks on Christianity are much more violent and sweeping than those of Rénan, and historical truth and probability are outraged by him much more than by the latter.

The literary contest between the orthodox and the rationalistic schools of French Protestantism is carried on with great briskness. Among the latest pamphlets on the subject are the following: "What is Christianity without Doctrines and without Miracles?" by N. Poulain; "Our Christianity and our Good Right," three letters to Mr. Poulain, by A. Reville, one of the most gifted representatives of the Rationalistic School; "Reply to the Three Letters of Mr. Albert Reville on the New Theology," by N. Poulain; and the "Doctrine of the New School," according to Reville, A. Coquerel, and Colani.

A new work on the Holy Land has just been published by E. de Pressensé, the learned editor of the *Revué Chretienne.* (*Le Pays de l'Evangile. Notes d'un Voyage en Orient.*) M. Pressensé undertook this journey chiefly for the purpose of preparing himself the better for writing a work on the Life of Jesus against Renan. Two introductory chapters of the book treat, first, of the pilgrimages and journeys in the Holy Land; and, secondly, of the great geographical divisions of Palestine.

ART. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN AND THEOLOGICAL REVIEW. October, 1864. (New York.)—1. Ebionitism and the Christianity of the Sub-Apostolic Age. 2. The Fundamental Properties of Style. 3. The Indian Tribes and the Duty of Government to them. 4. Religious Influence of Colleges. 5. Ecclesiastical Organizations and Foreign Missions. 6. Difficulties of Revelation. 7. The Ancient Schools of Ireland.

BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW. October, 1864. (Philadelphia.)—1. Man's Mental Instincts. 2. The Russian Church. 3. Modern Philology. 4. Lange's Theological and Homiletical Commentary. 5. Whedon and Hazard on the Will.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, October, 1864. (Andover, Mass.)—1. The New Analytic of Logical Forms. 2. The Bearing of Modern Scientific Theories on the Fundamental Truths of Religion. 3. Authorship of the Pentateuch. 4. Palestine and the Desert, Past and Present. 5. Is Theology an Improvable Science? 6. Theology of the Modern Greek Church. 7. God the Supreme Disposer and Moral Governor. 8. The Brethren of Christ.

DANVILLE REVIEW, September, 1864. (Danville, Ky.)—1. Conflicts of Revelation and Science: The Science of the Bible Phenomenal. 2. The Borrowing of Jewels from the Egyptians. 3. Treason, Slavery, Loyalty, in Kentucky. 4. The Past Course and Present Duty of Kentucky. 5. The Peace Panic—Its Authors and Objects.

EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1864. (Gettysburgh, Pa.)—1. The Wisdom of the World and of the Church Compared. 2. Instruction in Christian Doctrine according to the System of the Evangelical Lutheran Church; by John Henry Kurtz, D.D. 3. The Study of the Ancient Classics. 4. The German Language. 5. Reminiscences of Deceased Lutheran Ministers. 6. Precious Stones. 7. The Lord's Supper. 8. Catechization. 9. The Mystical Union. 10. Responsibilities of the American Citizen.

FREEWILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY, October, 1864. (Dover, N. H.)—1. Education for the Ministry. 2. The Anglo-Saxon Church. 3. The Support of the Ministry. 4. The Doctrine of Divine Providence. 5. Education in the Freewill Baptist Denomination. 6. Abolition of the British Slave-Trade. 7. Lady Huntingdon.

NEW ENGLANDER, October, 1864. (New Haven.)—1. The Conflict with Skepticism and Unbelief. Fourth Article: Recent Discussions upon the Origin of the First Three Gospels. 2. The Sermons of John Huss. 3. A Century of English Parties. 4. The American Cavaliers. 5. The Revival of Letters in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Part I.—To the Middle of Century XV. 6. Southern Evangelization.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, October, 1864. (Boston.)—1. A Look into the Age of Man. 2. Condemnation of Universalism. 3. The Pre-existence of Jesus Christ. 4. Rome, Paganism, and the Church. 5. John Wesley. 6. Universalism: Its Relation to Politics. 7. General Review: Education and the Pulpit—The Church of England Controversy—Interesting Antiquities—Faith and Works—Anastasis, Resurrection.

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English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1864. (London.)—1. St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland. 2. The Christian Church and Social Improvement. 3. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. 4. Bishop M'Kenzie and African Missions. 5. Relics of the Glacial Epoch in North Britain. 6. Dr. Newman. 7. Authorship of the Pentateuch. 8. Biblical and Miscellaneous Intelligence. 9. German Theological Literature.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1864. (London.)—1. William the Conqueror. 2. Hansell's Greek Testament. 3. The Dolomite Mountains. 4. Chevalier's Mexico. 5. Our Foreign Policy. 6. Charles Knight's Personal Recollections. 7. Mind and Brain. 8. Tennyson's Poetry. 9. Projected Reforms in Germany. 10. Epilogue on Affairs.

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, October, 1864. (London.)—1. The Influence of the Ancien Régime on Modern France. 2. Trinity College, Toronto. 3. Father Mathew. 4. Subscription to Formularies. 5. Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker. 6. Mr. Scrivener's Edition of Codex Bezæ. 7. Voices from Rome—Dr. Manning. 8. The *Filioque* Controversy.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, October, 1864. (New York: reprint.)—1. Angus. 2. Coniferous Trees. 3. Archbishop Whately. 4. Co-operative Societies in 1864. 5. French Anti-Clerical Novels. 6. Man and Nature. 7. Weber's Life of Marshal Saxe. 8. Robert Browning's Poems. 9. The Five-Year-Old Parliament.

JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE AND BIBLICAL RECORD, October, 1864. (London.)—1. Israel in Egypt. 2. The Tree of Life. From the German of Dr. Piper. 3. The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus. 4. Analogy between the Apocalypse of the Old Testament and that of the New. 5. The Decipherment of Cuneiform Inscriptions Described and Tested. 6. A Rational View of Hebrew Chronology. 7. Selections from the Syriac. No. II; The Encomium of the Martyrs. By Eusebius of Cæsarea. English Translation. 8. Dr. M'Neece's University Sermons.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1864. (New York: reprint.)—1. Cochin-China and Cambodia. 2. Workmen's Benefit Societies. 3. Rawdon Brown's Venetian State Papers. 4. Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. 5. Sanitary State of the Army in India. 6. Life of Lockhart. 7. Photography. 8. Law Reform. 9. Dr. Newman's Apologia.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, (Wesleyan,) October, 1864. (London.)—1. Laws and Penalties. 2. Our British North American Colonies. 3. Calvin and the Reformation. 4. Madame de Sévigné and her Friends. 5. Life in Java. 6. Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman. 7. Enoch Arden. 8. Mr. Trevelyan on India. 9. Müller's Lectures on Language. 10. The Recent Methodist Conference.

NATIONAL REVIEW, November, 1864. (London.)—1. Presidential Government. 2. Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Browning; or, Pure, Ornate, and Grotesque Art in English Poetry. 3. Modern Editions of the Greek Testament Considered, including the State of the Text and its Interpretation. 4. The Russian Version of the Crimean War. 5. Statesmanship in Constitutional Countries. 6. On the Relation of the Pauline Epistles to the Historical Books of the New Testament. 7. Madame de Sévigné. 8. The Functions of Criticism at the Present Time. 9. The Crisis of Faith. 10. Public Schools.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal of Scientific Theology. 1864. Fourth Number.)—1. SPIEGEL, Johannes Pollius. 2. TOBLER, Essay on the Epistle to the Hebrews, according to the Codex Sinaiticus. 3. PH. BUTTMANN, Some Peculiarities of the Codex Sinaiticus in the New Testament, especially in the Gospels. 4. L. PAUL, Reply to an article of Professor Hilgenfeld on the Resurrection of Christ. 5. FRANK, The Free-Thinker, Johann Philipp Treiber. 6. A. BUTTMANN, The work of K. H. A. Lipsius on the Greek of the New Testament. 7. HILGENFELD, The New Critical School of Tübingen.

For some time the Journal of Scientific Theology has carried on a controversy on the Resurrection of Christ. Though, in general, the organ of the negative school, and counting among its contributors men like Strauss and Zeller, the journal admitted some time ago an article in defense of the real Resurrection of Christ from the pen of an orthodox theologian, L. Paul. This called forth a rejoinder from D. F. Strauss, and a brief *resumé* of the controversy from the pen of the editor of this journal, Professor Hilgenfeld, who, though admitting the correctness of some of the arguments used by L. Paul against Strauss, declared himself in the main, as was to be expected, for Strauss. In this last number L. Paul again replies to Professor Hilgenfeld.

The last article refers to the exegetical works of an able Roman Catholic theologian, Professor Aberle of Tubingen, who in a series of books and articles has endeavored to prove that the four Gospels were not written for the sole purpose of leaving to the Church an account of the life of the Saviour, but that each of the Gospels was called forth by special external circumstances, and that this explains a great many of the difficulties which negative theologians of the school of Strauss have found in the sacred records. Professor Hilgenfeld combats most of the arguments advanced by Professor Aberle.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal of Historical Theology. Fourth Number. 1864.)—1. NIPPOLD, Davis Joris, of Delft. His Life, his Doctrine, and his Sect. (Second Article.)

This second article gives the labors of Joris, at Basle, when he lived under the name of David of Brügge. The relations of Joris to Menno, Schwenkfeld, and other Reformers, gives to some portions of his history a general interest. The author then traces the history of the sect founded by Joris at Basle, in Holland, in Frisia, in Holstein. At the conclusion of the article the author acknowledges the receipt of some corrections and additions to his first article from Professor Scheffer, in Amsterdam, and expresses

the hope that Professor Scheffer, who, he says, has a more extensive knowledge of the Baptist movements of the Sixteenth Century than any other man living, may soon publish his work on the "History of Anabaptism."

French Reviews.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.—*July* 15.—3. A. D'ASSIER, The Brazilian Eldorado. 5. REVILLE, The Origin of the New Testament. 6. FR. LENORMANT, Greece since the Revolution of 1862. 7. JANET, The Philosophical Crisis and the Spiritualistic Ideas. (First article. The Critical School.) 10. MAZADE, Spain and Peru.

Aug. 1.—4. E. DE LAVELEYE, Belgium and the Actual Crisis. The Liberal Party and the Catholic Party. 6. L. REYBAUD, The Cultivation of Cotton in Algeria. 7. JANET, The Philosophical Crisis and the Spiritualistic Ideas. (Second article. Positivism and Idealism.)

Aug. 15.—3. BLERZY, Australia, its Physical History and its Colonization. 5. SIMON, Female Primary Instruction in France. 6. LANGEL, Pythagoras, his History and Doctrine.

Sept. 1.—1. AMEDEE THIERRY, Roman History in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries. (First article.) The Christian Society at Rome and the Roman Emigration to the Holy Land. 3. ESQUIROS, England and English Life. (Twenty-fifth article.) 4. CH. DE REMUSAT, Church and State.

Sept. 15.—2. KLACZKO, Poland and Denmark. 4. LITTRE, Essays on the Middle Ages. The History of Literature and Fine Arts in France during the Fourteenth Century.

Oct. 1.—2. RECLUS, History of the War in the United States. The Two Last Years of the Great American Conflict. 3. KLACZKO, Poland and Denmark. (Second article.) 5. ST. MARC GIRARDIN, The Origin of the Eastern Question. Western Society after the Crusades.

Oct. 15.—4. CH. DE REMUSAT, The Political Situation in France. 5. CH. LEVEQUE, The Philosophy of the Spirit, its Defenders and Opponents. 6. BLERZY, Australia, its Physical History and its Colonization.

THE two articles in the numbers of July 15, and August 1, on the philosophical crisis in France, are a very interesting review of the recent philosophical literature of France. Their author, Professor Janet, of Paris, is well known as one of the foremost representatives of the "Spiritualistic" school of French philosophers, who firmly hold to the belief in a personal God and the immortality of the soul. Professor Janet passes in review four of the most important adversaries of the Spiritualistic school, namely, Taine, (*Philosophes Français au dix-neuvieme siècle,*) Rénan, (the author of the Life of Jesus, who explained his philosophical views more fully in an article of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of October 15, 1863,) Littré, (preface to the new edition of the works of Auguste Comte,) and Vacherot, (*De la Metaphysique et de la Science.*)

The first article treats of Taine and Rénan as the representatives

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of the critical school. Both claim to be disciples of Hegel; but their systems are widely different. Professor Janet thus characterizes their differences: "The philosophy of Taine I would call a philosophy of fact, and that of Rénan a philosophy of the phenomenon. I might be asked, What difference do you establish between a fact and a phenomenon? A fact, according to my opinion, is in some way a fixed, precise, determined phenomenon, having outlines that one can lay hold of and describe. It involves a kind of stability. A phenomenon is a fact in motion, a transition from one fact to another; a fact which from moment to moment is transforming itself. Starting from this definition I would say that Taine is particularly interested in facts, and Rénan in phenomena. The former is fond of emphasized individual description. He likes one fact to be distinct from the other. He strains the differences, makes them prominent. Such precision appears to Rénan contrary to the nature of things; for him everything that is precise is false; every definition is a compromise. There is no precise and determined fact, but only insensible transitions from one phenomenon to another, and as these transitions are imperceptible in the case of particular phenomena, they can only be observed on a large scale, and it therefore becomes necessary to study the general phenomena, the whole, the mass. Hence Rénan's preference for generalizing. Taine is especially interested in individuals; he is fond of writing monographs. Rénan rarely stops at the description of a particular fact; he prefers the changes, the vicissitudes, the revolutions in human affairs. Taine prefers modern and civilized periods; the society of France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Rénan likes primitive societies, the obscure and subterranean sources of civilization, those primitive races whose history is only known by the languages which were spoken by them. Rénan is fond of studying the embryogeny of the human race, Taine its physiology, and especially its pathology. From all these reasons Rénan is not so opposed as Taine to the recognition of immaterial and metaphysical causes. As he shrinks from everything too clear and determined, Materialism appears to him a false doctrine; its pretended clearness is the very thing that is repulsive to him. Rónan is thus led to the recognition of the existence of a certain mysterious something. Call this "something" Soul, God, Moral Order, and you have again a new Spiritualism, which will be but slightly distinguished from the old one. For Mr. Taine, on the contrary, there is no mysterious something. He recognizes only two faculties, sensation and abstraction. Everything that is not a phenomenon perceived by the senses, or an

abstract notion expressed by words, is nothing. Sometimes his imagination soars up when he thinks of the totality of phenomena, and he speaks of nature with the enthusiasm of Lucretius. But nature in these instances is for him only a word which represents the sum of the perceived or imagined phenomena. The system of Taine is mechanism and fatality; that of Rénan transformation and motion. These two ideas are both lost in the common idea of an absolute phenomenism. For both, nature is only a great phenomenon, which is incessantly transforming; humanity, one of the incidents in this transformation; the individual, an incident in this incident. The conception of the soul entirely vanishes; it is nothing but the complex product of an incalculable number of anterior phenomena. Sometimes they appear to admit something beyond this series of transformations. Taine calls it "Law;" Rénan, "The Infinite" or "The Ideal;" but these ideas play so obscure a part in their systems that it is difficult to catch their exact meaning, and we may look upon them rather as concessions to habit than as genuine scientific principles.

Mr. Littré is well known as the chief living representative of the School of Positive Philosophy established by Auguste Comte. Mr. Littré protests against the confounding of the Positive Philosophy with Materialism, and insists that Positivism is disinterested in all speculative schools, in Materialism as much as in Spiritualism. But Professor Janet easily shows that with regard to the fundamental doctrines of the Spiritualistic philosophy, the existence of God and the soul, the Positivists occupy the same ground as the Materialists.

Professor Janet pays a high compliment to the fourth adversary of the Spiritualistic school, whom he reviews and refutes—Vacherot. He calls him the most distinguished and strongest among the independent spirits who during the last ten years have sought their way outside of the beaten track of philosophy. "His style," he says, "is free, pure, noble, and ideal. In reading his remarkable work, we feel that we are in the domain not of imagination but of science. It is not a voluntary, premeditated, insidious aggression, having for its object the establishment of a new power upon the ruins of a former power; it is a pure and sincere research, controlled by conscience and dictated by understanding." Vacherot, our reviewer says, is not an unconditional enemy of Spiritualism. Having for a long time belonged himself to the Spiritualistic school, he has preserved some of its essential principles. With the Spiritualistic philosophers he admits that psychology is the basis of metaphysics. He also admits that the soul is not a result or a

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compound, but that it is an individual force, having a consciousness of itself. Upon this psychology he founds a stoic morality, admitting with Kant and Jouffroy an absolute and universal moral law, which forces itself upon every conscience with an irresistible authority. He believes in moral responsibility, in justice distinct from interest, in right and duty established upon absolute relations. So far he goes hand in hand with the spiritualistic philosophy. But in the definition of God he separates from his old friends, supplanting the theodicy of Hegel by that of Leibnitz, and German idealism for French spiritualism. The spiritualistic philosophy of the present day and the Cartesian school of old have never called in doubt the doctrine that in God infinity and perfection are one and the same thing. Vacherot separates the bond which unites these two ideas. According to his view they are entirely distinct and belong to different orders. The former is the product of pure reason, as we cannot think the finite without the infinite, the contingent without the necessary, the relative without the absolute. But we may perceive the imperfect without necessarily affirming the perfect being. The latter is a type, an ideal, which our thoughts need as a rule, but the *reality* of which we cannot affirm. The denial of the perfect being is, of course, the denial of a personal God. Vacherot, it is true, strongly protests against being classed with the pantheists or atheists; but Janet justly remarks of this illusion: "Your divine ideal is a dream; it is a phantom which has no body; an abstraction, the reality of which is not guaranteed by anything."

Each of the four systems above enumerated is ably analyzed and answered by Prof. Janet. In conclusion, a few remarks are made on the future of the spiritualistic school. Prof. Janet advises its members to think less of criticising other systems, than of developing their own and strengthening it by new arguments.

ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Bible and Modern Thought. By Rev. T. R. Birks, M.A., Rector of Kelshall, Herts. 12mo., pp. 436. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1864.

The great share of the learned infidelity of the present day is infidelity by anticipation. It is infidelity insured, by the assumption of its first principles anterior to specific examination. The absolute non-existence of the supernatural, the consequent absolute

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impossibility of miracles, are the assumptions; how then to account for historical Christianity and the primitive Christian documents is the problem that Strauss and Rénan try to solve. Hence the Christian documents are tried by a standard before which all ancient literature would fail. There is no product of ancient mind so well authenticated as the Gospel of Luke; yet the primary assumption that miracles are impossible demonstrates *à priori* its want of authenticity. Hence to the Christian thinker, satisfied that there is a supernatural, and that miracle is reasonable and even demanded by human wants, such books often have little significance or power. So far forth as they present with rare skill and learning those arguments that would tend to invalidate any ancient document they are effective; but as these against the positive evidence are obviously inefficient without the skeptical assumption, the solution is obvious why many persons in reading Strauss and Rénan are rather confirmed than weakened in Christian faith. With many minds, too, the question is best settled by a clear refutation of the skeptical assumptions. For such minds the *à priori* argument is needed. They require Campbell's Reply to Hume, Bushnell on the Supernatural, and Guizot's Meditations. And thus we see that men's tempers, dispositions, and previous mental positions often settle their conclusions before the *argument* proper is commenced.

Nevertheless there is a class of books needed that descend from the high *à priori* ground and discuss the minute details of the question. When the presuppositions are right this is a comparatively easy task. Difficulties may not all be removed; but it is easily seen why the removal of all difficulties cannot be demanded. It is this place which Mr. Birks's book is so admirably calculated to fill. His work is with the Bible itself; its nature and claims; its historical truth and inspiration; its alleged discrepancies with itself, with science, and with natural conscience, and its historical and doctrinal unity. These are treated independently, but with some reference to the skeptical Essays and Reviews. It is thence eminently a book for the times.

Missions Apostolic and Modern. An Exposition of the Narrative of St. Paul's First Missionary Journey, in Relation to the Protestant Missions of the Present Century. By FREDERICK W. BRIGGS. 16mo., pp. 333. London: Hamilton Adams & Co. 1864.

The author of this erudite little volume, regarding the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles as a most impressive exhibition of missionary principles in the order of their

rapid manifestation, has undertaken their exposition with the hope that he would thereby set forth the true ground of all missionary action. As an exposition it is a valuable addition to a branch of biblical literature that is growing in importance every day. The book has evidently been written for the study and for scholars. Its style is what may be called hard; it is involuted and parenthetical; some passages there are, especially in the earlier pages, which require to be re-read in order to discern with clearness the author's meaning. There is certainly nothing in the rhetoric of the book to commend it to the popular taste; and if it was designed for general circulation, which we can hardly think, we fear it will fail to meet the expectations of the publishers. To the biblical student, however, and to those who are in search of solid arguments wherewith to urge the Churches to renewed missionary efforts, the book will be a prize. Our readers who have facilities for ordering foreign books should add this to their lists. It is a thoughtful, painstaking treatise, and enriches our Church literature in a department at present exceedingly barren and ill-supplied. F.

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The Immortality of the Soul, considered in the Light of the Holy Scriptures, the Testimony of Reason and Nature, and the Various Phenomena of Life and Death. By HIRAM MATTISON, A.M. 12mo., pp. 398. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins. 1864.

Mr. Mattison has in the present volume ably exhibited the argument for immortality, both from Scripture and reason. Under the Scripture argument he includes ten chapters, in which he develops the Scripture doctrine of man's antithetical constitution as body and soul, of death as a separation of the two, of the intermediate state as a period of separation, of a resurrection as the reunion. These he contemplates not only as positive, but as negatively excluding the materialistic identification of soul with matter and of death with annihilation. The negative argument he extends to a refutation of any immortality conditioned on faith in Christ or any annihilation at the judgment day.

In twenty-five chapters under rational argument, he reasons from natural phenomena around us, from man's nature and relative position in creation, from the dominion, development, and energy of mind, from reverie, dream, and catalepsy, from the relations of mind and matter, from universal consent and universal aspirations, and from natural emblems. The work is interspersed with poetical quotations, and animated throughout with a high glow of Christian sentiment. Altogether it is well calculated, not so much for the thorough-bred metaphysician as for popular use.

The Power of Prayer, Illustrated in the Wonderful Displays of Divine Grace at the Fulton-Street Meetings in New York and Elsewhere in 1857 and 1858. By SAMUEL IRENÆUS PRIME. 12mo., pp. 418. New York: Charles Scribner. 1864.

The pages of this book abound in details of great interest, and we would hope of perfect truth, though we feel the most security from anything mythical in the cases that are best authenticated. There is one great instance of the power of prayer which we should be gratified to see introduced and properly treated in the work. The great prayer of the American Negro; what power has it exerted to move the hand of God to deal retribution upon our land and compel emancipation? Is it not the deep awful cry of the oppressed ascending to God which is working our present great revolution, converting not only pro-slavery religious editors, but the great body of the American people from their national sin, overthrowing the oppressor in his own blood, and granting right and justice to the oppressed? We have heard good people reason thus: "The South is praying against us, and we are praying against the South; on which side does the Almighty stand?" In our opinion there is an alliance between God and the negro; and whoever prays with the negro prays right.

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The Dawn of Heaven; or, The Principles of Heavenly Life Applied to the Earthly. By the late JOSEPH A. COLLIER, of Kingston, N. Y. With a Brief Biographical Sketch of the Author. 12mo., pp. 305. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1864.

The memorial and the remains of one who did his blessed work early and went to his early reward. Mr. Collier was born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1828; was prepared for college under Prof. J. J. Owen, of New York; graduated at Rutgers in 1849. He passed through a theological seminary and became a minister of the Reformed Dutch Church, and was pastor in Kingston, where, after a brief term of service, characterized by rare talent and attracting the love of a widening circle of friends, he closed his earthly life. His last intelligible words were: "In one short moment! In one *bright* moment!" His chapters on the Heavenly Life are the product of no ordinary intellect and of no ordinary Christian attainment. It is a special book for the young minister.

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Lyra Anglicana, or a Hymnal of Sacred Poetry, selected from the best English writers, and arranged after the order of the Apostles' Creed. By the Rev. GEORGE T. RIDER, M.A. 12mo., pp. 288. New York: Appleton & Co. 1864.

This is a fresh selection, in beautiful external, from the opulence of English hymnology; an opulence which both enables and justifies

the compiler in avoiding specimens which have appeared in previous collections. He presents the rarer gems of the last two centuries. Among his authors are Quarles, Herbert, Barnabas Barnes, Keble, Trench, and Mrs. Browning. In his beautifully written preface, the compiler has perhaps set sacred theology and devout hymnology in too strong opposition. They are but the opposite poles of the same thing. He has unconsciously illustrated this fact by ranging his songs in the order of his creed. Doctrines are the tangible forms of truth, for which the thinker writes and the martyr suffers; and these embrace the substance both which the preacher enforces and the hymnist sings.

The Book of Job in Poetry; or, A Song in the Night. By the Rev. Henry W. Adams, M.A., of the Diocese of Massachusetts, Honorary Member of the New York Historical Society, Member of the House of Convocation of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 8vo., pp. 380. Printed for the author. New York: Robert Craighead. 1864.

This is an elegant volume, done in blue and gold, with choice type, upon a snowy ground, and ornamented with well-engraved and instructive illustrations. It contains a translation of one of the most venerable of Hebrew productions, done in heroic measure, much in the style and spirit of Pope's translation of Homer. There are nearly sixty pages of introductory matter, evincing great general research and a profound study of his sublime original. The purpose of the translator may have been either to give an elucidation of the structure and argument of the book clearer than is furnished by the authorized version, or it may have been to furnish an equivalent to the spirit and power of the original. If the former, we think it a success; to say that he had attained the latter, would be to pronounce him about the greatest of poets.

Life Lessons in the School of Christian Duty. By the author of the Life and Times of John Huss, etc. 12mo., pp. 407. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph. 1864.

It was a very ignoble style of criticism in which the North American Review denied to Mr. Gillett the possession of a mastery of clear, correct, and ringing English style. In the department of Christian essay the specimen before us is pregnant with a great power to carry the reader along its deep rapid current of living thought. Well, if it carries him to the right terminus; for it is the writer's purpose to bring him to the full possession of a rich, wise, and happy Christian life. We regret to note some tinge of one-sidedness. The author in his quotation of rare Christian character seldom or never gets out of the stereotype catalogue of Calvin-

istic or Puritanic saintship. He deserves to enjoy a more expansive Christian spirit, and his book would then be a more acceptable present to a wide Christian public.

Notes, Critical and Explanatory, on the Book of Genesis, from the Creation to the Covenant. By MELANCTHON W. JACOBUS, Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in the Theological Seminary at Alleghany, Pa. 12mo., pp. 304. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1865.

The commentary of Professor Jacobus on the Gospels indicated an eminent fitness for that department of labor. The present volume, in a more untried field, will add to his reputation. It admirably supplies a great want of the present hour. It embraces the first fourteen chapters of Genesis. His introduction presents a review of the great issues which modern science has raised with the sacred record. Having disposed of these discussions, with much erudition and skill and a firm adherence to orthodox views, in the introductory part, he conducts the discussions of the text as pure exegesis, undisturbed by extraneous topics. Another volume is to complete Genesis.

The Martyrs of Spain and the Liberators of Holland. By the author of the Schönberg-Cotta Family. 24mo., pp. 400. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1865.

Tales and Sketches of Christian Life in Different Lands and Ages. Same author. 24mo., pp. 173. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1865.

The fact that these are the productions of the unknown but talented authoress of the Schönberg-Cotta family will attract many readers. They are narratives of events of thrilling interest, and protraitures of characters of exalted worth. Let our youthful readers be trained and strengthened in heroic piety by such models.

Christ and his Salvation: in Sermons variously related thereto. By HORACE BUSHNELL. 12mo., pp. 456. New York: Chas. Scribner. 1864.

The thoughtful Christian public will with pleasure accept a new volume of sermons by Dr. Bushnell. Those of the present issue are characterized by his usual independent thought, in terse, sententious style.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Dr. A. Neander's Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Christlichen Ethik. Herausgegeben von Dr. DAVID ERDMANN, General-Superintendent der 2 Provinz Schlesien. 8vo., pp. 304. Berlin: Weigant & Grieben. 1864.

The History of Christian Ethics sustains the same relation to the science of Christian Ethics as Doctrine-history does to Systematic

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Theology as usually treated. This comparison suggests at once the importance of the branch. The valuable results which have accrued on the one hand to Church history, and on the other to systematic theology, from an independent cultivation of doctrine-history, are well known and universally acknowledged; a similar cultivation of the history of ethical opinions, systems, schools, and methods in the Church, is destined to bear not less important fruits. This new volume of Neander's posthumously-published lectures is therefore doubly welcome: first, for its author's sake; and secondly, because it is a contribution from the hand of a master toward a science destined at no distant day to hold an important place in the theological curriculum. An exhibit of the contents and plan of the lectures will doubtless prove the best recommendation of the work we could give.

In the introduction of thirteen pages the author defines, 1. The Idea of the History of Christian Ethics; 2. Its Relation to the History of Christian Doctrine; 3. Its Relation to the History of Philosophical or Natural Ethics; and, 4. The Purpose of this Science, and its Importance to Theology and the Church. The work covers the history of Christian ethics only down to about the close of the thirteenth century. It divides the entire development into four periods. The *first* extends from the founding of the Church to Constantine; the *second* follows the development down to the beginning of the seventh century, (time of Gregory the Great;) the *third* brings us to the beginning of the scholastic theology, (twelfth century;) the *fourth* to the close of the thirteenth century. Under each period we find, as in most text-books of Doctrine-history, a "general" and a "special" section. In the former the general character, tendencies, and remarkable controversies of the period are discussed; in the latter the history of the particular ethical doctrines specially traced out. A glance at Dr. Erdmann's analysis, especially in the first and second periods, shows that *the plan* of the work is all that could be wished.

The chief defects of the book are, first, its incompleteness. Not only does it fail to reach down to the grand revolutions wrought in the domain of ethics by the Reformation and by the successive forms of modern speculation, but even a portion of the development covered by the work is very superficially treated. The third and fourth periods compare very poorly with the first two. Indeed, the portraiture of the two last periods taken together does not fill fifty pages. Another defect is its form. A work on the history of Christian ethics needs a heavy annotation of the sources. Otherwise we get nothing more than the bare assertions of our

author, with no means of judging whether the sources warrant them or not. In this case the name of NEANDER is of course a high security for the correctness of every representation purporting to rest upon historical testimonies; still most students prefer to see the premises from which the conclusions offered them are drawn, and to judge for themselves of the correctness of the deduction.

But however far the work may be from realizing the ideal of a thorough, complete, impartial portraiture of the history of Christian ethics, it has nevertheless, as a legacy of the lamented Neander, and as a record of his interpretation of ancient ethical writers in the Church, a permanent value. In the lack of works equally good in its department, it will find a warm welcome among historical students in all lands. Especial thanks are due to Dr. Erdmann for the loving, conscientious labor by which he has slowly reproduced from the copy-books of Neander's disciples, only aided by a few disjointed notes of the great master, a *textus receptus* of so important a lecture-course, thus saving from oblivion one of Neander's favorite works, a product of his mental prime.

Handbuch der Christlichen Sittenlehre, von ADOLF WUTTKE. Second Enlarged and Improved Edition. Vol. I. 8vo., pp. xii, 567. Berlin. 1864.

The first volume of this Manual of Christian Ethics appeared in 1861, the second the following year. The warm welcome with which it was immediately received has already rendered a second edition necessary, notwithstanding the competition of several other new and able works in the same department. It is beyond question the best treatise of its kind in the German language, unless one be disposed to except Harless's "Christliche Ethik," (sixth edition, 1864.) We recommend its study to American theologians with decided emphasis. They will learn from it the vital connection which subsists between sound ethics and sound theology; the influence which the successive systems of modern philosophy have exerted upon the development of ethical science; the falsity of every ethical system which ignores the grand central facts of the fall and redemption; the relation of heathen morality to Christian; and by means of these and similar learnings, the utter poverty and superficiality of our current American treatises in this department. The author, formerly professor in the University of Berlin, since 1861 in Halle, achieved his literary reputation while at the former university by the publication of the ablest "History of Heathenism" yet produced. The studies necessary to such a work were

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a very fine preparation for the career in which he is now distinguishing himself.

The *introduction* to the work before us fills three hundred pages, and contains, I. The definition of ethics in general, of philosophical ethics, and of Christian ethics. II. A discussion of the different methods of treating the science, (empirical, philosophical, and theological methods.) III. The history of ethics and of the moral consciousness in general; (A,) among the heathen, (nearly one hundred pages;) (B,) Old Testament or Jewish ethics; (C,) Christian ethics, 1, in the ancient Church; 2, in the middle ages; 3, in modern times. This historical section is exceedingly valuable, and furnishes perhaps the best complement of Neander's history of Christian ethics (elsewhere mentioned) which we possess. The *system*, which our author then proceeds to set forth, comprises three parts: Part I, treating of absolute morality without regard to sin—morality in its original or ideal form, that which God the holy wills; Part II, apostasy from absolute morality—sin, the guilty perversion of the moral idea in reality, that which man as unholy wills; Part III, morality in its renewal by redemption—the re-birth of moral rectitude out of sinful corruption, that which God as merciful, and man as penitent, will. Part I fills the remainder of the volume before us, and is subdivided into six sections: 1, The Moral Subject; 2, God as Ultimate Ground and Antetype of Moral Life, and as Author of the Law; 3, The Object of Moral Action, (God and the Creature;) 4, Ethical Motive; 5, Moral Action, (its Kinds, Objects; that is, God, Self, Neighbor, Things;) 6, Fruits of Moral Life as Moral Aim, (Perfection of the Individual; the Family; Moral and Social Order.) In the former edition the second part was divided into seven sections, several of which corresponded with those of Part II. They were: 1, Essence and Origin of Sin; 2, God over against Sinful Man; 3, The Moral Consciousness in a State of Sin; 4, The Object of Sinful Action; 5, The Sinful Motive; 6, Sinful Action; 7, Fruit and Aim of Sinful Action. Part III contained six sections, the first entitled, "God the Redeemer, and his Will as Regards the Redeemed; the second "The Redeemed Man;" the remaining four corresponding with the last four of Part I. Even from this meager exhibit of the outlines of the treatise the reader can see what fundamental and far-reaching problems are opened up to discussion and wrought into a homogeneous evangelical system. But let him not imagine that he is proffered a book of abstractions, for in few works will he find a more constant or instructive reference to concrete cases in life and in history. He will find, for instance, at the proper place the

Moravian use of sortilege, freemasonry, the deaconess institute in the Evangelical Church; in fact, the propriety of raising money for charitable or religious purposes by means of fairs, festivals, etc., ethically discussed and pronounced upon.

The work is arranged in paragraphs or sections, with a thesis in larger type at the head of each, the contents of which is then proven, illustrated, or more fully explained in the body of the section. The literary apparatus is amply sufficient, and particularly valuable by reason of its recentness. In these days references to old literature are of small worth. In style our author is perhaps a little too dogmatic, and this may be the reason why here and there his definitions are a little indistinct, and the proof of certain theses not so thorough as one could wish. Still this fault is so vastly overweighed by the many positive merits of the work that one has no heart to dwell upon it. It would be easy, especially for an American or a Methodist, to find other things to except to; but where does one expect to find a human composition with which one is perfectly satisfied? Enough that it is one of the best productions of the age in its department. The second volume will have appeared before this notice reaches the reader.

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Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Religion and Chemistry; or, Proofs of God's Plan in the Atmosphere and its Elements. Ten Lectures Delivered at the Brooklyn Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y., on the Graham Foundation. By Josiah P. Cooke, Jr., Erving Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in Harvard University. 8vo., pp. 348. New York: Charles Scribner. 1864.

Our Harvard professor has furnished in the volume before us a very timely exhibition of the proofs furnished by Chemistry of the being and attributes of God. It is a new, impressive, and growing chapter in what is called, with no great propriety, Natural Theology. His work is clearly, ably, and elegantly performed. His style is occasionally over rhetorical, yet he so spreads out his subject as to render its development suitably popular. His spirit is devout toward God and reverent to the Scriptures as his authorized word. He adduces, in six lectures, the "testimony" of the Atmosphere, of Oxygen, of Water, of Carbonic Acid, and of Nitrogen to the existence of a supreme design in nature. The three concluding lectures discuss the argument from Special Adaptations, the argument from General Plan, and the Limitations of Religious and Scientific Thought. The subject, though extensive,

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is by no means exhausted; and avoiding, as he purposely does, ranging far into the logic and metaphysics of the subject, there is perhaps even a larger amount suggested than expressed. He not only thinks clearly and ably, but furnishes a large amount of matter for thought.

The primitive elements of material nature, in their simple and separate state, bear all the marks of existing for a purpose. They are thence, obviously, each a manufactured article, prepared to take its place in a future adaptive system. What confirms this is that the properties of each are in different stages, so diverse and unexpected; as if they were not *à priori* necessary but affixed by the fiat of will. So too the properties of compounds are not the sum of the properties of the simples, but are new and apparently arbitrary in their character, fitting the matter too dovetailed into the system. And with how palpably adaptive a purpose these properties are shaped is impressively presented in the following passage in regard to Nitrogen:

> It does not follow that the square granite blocks which form the greater part of the front of yonder magnificent warehouse, however well adjusted they may be, were actually cut with reference to this building, although the strong presumption is that they were. Nor does it follow that those highly ornamented window-caps and that elaborate cornice were originally designed for this particular edifice, although the presumption that such was the case is still stronger than before. Nay, more, it is not even absolutely certain that those skillfully carved ornaments which adorn the front, and are built into the walls, were originally intended to be placed where they are, although to doubt this conclusion would be the extreme of incredulity. I admit, it is barely possible that they were originally made for another building, rejected, perhaps, for some defect, and afterward put up here. But I will show you where there is an evidence of design in the building-material of this warehouse which you will be forced to accept. It is not conspicuous, and might be overlooked. Just here at the corner of the building there is a very peculiarly shaped block of stone. You never saw one like it before. This extraordinary shape was required by the peculiar form of the building lot and the position of the walls on the adjoining estate. The sides of the lot are not perpendicular to the front, and the block has been cut to the precise angle of the bevel, and at the same time exactly fits the adjacent walls. The conclusion that this block was designed for that place is irresistible. No sane mind would doubt it for a moment. I do not say there is not one chance in many millions, estimated on the doctrine of probabilities, that a block of this exact size and shape might have been found among the refuse stock of the stone-cutter's yards; but I do say, that, *in absence of absolute proof to the contrary*, the certainty that this granite block was wrought with reference to the place it fills, and that the exact correspondence of its dimension and angles was the result of measurement, is as great as it is possible to attain by any process of reasoning short of a mathematical demonstration; moreover, it is as great as can be obtained in physical science, or in any department of human knowledge one step removed from the facts of consciousness or of observation.
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> The evidence that nitrogen was designed for the place which it fills in the atmosphere is vastly stronger than this. The force of the argument in the illustration just cited evidently increases very rapidly the more singular the shape of the granite block, and the more accurately its form has been adjusted to the place it fills. Now nitrogen is as unique among the chemical elements, as water is among the compounds. Its external properties are so entirely different from those

even of the class of elements to which it belongs, that chemists can hardly believe that it is a simple substance, and for the last fifty years have been vainly attempting to decompose it; but it has resisted all their efforts, and the more intimately they have become acquainted with its properties, the more singular and exceptional it has appeared. At the same time, while presenting these remarkable anomalies, nitrogen has been fitted to the unique place which it fills in the scheme of creation, with a nicety and precision which it is as much beyond our powers of thought to conceive, as it is beyond my feeble language to describe. It is not only that one or two of the corners of this block of nature's edifice have been beveled to an exact angle, but it has been adjusted at every point to the ten thousand conditions of that complex structure which I have been describing, but how imperfectly! during this course of lectures, with a skill immeasurably beyond all human art, and with an intelligence which "looketh to the ends of the earth and seeth under the whole heaven."—Pp. 218–220.

When Hume argued that the creation of matter out of nothing is as inconceivable as its coming out of nothing without a Creator, Dr. Chalmers abandoned the proof of a deity from original creation, and based it upon the "collocations of matter;" that is, upon the arrangements of matter into adaptive organizations. He drew his proof of God's existence not from original creation, but from wise formations. But does not this chemical argument nearly reinstate the old proof? Design as truly (and perhaps more truly) appears in the primitive nature of matter as in the secondary formations. The primitive purpose is stamped upon, or rather exists in the primitive article. It must, therefore, have been created, and matter is not eternal.

The two following passages illustrate the possibility of a spiritual world or worlds even within the bounds of nature, though beyond the bounds of sense:

Sounds of the highest pitch, like the cry of some insects, become disagreeable, and by some persons cannot even be distinguished. It is quite possible to produce a sound which, though painfully shrill to one person, shall be entirely unheard by another. Professor Tyndall, in his very interesting work on the glaciers of the Alps, relates an instructive anecdote of this sort, which I give in his own language: "I once crossed a Swiss mountain in company with a friend; a donkey was in advance of us, and the dull tramp of the animal was plainly heard by my companion; but to me this sound was almost masked by the shrill chirruping of innumerable insects, which thronged the adjacent grass; my friend heard nothing of this, it lay quite beyond his range of hearing." There may, therefore, be innumerable sounds in nature to which our ears are perfectly deaf, although they are the sweetest melody to more refined senses. Nay, more, the very air around us may be resounding with the halleluiahs of the heavenly host, when our dull ears hear nothing but the feeble accents of our broken prayers.—P. 43.

Moreover, when we remember that our organs of vision and hearing are capable of receiving impressions either of light or sound only when the rapidity of the undulations which cause them is comprised within certain very narrow limits, and when we recall the facts stated in a previous lecture, that there are waves of light and sound of which our dull senses take no cognizance, that there is a great difference even in human perceptivity, and that some men, more gifted than others, can see colors or hear sounds which are invisible or inaudible to the great bulk of mankind, you will appreciate how possible it is that there may be a world of spiritual existence around us—inhabiting this same globe, enjoying this same nature—of which we have no perception; that in fact the wonders of the New Jerusalem

> may be in our midst, and the songs of the angelic hosts filling the air with their celestial harmony, although unheard and unseen by us. . . . The only revelation man has received of a spiritual existence is contained in the Bible; but modern science has rendered the conception of such an existence possible, and in this way has removed a source of doubt. The materialist can no longer say that the spiritual world is inconceivable; for these discoveries show that it may be included in the very scheme of nature in which we live, and thus, although science may not remove the vail, it at least answers this cavil of materialism.—P. 107.

While a large school of philosophers are attempting to enthrone a blind force over the universe, Prof. Cooke (p. 340) traces *force* itself to Will as its source. It is simply the Supreme Will in action. The finite cause, disclosed to our consciousness in the act of volition, is type and explanation of the Infinite cause, revealed to us in limitless *force*.

The Correlation and Conservation of Forces. A Series of Expositions, by Prof. GROVE, Prof. HELMHOLTZ, Dr. MAYER, Dr. FARADAY, Prof. LIEBIG, and Dr. CARPENTER. With an Introduction and Brief Biographical Notices of the Chief Promoters of the New Views. By EDWARD L. YOUMANS, M.D. 12mo., pp. 438. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1865.

The article in our present number on Tyndall's discussion of heat is an excellent introducer of these remarkable essays to our reader. We have here the original expositions of the "New Philosophy," prefaced by an excellent exposition of both the expositions and the expounders. The whole will be a rare treat to the lovers of severe scientific thought. The two fundamental points of the philosophy are, first, that Force, like matter, is indestructible, and so susceptible of neither increase nor diminution, all the movements that take place being but transition-uses of a portion of the common indestructible stock; and second, that *heat* is identical with this force, force being in fact but "a mode of motion." By Joule's celebrated *law*, force when apparently disappearing truly discloses itself in heat; he having by unquestionable experiments ascertained the comparative equivalents of force and heat. On this basis, mainly, Herbert Spencer founds his stupendous physical-world-history, adding Sir William Hamilton's philosophy divested of its safeguards, and his own *theology;* or as Cudworth would have called it, his "*atheology.*" Neither Joule's law nor Tyndall's science of heat are responsible for Mr. Spencer's atheology. And we may add that Mr. Spencer's admirer and introducer, Prof. Youmans, repeatedly, both in his present preface and in his chemistry, uses language no way consonant with that godless result. Nevertheless it must be conceded that Prof. Youmans does in his preface environ not only nature but man with the fatalistic supremacy of brute force. He attempts, happily in vain, to prove this abhorrent dogma. He proves, indeed, what freedomists have ever granted, that sensa-

tions, intellections, desires, emotions, are all under law of necessitative causation. He is unable to pass that boundary-line and show that will is subject to force. It still remains true, as Pope long since asserted, that Omnipotence,

> "Binding *nature* fast in fate,
> Leaves free the human will."

An Inquiry into the Nature, Foundation, and Extent of Moral Obligation, Involving the Nature of Duty, of Holiness, and of Sin. Being an Introduction to the Study of Moral Science in all its branches, including the Legal, Theological, and Governmental. By David Metcalf. 12mo., pp. 486. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co. Worcester: William H. Sanford. 1860.

Mr. Metcalf's work is an able and thorough discussion of the Foundation of Moral Obligation. He holds the power of contrary choice to be a necessary condition of all responsibility, and so, if we understand him, is an explicit and consistent freedomist. We do not perceive any clear attempt to hamper this freedom with any invariable sequence or Calvinian predestination, whether of causative decree or "secured certainty." So far, we believe, we can fully agree with him. His ethical theory bases right upon "benevolent utility;" that is, as we understand him, the greatest amount of universal happiness is—not only *right*, adjectively, but—is identical with *rightness*, substantively. Here we may differ. We are not quite sure that there can be no right system which does not embrace, of all possible systems, the highest amount of happiness. Right is higher than happy sensation. Nor do we with our author rank the mind's prevolitional appetency or protension toward obeying the law of moral obligation among the *desires*. Desire is the appetency for the agreeable; the ethical appetency is a protension for the right, whether agreeable or desired or not. And this primary distinction refutes a large share of the argument in behalf of the doctrine that desire for happiness is the only subjective motive. Nor do we see how Mr. Metcalf reconciles the doctrine with his freedomism.

There are some minor points in which Mr. Metcalf appears to us to be in error. He calls volition a voluntary act. We suppose that volition is a *volitional* act, and that the *voluntary* is *postvolutional.* He holds that a necessitated volition is never *sin;* we hold that it is often *sin* or *ethical wrong*, but never responsible, nor involving guilt or deserved penalty. He strangely affirms (p. 59) that the younger Edwards "held to the power of contrary choice;" which is just as true as that Hume held to the

reality of Scripture miracles, or that Jefferson Davis is the great opponent of the Southern rebellion. To refute the existence of "the power of contrary choice" (in opposition to Dr. West, who maintained) was the very object for which the younger Edwards wrote.

Nature and the Supernatural as Together Constituting the One System of God. By HORACE BUSHNELL. New Edition. 12mo., pp. 528. New York: Charles Scribner. London: Sampson Low, Son & Co. 1864.

The public will welcome this new edition of Dr. Bushnell's able work as eminently timely. It is a work which has made its mark in both America and England. Its methods are in some respects peculiar; nor can we indorse all his reasonings in regard to the derivation of death and evil in the world from subsequent sin. The proof of the supernatural from the occurrence of apparently supernatural phenomena occurring in human experience accords remarkably with the views of Baxter and of Wesley; and, true or false, such are the tendencies that we strongly suspect that it is accepted by a more extensive class of minds now than would have been the case twenty years ago. The opposite poles of belief and skepticism powerfully disclose themselves. In our view the miraculous interruption or intersection of the operation of the normal laws of nature is as truly, though not as extensively, accordant with human experience as the laws themselves are.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The American Conflict, A History of the Great Rebellion in the United States of America, 1860–64, its Causes, Incidents, and Results. Intended to exhibit its Moral and Political Phases, with the Drift and Progress of American Opinion Respecting Human Slavery, from 1776 to the Close of the War for the Union. By HORACE GREELEY. Illustrated by Portraits on steel of Generals, Statesmen, and other Eminent Men. Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 648. Hartford: O. D. Case & Co. Chicago: George & C. W. Sherwood. 1864.

The present stately volume of Mr. Greeley's History extends from the foundation of our Government to the expulsion of the Hutchinsons from the American army by that magnanimous hero for whose name the prefix "Little" has been so judiciously selected. The work, from both its subject and treatment, possesses a deep but somber interest, tracing, as it does, *the* dark thread in our nation's history. It awakens not in the heart the pleasant emotions of pride and joy for our race or country. How happy, seemingly, might have been our lot, how pure our freedom, how

perfect our union, how exemplary our history, but for this one dark original sin!

A synoptical survey of the whole ground would justify a fuller recognition of a divine Providence in the history. How terrible have been the consequences of one cherished national iniquity! Gentle and feeble at the beginning, how rank was its growth, how turbulent its strength, how despotic its supremacy! Yet the time of retribution came; and seldom in human history has the measure been dealt in such proportions to the guilt. And just as rapidly as the reluctant nation has come to a recognition of the rights of the oppressed has success attended our efforts. When the oppressed are completely disenthralled and enfranchised, God will smile upon us with a prosperity unknown to our past history.

And God's own will be the glory. Nothing is more striking than the absence, when the convulsion came, of any man of high heroic mould to master the elements. Feeble leadership in cabinet and field exempts us from all temptation to ascribe our deliverance to man. By a unique perversity most of the energy of our Government seemed exerted to hold back our armies around the seat of government, and to strike down every man in the distance who dared exploit any bold leadership. Yet was not Providence wise in the folly of man? Did not this very inefficiency insure the ultimate downfall of slavery? Had an immediate decisive military success annihilated the rebellion, would not the guilty institution have returned to its supremacy over us? Thanks to the wisdom of God, that knows how to work with the folly and frenzy of mortals to evolve his grand results.

Of the value of Mr. Greeley's history we have amply spoken in a former number. It must needs be an *outside* history. Of many an unaccountable event the solution stands unrevealed. There are unrifled mysteries in every chapter. But of all that can be known we may safely assume that, apart from the religious phase of the subject, he is a most thoroughly informed, truthful, graphic, and judicious historian.

Apologia pro Vita Sua; Being a Reply to a Pamphlet Entitled, "What, then, does Dr. Newman Mean?" By John Henry Newman, D.D. 12mo., pp. 393. New York: Appleton & Co.

The foreign Reviews, as our Synopsis will reveal, have been tolerably full of the quarrel between Prof. Kingsley and Dr. Newman. The latter was the real leader of the great Tractarian movement, to which the name of Dr. Pusey was less appropriately affixed; and the inconsistencies and contradictions which marked the path

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of the leader, terminating finally in Rome, produced a wide conviction upon the mind of Protestant England of his purposed and persistent duplicity. Outspoken Prof. Kingsley uttered the charge in terms so explicit as to call for a reply and produce a battle. This book is Mr. Newman's last broadside.

The work became a leading topic of British thought. It is a full disclosure of Newman's mental history, and so a full disclosure of the inside of the Tractarian movement. It is honorably conceded by some Protestant reviewers that Newman exonerates himself from the charge of either practicing or advocating mendacity. It is written in masterly style, exhibiting the consummate skill of the natural logician and the perfect culture of the finished university man.

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History of the Antislavery Measures of the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth United States Congresses. By HENRY WILSON. 12mo., pp. 384. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1864.

Refreshing indeed it is, after poring over the sad details of senility, treason, cowardice, and defeat under leaders like Scott, Patterson, M'Clellan, and M'Dowell, to enter upon the scenes of moral battle, where every leader of freedom is a hero and every fight a victory. The age of compromisers is past. Those splendid failures, Webster, Clay, Benton, etc., have left the scenes. A younger generation, less gigantic perhaps in stature, but more manly in their bearing, lead the movements in struggle and triumph. It is a regular combat between receding darkness and aggressive light; between barbarism and civilization, between Satan and Messiah. Satan's leaders are such as Saulsbury, Bayard, and Powell. Freedom's heroes are such as Sumner, Wilson, and Wade. It is a rare opportunity to be allowed place in such an arena and on freedom's side.

The measures of antislavery aggression, gentle and tentative at first, grew bold and decisive as time advanced. Among the measures of those memorable Congresses are the prohibition of military returning of fugitives; the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; the prohibition of slavery in the territories; the recognition of Hayti and Liberia; the education of colored children in the District of Columbia; the treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade; the repeal of fugitive slave laws; the legalization of colored testimony; the non-exclusion of colored persons from cars.

Eminent among the champions of freedom was Senator Wilson himself. The clear, brilliant ring of his style, both of oratory and writing, creates much of the life of this live book.

"From Dan to Beersheba;" or, The Land of Promise as It Now Appears. Including a Description of the Boundaries, Topography, Agriculture, Antiquities, Cities, and Present Inhabitants of that Wonderful Land; with Illustrations of the Remarkable Accuracy of the Sacred Writers in their Allusions to their Native Country. Maps and Engravings. By Rev. J. P. NEWMAN, D.D. 12mo., pp. 485. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1864.

Dr. Newman's volume is a valuable addition to our library of Palestinian travels. He has a rare power of collecting into a brief pictorial summary the several points of historical and topical interest that center in a given locality. He has the eye of a true practical yet appreciative and enthusiastic observer, capable of feeling the full measure of high emotion but of restricting it to the true measure. His style is graphic and sonorous; perhaps a trifle too rhetorical. Indeed, his book reverberates from title to finis like a piece of ever-rolling oratory. The lover of sacred geography will find it a rich entertainment. Our ministry, our Sunday-school teachers, our Scripture expositors, will (excepting Thomson's "Land and the Book") scarce find its equal.

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History of the Peace; being a History of England from 1816 to 1864. With an Introduction, 1800 to 1815. By HARRIET MARTINEAU. 2 vols. 12mo., pp. 455, 500. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1864.

This work is really a History of England from the commencement of the present century to the year 1854. The authoress possesses rare qualifications for the work. We do not admire her religious, or rather her *ir*religious opinions, as elsewhere expressed; but her clear, strong, humanitarian views of secular topics secure her history from any positive irreligious tinge. In her extreme depreciation of Paley we do not concur. Her style is clear, terse, ringing, rapid; dealing in facts stated under the light of liberal views rather than in reflections. As a compact exhibit of the history of England for the first half of the present century, it is perhaps without a rival.

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Life, Times, and Correspondence of James Manning, and the Early History of Brown University. By REUBEN ALDRIDGE GUILD. 12mo., pp. 523. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1864.

By a most fortunate discovery of "a handsome morocco portfolio" of "Manning Papers," Mr. Guild, the custodian of the library of Brown University, was induced to prepare for publication the present volume. It is a truly valuable memorial of the life, labors, and character of Brown's accomplished first president, embracing the history of the founding and early years of the college, with brief biographies of the memorable family from whom it derives

its name. Mr. Guild has well performed his honorable task, and the book is a very pleasing addition to the literary and religious history, not only of the great denomination to which its subject specially belonged, but of our common country.

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The History of the Romans Under the Empire. By CHARLES MERIVALE, B. D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. V, VI. 12mo., pp. 473, 475. New York: Appleton.. 1865.

These volumes embrace the history of the empire from the commencement of the reign of Tiberius to the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus. It embraces the era of our Saviour's life, and the earliest period of the New Testament Church. The scholar, the theologian, and the popular reader will find the hand of a great master in the production of the work.

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History of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States of America. By ABEL STEVENS, LL. D. 12mo., pp. 423, 511. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1864.

These two volumes cover the ground from the first appearance of Methodism in America to the first regular General Conference in 1792. It is the "planting and training of American Methodism." Though lacking the grandeur of the first "movement" in England, the work will possess a peculiar interest from its home character. The Church will rejoice in possessing such a history. We withhold further remark in expectation of a full review by an able hand.

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Memoirs of Lieutenant-General Scott, LL.D. Written by himself. In two volumes. 12mo., pp. 653. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1864.

The great captain has, it seems, been occupying the evening hours of his life in narrating the events of his day. Though hardly equal to the commentaries of Cesar, his memoirs will be read with interest, especially the personal details of his earlier days. We were somewhat struck with the following passage, containing admonitory words to our present administration, deeply suggesting whether there is not an individual lenity which may prove a public cruelty:

> To Congress, at the next meeting, the President [Jefferson] submitted the case, that it might be seen, as he said, whether the acquittal of Colonel Burr of high treason was the result of a "defect in the testimony, in the law, or *in the administration of the law.*" The latter was understood to be his opinion. The calm judgment of the bar, however, has now long been that though the crime had been committed, the prosecution broke down in its legal proofs. This is to be regretted; not that the thirst for blood was not slaked on the occasion, but because, there never having been an execution in the United States for the highest of crimes, our people were in 1832 and 1861 still untaught a most needful lesson—*that playing at treason is a dangerous game!*

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Politics, Law, and General Morals.

Ancient Law; its Connection with the Early History of Society, and Relation to Modern Ideas. By HENRY SUMNER MAINE, Member of the Supreme Council of India; formerly Reader on Jurisprudence and the Civil Law at the Middle Temple, and Regius Professor of the Civil Law in the University of Cambridge. With an Introduction by THEODORE W. DWIGHT, LL.D., Professor of Municipal Law, Columbia College, New York. First American, from Second London Edition. 8vo., pp. 400. New York: Charles Scribner. 1864.

Here are genuine nuggets of rich historic ore. Good paper, fair type, and liberal margins make the book outwardly inviting. After a suitable introduction by Professor Dwight to the author, we are welcomed with graceful dignity. In a place where there seemed every reason to expect dry frigidity and tedious technicality, we are surprised to find ourselves not only at ease and at home in a moment, but delightfully entertained. The author possesses a style pure, precise, perspicuous; an easy and complete command of language, which dispenses with technicalities, yet never labors for the lack of them. His generalizations, ransacking dusty corners of historic chronicle, shaking out a golden grain from a chaffy pile of legal formulas, stringing together on the same thread a Mosaic ordinance, Christian creed, Hindoo rite, Slavonic custom, and Homeric epithet, compelling facts to own relationship and shake hands across historic chasms centuries or chiliads in width, sometimes startle, and often surprise, yet, on reflection and study, commend themselves as wise and true. He overthrows some widely-spread and long-established opinions, which master-builders of legal architecture, like Grotius and Blackstone, have laid among their foundation stones. Yet he is never intrusive and dogmatic. He surveys a time-honored theory with respectful scrutiny, then quietly knocks out an underlying assumption, and passes on, leaving it to settle and fall.

Touching the importance and vitality of the theme, we remark that our author shows, in his chapter on the Law of Contract, how Roman Jurisprudence has left broad and indelible marks on the philosophy, politics, and theology of the Western nations. For several centuries Law was the main outlet for the intellectual activity of these nations. Law Latin retained its classic purity after the vernacular of the masses had sunk into a barbarous jargon, and for ages this was to them the vehicle of all philosophical thought. In fact, Roman Jurisprudence is styled by our author "the one intellectual result of Roman civilization." It is most interesting to see how Roman Law has cut the channels and tinged the streams of theological speculation for all the nations

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which arose from the *debris* of the Western Empire. For example, the Greek Church was never entangled in the famous Free-will controversy which for fifteen centuries has resounded through the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches. What is the reason of this? The long training of the best mind of the West in Roman Jurisprudence furnishes the reply. This question arose among a people who had been trained to analyze *obligation*, or, as our author happily puts it, the controversy "arises when we contemplate a metaphysical problem under a *legal aspect*." Greek philosophy suggested to the Eastern Church their manifold problems concerning the Divine Nature, throwing up to the surface such names as Arius, Athanasius, and Socinus; but the Latin Church, having no real genius for such speculations on these topics, could only passively accept the Greek conclusions. But after the division of the empire, as soon as the Latin Church begins to possess an independent life, its long legal training displays its fruits in the manifold controversies concerning moral obligation, sin and atonement, the nature of man's debt and of Christ's payment, satisfaction and forgiveness, and manifold kindred topics. As we turn the leaves of Church history, and pass from the earlier to the later great Christian controversies, we really pass from the sphere of Greek metaphysics to that of Roman Law.*

But it is, by this time, well to take a look at our author's plan. Surveying the history of Ancient Law, he discusses in the first

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* From such statements, made even by so high authority as Mr. Maine, we record our frank dissent. The notion that the Greek mind was less metaphysical than the Roman is unhistorical. Upon the doctrines both of Free-will and the Trinity the Greek Church went through a profound and satisfactory discussion; and having fundamentally based herself upon them, there was no room left for dispute. The earlier discussion, that upon Free-will and Predestination, was waged against the Gnostic Fatalists, in which Irenæus and Justin Martyr used the same arguments as we use at this day against Edwards. The Chrysostomean theology denounced Predestination as of the devil. That theology was not merely Arminian, but "Arminio Arminior;" it was more anti-Calvinian than Arminius himself. The first great systematic Theology ever written, that by the celebrated Greek, John of Damascus, constituting an epoch in Theological history, was as systematically anti-Predestinarian as the works of John Wesley. The entire fact is, that the Greek Church having settled her doctrines, both of Free-will and the Trinity, very wisely gave no listening ear to any advocate of either the Socinian or Predestinarian heresies. Her grand title was, "The Holy Orthodox Church;" why should she adopt the pestilent little heterodoxies of Hippo and Geneva? So on a smaller scale our own Church, having adopted a similar theology, has had, in a great judaical age, a history of internal theological quietism. Divisions and secession we have had in plenty: but never one upon a point of theodicy. In regard to what follows, would it not be more accurate to say that as the mind of any nation matures its sense of public right and mutual justice, the study of both the

five chapters its philosophy, origin of Law, principles that govern its progress, helps and hinderances. In the last five he unfolds, illustrates, and applies these principles in the discussion of the origin and development of several classes of laws, that is, those concerning Inheritance, Wills and Testamentary Succession, Property, Contract, and Crime. These are the bones which the author's learning and eloquence make to live.

I. Law is older than legislation, older than government as we use the word, older than lawgivers themselves. Primarily it is simply a *habit*, "it is in the air." It is first outwardly enunciated when this habit is disregarded in some specific instance, and then not in a general but in a specific form. The family head, or patriarch, (no lawgiver as yet,) declares the given act a violation of Law. Thus the first laws are specific judgments, the *θέμιστες* and *δίκαι* of Homer. Precedents now become established, and then *custom* is Law. Aristocracy succeed the patriarchal monarchy, and the privileged caste are simply those who monopolize a knowledge of these customs. With writing comes publication of these customs, that is, codification. Now the spontaneous growth of Law is arrested, for "*litera scripta manet.*" The era of this codification has great if not decisive influence in determining whether the Society shall henceforth be stationary or progressive. Progress in society, we do not generally realize, is the exception; the larger part of mankind have made no effort to change their codes from almost immemorial time. But in progressive society this modification proceeds in three modes: (1.) By *Legal Fiction;* (2.) By *Equity;* (3.) By *Legislation.* In the Roman Jurisprudence the influence of *Legal Fiction* is seen in the effect of the opinions of the leading lawyers of the Republic upon the interpretation of the Twelve Tables. The *Equity* Jurisprudence is seen in the effect of the annual Pretorian Edict upon the same celebrated code, from Augustus to Hadrian, and the commentaries thereon from Hadrian to Severus. With Severus the Roman Equity Jurisprudence ceases, as the English Equity and Jurisprudence exhausted itself under the chancellorship of Lord Eldon.

II. But the second portion of the work brings us among wider and still more fruitful generalizations. Most writers on legal history, following the *à priori* method, have really guessed out the

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human and divine government becomes prominent? Jurisprudence and Theodicy are always likely to grow together. They are both based upon our innate sense of equity; but some nations, as the Greek, arrive at ultimate and settled because just results much earlier than others. It was the stupendous genius of Augustine which disturbed and unsettled the western Theodicy.—Ed.

past by the use of modern principles. Thus arose the "*compact theories*" of the origin of government, made so famous by the names of Locke and Hobbes, the utilitarian theory of Bentham, the Natural Society theory, borrowed from the Roman lawyers by Grotius, and then by Blackstone, whose introductory chapters have sown it over the whole field of modern civilization. Note now how one historic fact, extracted from archaic Law, scatters all these theories like a puff of vapor. Modern Law deals with *Individuals*, Ancient Law recognized only *Families*.

In the eye of Ancient Law, the father of the family is absolute ruler of his household; he represents it for the time, but has only this representative value. Individually he is nothing in the commonwealth; he dies, but the family—the real and only *person* that the Law recognizes—is perpetual. Archaic Law recognizes only family action and responsibility, and dispenses family punishment. We would that we had space to show how this fact sends a broad beam of sunshine far back through the haze of primeval society; how it puts into our hand the key that unlocks manifold mysteries of ancient customs, jurisprudence, theology, and religion. We comprehend, for the first time, ancient and modern legislation and opinion upon the *status* of woman, of children, and slaves; we understand the apparent deficiencies of the Mosaic legislation, the blessing and the curse of the Second Commandment, the extermination of the Canaanites, the hopeless misery of Œdipus, the strange blending of contradictory qualities in Achilles and Ulysses. And more, the light, pouring from this principle upon the past, is reflected back upon the present, and Ancient Law unriddles what to our Western understanding are the strange social anomalies, the hopeless, soulless inertia, the stereotyped barbarism, or semi-civilization, of those Eastern races which constitute the great majority of the human family. N.

The Negro Problem Solved; Or, Africa as She Was, as She Is, and as She Shall Be. Her Curse and Her Cure. By Rev. Hollis Read, author of "God in History," "India and Its People," "Palace of the Great King," etc. 12mo., pp. 418. New York: A. A. Constantine. 1864.

In spite of its assuming title this is a valuable book. Mr. Read finds the solution of what he calls the "negro problem" in African colonization. And a very valuable collection of facts upon that subject it is, expressed in a clear and attractive style, animated with a philanthropic spirit. Mr. Read is an earnest friend and defender of the Afric-American in America. But we have nevertheless one very serious issue with his book.

So far as the improvement of Africa is concerned, we have both

faith and hope in the colonization enterprise. And for the Afric-Americans we greatly desire that every facility should be afforded so far as they may wish to emigrate to the home of their ancestors. But Mr. Read goes further than this, and commits the grave offense against good sense and Christianity which has implicated colonizationism in much wickedness theoretical and practical, and damaged its cause to an almost fatal extent. It is a smooth saying, but it embraces a very cruel doctrine, that it is the "duty" of the Afric-American to abandon the land of his birth. There is a mighty mischief lurking under that ethical talk. Of course if it is his duty to go it is our right to make him go. Somebody there must be who is authorized to enforce that duty. And when we are shown how feasible is the project, in this day of stupendous enterprises, to send four million sables to the sable soil, we can readily see how the Spanish expulsion of the Jews can be re-enacted on a more extended scale and with a more idiotic folly in this nineteenth century in this free Christian land. Mr. Read's ethics is but the bland echo to Senator Saulsbury's fierce slaveholder's bluster, "This is the white man's country;" though how the white man honestly came by it would cost even a man-owner some trouble to show. Of the three colors that occupy the soil the white can show the least excuse for being here. It is no more Frederick Douglass's duty or Bishop Payne's to leave the country than Mr. Read's or mine. Besides, in our opinion, *the time is coming when we may need not merely the negro labor but the negro* VOTE.

The negro, when educated and intelligent, will ever think, speak, act, and VOTE on the side of freedom, civilization, republicanism, loyalty, and the Protestant religion. Educate him and put a vote in his hand, and no truer patriot walks the American soil. On the other hand there is a contrasted element—the Irish Catholic—that goes by the solid column, perhaps a hundred thousand strong, for slavery, retrogression, drunkenness, mobocracy, and disloyalty. It is a compact instrument in the hands of the priest, and by him handed over for a consideration to the mobocrat. It constitutes the demagogue's first sure capital in organizing a profligate party. While, however, we speak in terms of scathing indignation of the priest and the mobocrat, let us speak in tenderness of the victimized Celt himself. Alas! how much of all this degradation with which he curses us Protestants is the result of ages of Protestant oppression upon him! He is of a generous, noble stock, as many a cultured and brilliant specimen of Irish genius attests. And when Patrick comes here to build our railroads, dig our canals, and create our material prosperity, let us not with the old Know-nothings proscribe and

disfranchise him. Just as little must he proscribe and disfranchise the negro. That negro is a native-born American. He is all we have above described him—loyal, progressive, republican, Protestant. The home-born negro is far better entitled to his vote than the immigrant. He will use it far better than the Romanist immigrant. And what is more, his vote will more than neutralize the power of the disloyal vote for our country's ruin. And we may add, by the way, that in moral influence over our political destinies Methodism would have nothing to lose by an enfranchisement that might double the Methodist vote in the nation.

The Romish vote has to a great degree ruled our country. It elected Jackson, Buchanan, and the entire series of proslavery Presidents between them. It sustained all the aggressions of slavery, and so produced the rebellion. Could the negro vote have counterbalanced it, as it had a right to do, the entire history of our country would have been widely different from the time of John Quincy Adams's defeat to the present hour. And when we reflect that if the Southern rebellion is subdued a new field of immigration will be opened, pouring in an overwhelming foreign vote, it will be seen at once that the negro is at last our true protector from its sway. Mr. Read, then, will see that we are unable to sympathize with his monster project of sending out four millions of native-born Americans to be replaced with double the number of foreigners. On the contrary, nothing would be wiser than for our countrymen to unite in adopting into our national Constitution something like the following article: No native-born male, adult, sane American, resident of any state, who is able to read and write the English language, shall be deprived of the right to vote for President, Vice-president, and Representative in Congress, except for disloyalty or other crime. And by the way, though hardly germane to the subject, another amendment should enable us to vote for President and Vice-president directly, (without an intervening electoral college,) and irrespective of state boundaries.

But can you admit the negro to political rights without accepting him in social life? The man, we reply, who would disfranchise the negro in order to secure the negro's inferiority not only pays the negro a high compliment but shows himself already the negro's inferior. Surely no one can be the inferior of the man who is obliged to maintain his superiority by brute force and oppressive laws over his competitor. But the two things, political rights and social equality, do not belong to the same sphere of thought. Political rights are a matter of public law and constitution; social intercourse belongs to individual taste and choice. Your purple-

and-fine-linen democratic leader does not expect his mob material to enter his fashionable soiree. A Fernando Wood may indeed consort with Patrick in the caucus or tap-room; but Patrick never expects to see the inside of his mansion. Who supposes that he is obliged to be an associate with a voter even of the same ticket? What more separate than Jew and Gentile? Yet they belong to the same politics. We are a thousand communities in one, divided by a countless variety of principles. Those communities may for ages vote at the same polls and for the same candidates, and yet remain with scarce any other point of contact. The political enfranchisement of the negro involves no social amalgamation. That whole matter, at any rate, can be left to regulate itself.

Essays: Moral, Political, and Æsthetic. By HERBERT SPENCER. 12mo., pp. 386. New York: Appleton & Co. 1865.

These Essays exhibit on almost every page the powers of an independent, humanitarian thinker. They contain very little trace of Mr. Spencer's peculiar views on theological subjects. There are essays on the Philosophy of Style, the Morals of Trade, Personal Beauty, Representative Government, Prison Ethics, Railway Morals and Railway Policy, Gracefulness, State Tampering with Money and Banks, Parliamentary Reform. Mr. Spencer's ethics are rigid, his political views are liberalistic, and his aim is the production of the highest earthly good. On these topics he is well worthy our discriminative attention.

Introduction to the Study of International Law. Designed as an Aid in Teaching, and in Historical Studies. By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, President of Yale College. 8vo., pp. 441. New York: Charles Scribner.

This is a revised and enlarged edition of the work published by the learned president of Yale in 1861. The early exhaustion of the first edition evinced the favor with which it was received as a textbook for the professor and a manual for the historical student. The events of the present war suggest some discussions, in which, with a judicial calmness, he maintains the permanence of fundamental principles against the one-sided views of the moment. We doubt not the work as now revised will be accepted as an improved standard in the important department it occupies.

Educational.

A Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges. By ALBERT HARKNESS, Ph.D., Prof. in Brown University. 12mo., pp. 355. New York: Appleton & Co.

The above grammar is the production of a scholar already favorably known in his First and Second Latin Books, of which this is

the Third and completion of the series. We have to do, then, with an acquaintance; and we open the grammar, not with any idle curiosity agape for some startling theory in Latin Philology, but confidently expecting to find patient research, sound criticism, a happy blending of scholar and teacher, and the results, not the processes, of modern philological investigation, methodized and crystalized for use. The learned professor, did not his modesty equal his merit, would have told us more in his preface, that, in addition to the fact, "his views of philology have been formed in a great measure under the moulding influence of the great German masters," he enjoyed the rare advantage of intimate association with that greatest of living Latinists, Professor Fr. Ritschl, of the Royal University at Bonn.

Part I. presents a few well-compacted first principles. Part II. Verily we have at last "Etymology made easy." It was a happy thought that gave us large face type for the terminations of all inflected words: art lending herself to grammar, painting to the eye the "forms of things." This arrangement must be of incalculable advantage to the student; forms and principles will be more easily remembered, while all confusion of stem and ending will be obviated. Part III. Syntax has cost the author the heaviest outlay, or we are no prophet. It bears marks of careful reading, a deliberate balancing of authorities and sound judgment. "Sect. VI. Use of the Subjunctive." Let us join hands, reader, and sing a pæan! That prudish old prevaricator has grown strangely intelligible under the tuition of Professor Harkness.

Professor Harkness's Latin Grammar is, to use a Germanism, an epoch-making book. Simple yet philosophical in its methods, concise without being obscure, complete without verboseness, it is an honor to American scholarship. "Harkness's Latin Grammar" is a library of *Principles*—"Andrews's Grammar of the Latin Language" is a lumber-room of *Facts*. V.

Bryant and Stratton's Counting-House Book-keeping, containing a Complete Exposition of the Science of Accounts in its Application to the Various Departments of Business, including Complete Sets of Books in Wholesale and Retail, Merchandising, Farming, Settlement of Estates, Forwarding, Commission, Banking, Stock Brokerage, etc. With Full Explanations and Appropriate Remarks on the Customs of Trade, and Examples of the most Important Business Forms in use. By H. B. BRYANT & H. D. STRATTON, Founders and Proprietors of the "International Chain of Colleges," and S. S. PACKARD, Resident Principal of the New York City Commercial College. 8vo., pp. 375. New York: Ivison, Phinney, Blakeman & Co. Chicago: S. C. Riggs & Co. 1864.

This goodly octavo is the recitation-book prepared for and used in the affiliated commercial colleges of Bryant & Stratton. Our

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readers are doubtless somewhat acquainted with this net-work of schools, an institution which has sprung up, apparently, by spontaneous generation, but really created by the wants of the age, in a manner characteristic of our free system. The purpose of these commercial institutes is to furnish a complete training for the young book-keeper; a training which is not measured by an arbitrary limit of time, but by the genuine amount of perfect acquirement. The pupil is not so merged in a class as to be ground out and labeled with a routine diploma, deserved or not; but he is so dealt with individually that his class advancement rigidly depends upon his actual acquirement, and the diploma shall be good for its face. There is something decidedly suggestive in this straightforward, common-sense method.

The volume before us is the product of years of preparation, aided by the counsels of eminent business men. Its aim is to present the whole science—for practical commerce has most truly attained rank as a *science*—in all its theoretical and practical bearings, with such absolute completeness as to prepare the competent candidate "for first-class positions." It becomes not an outsider like us to pronounce magisterially upon their merits in detail; but we see no reason to doubt that both institution and book have a rare merit of somewhat amply fulfilling their pretensions.

Belles-Lettres, Classical, and Philological.

Selections from Canadian Poets. With Occasional Critical and Biographical Notes, and an Introductory Essay on Canadian Poetry. By EDWARD HARTLEY DEWART. 12mo., pp. 304. Montreal: John Lovell.

It is a somewhat singular fact that the muses of our continent are inclined to a somewhat hyperborean residence. The prosaic, ungainly little state of Connecticut has produced from the genius of her Halleck, Bryant, and Percival, all cotemporaries, to say nothing of her Sigourney, Hillhouse, Brainard, and others, more genuine poetry in a single forty years than the whole sweet esthetical "sunny South'" during the entire period of her history. The volume before us is calculated to show us that many a live poet carols a living lay even north of the silver lakes. Among them Mr. Dewart himself sustains an honorable rank. His excellent introductory essay develops the causes why Canada gives so little encouragement to elegant literature and poetical genius, and seeks to awaken in that direction a new and higher interest. Yet there is a constellation of successful poets, justifying the hope of a more glorious future:

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> The philosophic subtlety and creative imagination of Heavysege; the profound sensibility and exquisite musical harmony of Miss Vining; the lofty aspirations and ringing energy of Miss Haight; the delicate perception of beauty which breathes forth in the lyrics of Ascher; the ardent human sympathy and tenderness of Mrs. Deprohon; the calm beauty and attractive grace of Prof. Chapman; the simple and graphic truthfulness of Mrs. Moodie; the intense communion with Nature in her moods of quiet loveliness, which soothes and charms in the musical strains of J. F. M'Donnell; the simple melodies of Miss Johnson, full of earnestness and deep religious feeling; and many other names worthy of honorable mention, give a pledge to futurity that it will not always be winter with Canadian poetry.

But two there are eminent above this catalogue:

> Among those who have most courageously appealed to the reading public, and most largely enriched the poetic literature of Canada, the first place is due to Charles Sangster. The richness and extent of his contributions, the originality and descriptive power he displays, and the variety of Canadian themes on which he has written with force and elegance, his passionate sympathy with the beautiful in nature, and the chivalrous and manly patriotism which finds an utterance in his poems, fully vindicate his claim to a higher place in the regard of his countrymen than he has yet obtained. Alexander M'Lachlan has also evinced that he possesses in a high degree the gift of song. In the opinion of many, he is the sweetest and most intensely human of all our Canadian bards. As Sangster and M'Lachlan are quite unlike, and each possesses a strongly-marked individuality of his own, any comparison between them is inappropriate, and might be unfair to both. In elaborate elegance and wealth of descriptive power, in the success with which he has treated Canadian themes, and in something of Miltonic stateliness and originality of style, Sangster has certainly no equal in this country. But in strong human sympathy, in subtle appreciation of character, in deep natural pathos, and in those gushes of noble and manly feeling which awaken the responsive echoes of every true heart, M'Lachlan is equally peerless.

Our own impression is that in a unique power of fascination Heavysege, the author of Saul, stands alone. The other specimens of the volume appeal with much success to our love of beauty and to our esthetic and poetic sensibilities. They more resemble the products of ordinary sensitive minds under a due degree of culture. He, with a waywardness of his own, fastens us by the strangeness of his conceptions, by the wealth of his invention, and even by the very sorcery of ugliness. Yet so far as we can learn he has written but his Saul alone. Last century there lived a gentleman who, from having made one parliamentary display of unparalleled eloquence, succeeded by an entire life of silence, was called "single-speech Hamilton." We are not quite certain whether or not the author of Saul is *single-poem Heavysege.*

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Modern Philology; its Discoveries, History, and Influence. By BENJAMIN W. DWIGHT, Author of "The Higher Christian Education." Second Series. 8vo., pp. 554. New York: Charles Scribner, 1864.

Mr. Dwight is nobly leading the way in introducing into the English language some of the wealth of German research, aided by his own independent investigations, in the department of comparative philology. A previous volume has dealt rather with the

historical aspects of the subject. This enters into its scientific principles. One half of the present volume is devoted to Comparative Phonology; that is, to a thorough analysis of the elemental vocal utterances, developing the methods in which verbal changes result from the nature and operation of the human organs. The second half applies the principles to the illustration of English etymology. It is wonderful to trace the same word in its various transformations through different languages, and thence by induction obtain the laws of those changes, and then by those laws to verify the legitimacy of our future processes, so that etymology becomes no longer a pile of guesses, but, making allowances for the freedom of human nature, almost an exact science. Take an example: "4. Aevum, time, life, age (Sk. êva-s, a course, a way, etc. cf. âyu-s, long life, perhaps for orig. aivas, and Gr. *αἰές*, *αἰέν*, and *αἰεί*, always, and *αἰών*, for *αἰFών*, a lifetime, etc.), *ever* (Gm. ewig); *never* (not ever), *age* (L. aetas for aevitas, Fr. âge, contracted from such a form as aetaticum), *eternal* (L. aeternus for aeviternus)."

Mr. Dwight significantly notes how little the English expresses in its terms and phrases the doctrine of freedom of will. Free mental operations are expressed as mere mental states: "We accordingly *are* ashamed and are afraid, and are penitent, and are converted and renewed instead of thinking and speaking of ourselves, as in the German, as shaming, frightening, repenting, and turning aright, *ourselves*. . . . The unconverted man here thinks it his duty to *be* penitent—to arrive indeed at such a resulting state, but not to take the necessary means himself of arriving there."

The same enthusiasm from which Mr. Dwight's great success arises in this department of investigation is the source of some peculiarities of thought and style not perfectly graceful. But these minor traits can be readily overlooked in the great service he is rendering to the scholarship of our country.

* * *

An American Dictionary of the English Language. By NOAH WEBSTER, LL.D. Thoroughly revised, and greatly enlarged and improved, by CHAUNCEY A. GOODRICH, D.D., LL.D., late Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Yale College, and NOAH PORTER, D.D., Clark Professor of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics in Yale College. 4to., pp. 1840. G. & C. Merriam, Springfield, Mass. 1864.

Noah Webster was in his day that dangerous character of whom we are bidden to "beware," "the man of one book." And the danger was not diminished by the fact, that for that one book he was ready and active at laying all other books under contribution. The one book thereby became very much a national institution, not circumscribed, however, in its reputation and use to our national

soil. Its great value constituted it an invaluable base for a work of enduring permanence, needing but those modifications which time is ever suggesting.

To the present magnificent edition contributions are furnished in the different departments of thought by the most eminent masters. In philology, the most important point, Dr. Mahn, of Berlin, has furnished the results of years of labor. In Geology, Natural History, etc., we have Professor Dana; in Music, Lowell Mason; in Jurisprudence, Hon. J. C. Perkins. The immense value of pictorial illustrations for the purpose of defining to the eye has been amply realized. Valuable appendices are added, of which the most important are the vocabularies, exhibiting the pronunciation of modern historical names, both of persons and places. Brought down to the latest demands of the day, Webster's Dictionary is still a national institution.

Poems by David Gray; with Memoirs of his Life. 12mo., pp. 239. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1864.

Should we receive from a slender country boy a missive written to secure our acquaintance, beginning with lines like the following,

O for the voweled flow of knightly Spenser,
Whose soul rained fragrance, like a golden censer
Chain-swung in Grecian temple, that I might
To your fine soul aread my love aright,

we should not doubt that we were accosted by what is about as rare as an angel's visit—a new real live poet. So thought Sidney Dobell, himself a poet, when he received such lines from David Gray. David was born in 1838, eight miles from Glasgow, on the banks of the river Luggie; and the river Luggie is rewarded for being his natal stream with a poem of sixty pages, abounding in passages which it is a rare fortune for a river nowadays to inherit. Following his apotheosis of the Luggie are some thirty pages of poems, "In the Shadows." Whence these shadows were cast is thus indicated:

Last night, on coughing slightly with sharp pain,
  There came arterial blood, and with a sigh
Of absolute grief I cried in bitter vein,
  That drop is my death-warrant: I must die!
Poor meager life is mine, meager and poor!
  Rather a piece of childhood thrown away;
An adumbration faint; the overture
  To stifled music; year that ends in May;
The sweet beginning of a tale unknown;
  A dream unspoken; promise unfulfilled;
A morning with no noon, a rose unblown,
  All its deep rich vermilion crushed and killed
I' th' bud by frost. Thus in false fear I cried,
Forgetting that to abolish death Christ died.

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David Gray died in 1861. His biography is beautifully written. The Roberts Brothers have done up the whole in a delicate volume, quite in keeping with the genius it commemorates.

Diary of Mrs. Kitty Trevylyan; a Story of the Times of Whitefield and the Wesleys. By the Author of "The Schönberg-Cotta Family." With a Preface by the Author for the American Edition. 12mo., pp. 434. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1864.

Mr. Dodd has lent us his proof-sheets of this work, and we have been deeply interested in our hasty perusal. The talented authoress, who in her "Schönberg-Cotta Family" so vividly transferred us back to the era of Luther and his cotemporaries, has in the present work set us down amid the scenes of religious interest awakened by the labors of Whitefield and Wesley. Her quoted authorities are "Wesley's Journal" and "Stevens's History of Methodism." In her present as in her former works she exhibits an extraordinary power of so graphically reproducing the past as at once to inform the understanding, excite the imagination, and improve the heart. We anticipate for it a broadcast popularity, and a great influence in dissipating prejudices and diffusing truer views of the "great movement." The volume contains a genial preface addressed by the authoress to her American friends. We should be glad to give her name, but that Mr. Dodd tells us is a forbidden utterance.

The Seer; or, Common-Places Refreshed. By LEIGH HUNT. In two volumes. 12mo., pp. 334, 290. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1864.

Very suitably, the publishers have clad this *refreshing* of "common-places" in a fresh and living *green.* Leigh Hunt, like Hazlitt, and still more Charles Lamb, won a well-deserved reputation as an Essayist at a period when a blaze of literary competition made such an attainment possible to genuine genius alone. He had the seer's true gift of detecting occult novelties in common things, of dealing subtle touches and delicate coloring in their description, and leaving unique and quaint utterances in the memory of the reader.

Miscellaneous.

Philosophy as Absolute Science, founded in the Universal Laws of Being, and including Ontology, Theology, and Psychology made one, as spirit, soul, and body. By E. L. & A. L. FROTHINGHAM. Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 453. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1864.

A splendid volume externally, presenting a system of modern Gnosticism internally; Swedenborgian in its apparent affinities, but having at any rate the merit of opposing the universal dominion of the two false gods, dead Matter and blind Force. We may give it an ample notice.

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Arctic Researches and Life among the Esquimaux: being the Narrative of an Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin in the years 1860, 1861, and 1862. By CHARLES FRANCIS HALL. With Maps and One Hundred Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 595. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865.

One of the best volumes in the Harpers' great library of Travels and Explorations.

The Hawaiian Islands: their Progress and Condition under Missionary Labors. By RUFUS ANDERSON, D.D. With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 450. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard. 1864.

A most complete view of a Mission work of absorbing interest, and worthy of most profound study. We regret our want of space to do it justice.

State Rights: a Photograph from the Ruins of Ancient Greece. By Prof. TAYLER LEWIS, M.D. 12mo., pp. 96. Albany: J. Munsell. 1864.

A production called forth by a great occasion, and worthy to take a permanent place in our political literature.

God's Way of Holiness. By HORATIUS BONAR, D.D. 12mo., pp. 261. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1865.

A choice volume, practically and doctrinally, in a beautiful exterior.

Cousin Alice: a Memoir of Alice B. Haven. 12mo., pp. 392. New York: Appleton & Co. 1865.

A graceful tribute to departed genius and piety.

Crusoe's Island: a Ramble in the Footsteps of Alexander Selkirk. With Sketches of Adventure in California and Washoe. By J. ROSS BROWNE. 12mo., pp. 436. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1864.

Mr. Browne is a rare specimen of rollicking exuberance.

The Trial: More Links of the Daisy-Chain. By the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe." Two Volumes in One. 12mo., pp. 389. D. Appleton.

Emily Mayland; or, The Faithful Governess. By M. H. COX. 12mo., pp. 288. Philadelphia: James B. Rodgers. 1864.

Memoir of Mrs. Caroline P. Keith, Missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church to China. Edited by her brother, WILLIAM C. TENNEY. 12mo., pp. 392. New York: Appleton & Co. 1864.

Uncle Nat; or, The Good Time which George and Frank had, Trapping, Fishing, Camping-out, etc. By ALFRED OLDFELLOW. 24mo., pp. 224. New York: Appleton & Co. 1865.

Arizona and Sonora: the Geography, History, and Resources of the Silver Region of North America. By SILVESTER MOWRY. Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged. 12mo., pp. 251. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1864.

Queens of Song, being Memoirs of some of the most celebrated Female Vocalists who have performed on the lyric stage from the earliest days of Opera to the present time. To which is added, a Chronological List of all the Operas that have been performed in Europe. By ELLEN CREATHORNE CLAYTON. With Portraits. 12mo., pp. 543. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865.

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PLAN OF EPISCOPAL VISITATION FOR 1865.

Conference.	Place.	Time.		Bishop.
Baltimore	City Station, Baltimore	March	1	Clark.
East Baltimore	Danville, Pa	“	1	Baker.
Missouri and Arkansas.	St. Joseph	“	1	Scott.
Kentucky	Newport	“	2*	Morris.
West Virginia	Wheeling	“	8	Janes.
Kansas	Topeka	“	15	Scott.
Pittsburgh	Canton, O	“	15	Ames.
Philadelphia	Union Church, Philadelphia.	“	15	Clark.
Providence	County-st., N. Bedford, Mass.	“	22	Simpson.
Newark	Water-street, Elizabeth	“	29	Janes.
Nebraska	Nebraska City	“	29	Scott.
New England	Harvard-street, Cambridge	“	29	Baker.
New Jersey	Green-street, Trenton	“	29	Ames.
Oneida	Skaneateles	April	5	Simpson.
Troy	Plattsburgh	“	5	Kingsley.
North Indiana	Kendallville	“	5	Thomson.
Maine	Hallowell	“	5	Clark.
Wyoming	Carbondale, Pa	“	12	Baker.
New Hampshire	Dover	“	13	Ames.
New York	Forty-third-street, New York	“	19	Simpson.
New York East	Seventeenth-street, New York	“	19	Ames.
Black River	Potsdam	“	19	Kingsley.
Vermont	Bradford	“	19	Clark.
East Maine	Hampden	May	24	Baker.
Germany & Switzerland	Bremen	June	8*	Janes.
Colorado		“	22	Kingsley.
Erie	Jamestown, N. Y	July	12	Baker.
Delaware	E. Zion Ch., Wilmington, Del.	“	26	Scott.
Oregon	Olympia, W. T	August	10*	Kingsley.
Des Moines	Oceola, Clark County, Iowa.	“	30	Simpson.
Cincinnati	Troy, O	“	30	Clark.
Central Ohio	Bellefontaine	“	30	Morris.
Central German	Delaware, O	“	30	Baker.
East Genesee	Waterloo, N. Y	“	30	Ames.
West Wisconsin	Brodhead	“	31*	Thomson.
Northwest Indiana	Attica	Sept.	6	Scott.
North Ohio	Elyria	“	6	Baker.
Nevada	Virginia	“	7*	Kingsley.
Michigan	Albion	“	13	Ames.
Upper Iowa	Tipton, Cedar County	“	13	Simpson.
Detroit	Flint	“	13	Clark.
Indiana	New Albany	“	14*	Scott.
Northwest Wisconsin	Menomonee	“	14*	Thomson.
California	Howard-street, San Francisco	“	20	Kingsley.
Northwestern German	Milwaukee	“	20	Baker.
Southeastern Indiana	Wesley Chapel, Madison	“	20	Morris.
Illinois	Decatur	“	20	Janes.
Minnesota	Faribault	“	21*	Thomson.
Central Illinois	Onarga	“	21*	Ames.
Iowa	Asbury Ch., Mount Pleasant.	“	27	Simpson.
Ohio	Portsmouth	“	27	Clark.
Southern Illinois	Olney	“	27	Scott.
Wisconsin	Summerfield Ch., Milwaukee	October	4	Baker.
Rock River	Aurora	“	4	Thomson.
Southwestern German	Warsaw, Ill	“	4	Ames.
Genesee	Pearl-street, Buffalo	“	4	Janes.
Washington	Asbury Ch., Washington	“	18	Simpson.
India				
Liberia	Lower Caldwell	Jan. 24, 1865		

* Thursday.

THE
METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1865.

Art. I.—CHRISTIANITY AND THE WAR POWER.

The times in which we live naturally suggest inquiries relative to the lawfulness and morality of war. Taught as we are, and rightfully too, that the tendency of Christianity is to produce "peace on earth and good-will toward men," there will arise unbidden the doubtings of a tender conscience, and the fear lest in grasping the "carnal weapon" at the call of his government a man should be doing violence to the principles of that "holy evangel," in whose provisions and precepts he hopes to find "the way of life," and to secure endless felicity. Opinions on this subject greatly vary. With reference thereto, men of equal conscientiousness have assumed antagonistic positions. In the same community, and oftentimes in the same family, from whence will go forth with brave heart the men of stalwart frame to do battle even to the death against armed foemen, there may be found those who, while sympathizing with the objects to be accomplished, will by no means voluntarily enter upon active warfare, nor suffer their resources, except under distraint, to be applied to the support of the Government in its struggle to maintain "by force and arms" its legitimate authority, its national status, or the integrity of its domain. Now, by whatsoever number of such men there may be in any country, by so much is the military arm of the nation weakened. And this weakness consists not merely in the

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abstraction of that number from military duty, but in the moral influence which such may exert upon the minds of others who go forth to the combat. For, claiming to be actuated wholly by considerations of a moral and religious nature, and being chiefly men of real worth and integrity, sincere and honest in their profession and belief, it cannot but be that with reference to those who are cognizant of their opinions, and have respect for their persons and character, the influence exerted will be calculated to fill the mind with doubt, and by so much unnerve the arm as it would strike the blow for the vindication of national right and honor, even though it may not avail to prevent their going into the service of their country. Every doubt of right is traitor to the accomplishment of an intended purpose. It may, therefore, be subserving a purpose of value—"*operæ pretium*"—to our struggling nationality, if we calmly examine the question as to the rightfulness of the claim of a government to declare and wage a war, to use the military force of its people in defense of its rights and honor, or for the suppression of a rebellion against its legitimate authority.

By those who contend against the lawfulness of war, it is alleged that *absolute non-resistance is the doctrine of Holy Scripture.* And this it is said is the rule for both the nationality and the individual; both for the authorities of a civil government acting in their official capacity, and the individual subjects of those authorities. But we apprehend that this is not a correct presentment of Scripture doctrine. The "non-resistance" of Scripture applies *not*, as may be shown, to the *government*, but is strictly *personal*, applies simply to the *individual.* It may be at once admitted that "resistance" is forbidden to the individual under certain circumstances and conditions. Thus, for example, it is doubtless prohibited when by such resistance there could not be secured personal safety, or could not be obtained deliverance from impending evils, or could not be prevented a repetition or aggravation of personal injury. Whenever the objects proposed to be accomplished by such resistance as we can offer are beyond the bounds of human probability or possibility of attainment, then resistance being vain may well be conceived to be forbidden. Hence there is no difficulty whatever in accounting for Christ's prohibition of

any attempt on the part of Peter to prevent, by violence, his own arrest by the Jewish authorities; even though we leave out of view the obvious principle to which it may be referred, of our constant duty to submit to the constituted civil authorities, acting in accordance with recognized law, to resist whom it is to resist the ordinance of God. For, humanly speaking, contravention of the purpose of the authorities was in that case improbable, if not impossible, and the result must have been an aggravation of the injury, and perhaps the involving of the entire discipleship in destruction and ruin. True, if Jesus had chosen to use his own supernatural power, and called for the "legions of angels," his arrest might have been prevented; but in that case the swords of his terrestrial adherents would have been unnecessary, wholly useless. In the view now presented there is seen also the force of the reason which Jesus gave for the prohibition: "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword." For it cannot be that Christ intended to say that all who in any circumstances should take up the sword should perish by the sword, since such an interpretation is forbidden by the facts of history, and would imply ignorance or falsehood on the part of Christ. It must be interpreted with reference to the particular case, and is applicable only to similar occurrences. We must understand him simply to mean that they who, in such cases as this, and against the legitimately constituted authorities in the full and untrammeled exercise of the powers accorded them, shall attempt resistance, shall perish by the sword of its power, that such resistance is helpless and vain, and can but result in the destruction of those who enter upon it. Thus this prohibition is defended as well on the principles of religion as upon the ground of common sense and common prudence.

It may be further admitted that resistance is forbidden when such resistance would partake rather of the nature of revenge than of simple self-protection and defense, or the assertion and vindication of legitimate right. As a rule for judicial action and decision the doctrine "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," may perhaps be admitted. But as a rule for private life and for personal individual action, it is distinctly repudiated by the author of our religion. It was to the abuse of the "public law," in its illegitimate application and indiscriminate

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use "by private" parties, that Christ was directing attention when he uttered the injunction, "Resist not (*ἀντιστῆναι*, that is, retaliate not upon the) evil" (person). Matt. v, 39, etc. The several illustrations of the doctrine thus enounced show that it was intended only for matters which affected solely the personal feelings and property of the individual. To make this clear, we have only to advert to each of the instances which he proceeds to cite, not one of which seems to be a case which could permanently affect the well-being of the individual, much less his life; and by no fair interpretation can any of them be made to apply to the affairs of a government or a state. His first instance is that of a personal insult and indignity: the "smiting (*ραπίζει*, a quick smart slap upon) the cheek," in which case, rather than get into a personal brawl in the effort to retaliate or avenge ourselves, we are taught to endure even a repetition of the injury or insult as a matter of but trivial importance and affecting only ourselves. But in proof that such acts are not to be suffered to pass without rebuke, we have the example of Jesus, who, when struck by the officer near him, because of the supposed rudeness of his response to the high priest, answered with sufficient curtness and spirit: "If I have spoken evil, then bear witness of that evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?" John xviii, 22, 23. The same spirit was also manifested by Paul when smitten by command of the high priest, and in this instance there is also inculcated the lesson that expressions of rebuke and severity which may be proper in response to indignity or suffering put upon us by a private individual, are not so proper when that individual is fully understood to be "a ruler of the people." Acts xxii, 2, 3. The second instance is the case of a private lawsuit, the evil which may be done us by a litigious or quarrelsome person. The instance implies at least dispute, and on the one side or other doubt as to how the matter might be determined in a court of law. In such cases the teaching is that it is better to give to the litigious person the benefit of his doubt. The subject of dispute, it is to be noted, "a coat," indicates a matter of comparatively trivial importance, affecting only for the moment the well-being of the injured party. There is further inculcated also a disposition to even do more than is demanded to satisfy the asserted claim, if that be necessary

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to restore amity and good will. The third instance is the case of a compulsory exaction of service by one in authority; needlessly it may be, and working temporary and personal injury, yet the service is to be performed not grudgingly, and with intent of vexatiously annoying the authorities in retaliation by a niggardly and rigid interpretation according to its letter rather than its spirit, but with the manifestation of a willingness to do with alacrity not only the literally demanded service, but a much greater one if required to accomplish the purpose of the demand. "If compelled to go a mile" with the intent of accomplishing a certain end, "go with him twain," if by the one mile the end is not attained. It may receive passing illustration in the noble and generous spirit of the mass of the American people, who, compelled to bear the burdens of a heavy taxation and the drain.of men for the prosecution of the purpose of the Government, the suppression of the cruel rebellion, not only do this, but with cheerfulness and unexampled patriotic devotion are contributing of their wealth in such benevolent enterprises as those of the Christian and Sanitary Commissions; and by private and munificent bounties relieving the necessitous, and encouraging those who are engaged in the actual conflict. The fourth illustration is drawn from private and personal charity, and teaches that it is better to relieve the alleged wants of those who apply to us, even though thus we are sometimes imposed upon by the unworthy, than to demand that every one who shall appeal to us for our benevolence shall be rigidly compelled to show that he possesses all the characteristics by which he would be entitled to relief on principles as strict as those involved in the precept "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth:" the exact measure of relief to be in the exact and rigid measure of the characteristic and necessity. The evident design was to teach that a rule which was intended for judicial cases must not be made the absolute rule of private life, and that the disposition of benevolent love, the charity that "thinketh no evil and worketh no ill to one's neighbor," is a better guide for individual life and personal intercourse, than the determination and effort in every case unfeelingly to exact the demands of a rigid and unbending justice.

Similarly must we interpret the apostle's injunction, "Avenge

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not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath," (*δοτε τοπον τῇ ὀργῇ,*) to the wrath, that is, of God, or the constituted authorities, who are God's ministers, and by whom vengeance will be executed as far as is consistent with the true interests of the individual and the purposes of good government. "For vengeance is mine, I will repay it, saith the Lord." It is simply a prohibition of all private and personal revenge, and the direction to transfer the vindication of private and personal right to God and his authoritative representatives upon earth, which right is indeed pre-existent in God, and the transfer is implied in the very organization of all governments; and thus there is also intimated the ground for such non-resistance as is taught in Scripture, namely: the existence of God, in whom by original sovereignty inheres the right of vengeance and protection, and the existence of government, his representative on earth, in which, subordinately to himself, he has vested this right.

In cases dissimilar and other than those which come under the principles now named, it is apprehended that resistance is not disapproved. This, indeed, seems to be intimated in the declaration of Jesus, "I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword." Matt. xx, 34. For in the conflicts and variances which were to arise by reason of the introduction of the Gospel kingdom, it can hardly be supposed that its promulgators and professors were always to yield their rights without an assertion of them by such means as were in their power; and, indeed, somewhat of right to appeal to the sword seems implied in the instruction which he gave his disciples just before he was betrayed: "He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one." Luke xxii, 36. The additional remark may here also be made, that on a comparison of the narratives of the different evangelists it will be found that Peter was prohibited the use of the sword, not from the consideration of the sinfulness of such use, but simply from the inappositeness of time and circumstances, and the necessity for his arrest and death to fulfill prophecy, and accomplish to the full "love's redeeming work."

It is clear, then, that these passages and those of like character are not applicable to the authorities of a nation acting for it in their official capacity. There is, therefore, nothing in them nor in the true scriptural notion of non-resistance

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which can interfere with the right of a government to wage and conduct war.

As confirmatory of this right we have absolute authority and warrant of Scripture for saying that THE WAR POWER WAS ANCIENTLY AN ATTRIBUTE OF GOVERNMENTS. Whence it came, by whom it was given, and by whom it was first exercised, may be matters concerning which there may be differences of opinion. But as to the *fact* of its exercise, and rightfully too, since it was exercised with the approbation of Jehovah himself, there cannot by any possibility be ground for dispute. It was indeed exercised by government in its rudest and most elementary forms, and by governors who were not supreme but subordinate authorities in their land. Thus to instance one case: Abraham, arming his household servants and retainers, pursued after the confederate kings, who, flushed with victory, and laden with the spoils and encumbered with the prisoners taken in their raid upon the Pentapolis, had now ceased from their warring, and were peacefully returning to their own dominions. If let alone they would soon have been out of his country and in their own, and the war would have been over. But Abraham was not disposed to let them alone, so arranging his forces for a night attack, "he smote them and pursued them even unto Hobah," rescuing their prisoners and recapturing the spoil. So far as Abraham was concerned, this action of his in his circumstances would seem to have been an aggressive war, since the incursion of these kings had not affected himself or his immediate subjects in person or property. And yet a priest of the most high God met him on his return, "red-handed" from "the *slaughter* of the kings," pronounced him blessed in the name of Jehovah, and not a solitary indication is there given of anything but approval on the part of God and his minister. (See Gen. xiv, and Heb. vii, 1.)

In a later age it was exercised not only with the approbation of God, but by his absolute and unequivocal command, and this not simply for the defense of the nation, but for the conquest of a country which for ages had been in the possession of a people of diverse language and lineage, and who most strenously resisted the encroachments and irruption of the Israelites. Under his express direction the war was waged,

and it was carried on not merely for the purpose of subjugation to the government of the Israelitish authorities. It was a war of utter extermination, so that in many instances "not a hoof was to be left." We need but instance in their early history the case of Jericho, which, in accordance with the divine command, they utterly destroyed, saving but a single family, destroying man and woman, young and old, and all their cattle, with the edge of the sword. In a later age we have the case of Saul, who was commanded to go "and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass." And because Saul saved Agag the king alive and the best of the cattle, which was contrary to the word of God, therefore the kingdom was "rent" from him and transferred to David. (1 Sam. xv, 3, *et seq.*) And this power was not exercised merely against foreign foes, and in aggressive and defensive warfare with other nations, but an illustrious instance, and one somewhat parallel with the circumstances of our own nationality, is afforded us of its exercise against those of their own blood and kin, and for the suppression of a domestic insurrection and resistance of the civil power. In their appeal to arms "against the children of Benjamin their brother," they went not forth without the divine counsel and approbation, and three several times there came from him the command to go up against them; the last command being conjoined with the absolute assurance, "to-morrow I will deliver them into your hands." Judges xx, *passim.*

As further sustaining this declaration, "*that the war power was anciently an attribute of governments*," it is, perhaps, needless for us to appeal to the multitudinous wars of other realms, and to the patent fact that all history is in the main but a narration of the sanguinary conflicts of the nations on battle fields; their victories and defeats, and consequent rise and fall. We press not upon these wars, nor attempt to found any argument thereupon, because for them we cannot plead express warrant and command of God, and, therefore, from them nothing can positively be determined as to the question of this war power being to them granted by divine authority. We adduce those of the Old Testament, simply as indisputably proving that under its *régime* this power existed in governments divinely

appointed and directed, and thus to prepare our way for a further use and a better understanding of the teachings of the holy evangel of the blessed Christ.

We aver now that this attribute of human civil government divinely appointed, namely, the *war power*, *has never by express unequivocal precept or prohibition been taken away from it.* Christianity, indeed, made no change in the powers of civil government. The powers which it found existent therein were left untouched by prohibitions to their exercise. The primary object of Christianity was not the change and reformation of political institutions, and it did not, therefore, act directly upon them. "The usual system of our Lord himself was to avoid interference in the civil or political institutions of the world."* "Christianity, soliciting admission into all the nations of the world, abstained as behoved it from interference with the civil institutions of any."† No passage indeed directly and explicitly to this purport of prohibiting the exercise of this power, or taking it away, has ever been adduced from either the Old or the New Testament. Passages have been sometimes wrested from their connection, and forcibly applied to this subject, and made to countenance the idea of a withdrawal of this power, which, when properly examined and interpreted, are found wholly irrelevant to the subject, and can by no fair possibility be made to sustain a declaration against the continued exercise and existence of this attribute of human civil governments.

Many of the passages attempted to be so applied are, as we have seen, precepts intended only for the individual, and the effort is made to transfer their application to the government and nationality upon the plea that *nations have no power to do what may not be done by the individual.* But this is manifestly untrue. There can be no question but that nations may, in perfect accord with Christianity, levy a tribute or tax upon its subjects, as our Saviour himself, by his payment of tribute, abundantly confirms. They may enact laws which are absolutely binding upon those whom they govern, and for the infraction of these laws may exact or inflict penalties, fines, forfeitures, imprisonments, and we aver also death itself. But these things by common consent are admitted to be unlawful,

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* Dymond's Essays, p. 543. † Id., quoted from Paley, 542.

if not impossible, by the individual. We may hereafter exhibit the grounds upon which a nation may claim to do what cannot be done by the individual, but for the present content ourself with this statement of actual existing fact and practice.

If any one allege, in opposition to the existence and exercise of the "war power," that we are "to love" our "enemies," "to do good to them that hate us and despitefully use us and persecute us," the proper and only necessary answer has already been given, namely: that these precepts are intended only for the individual, and for the regulation of private and personal conduct and relations. If any one, however, insists that they are of national application, we aver that even on this false view of them they are not of the contended-for force. For a parent must love his child. No wickedness or insubordination of the child must be allowed to lessen or do away with that love. Yet the child must not, therefore, be suffered to be without restraint. Chastisement may become not merely a proof of love, but the absolute necessary result thereof. And so, if it be so that a government is to love its enemies, it may be absolutely necessary to use this strong arm in chastisement of the wicked and rebellious, in asserting its right and authority, and for the preventing of other nationalities from having the temptation to violate the benevolent and merciful principles of Christianity by trampling upon and robbing and harassing the unresisting and weak, and by acts of violence and rapine, and finally of successful invasion and conquest, absorbing the entire government and nation.

There is sometimes also quoted in opposition to our view the language of St. James: "From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence of your lusts which war among your members?" Clearly, however, this refers not to governments, but may be referred to quarreling and dissensions too often existent among Christian people, the members of the same "household of faith," and also, perhaps, to that inward conflict of which Christian men are cognizant in their own personal experience. Certain it is that the context and the entire connection forbid the supposition of an intention on the part of the apostle to utter any precept, or give an opinion in any way directed to the powers and operations of civil governments.

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But it is said that the voice of prophecy declares that wars shall cease; that Christianity, the peaceable kingdom of "the Branch," shall at last so prevail that "the nations shall learn war no more;" that the "lion" of strife and violence shall ultimately "lie down with the lamb" of peace and love; that they "shall not hurt nor destroy in all" the "Holy Mountain" of the Lord. So let it be. To the prayer that this good time may soon come, "let all the people say Amen." O blessed day, speed thy coming! Bring on, O King eternal, this peaceful golden age! But, alas! that day is not yet. Bear witness, Sumter and Manassas, Antietam and Vicksburg, Richmond and Atlanta; ye burning cities and territories devastated, bereft wives and children orphaned; ye slaughtered tens of thousands, and ye heroic myriads in camp or field, with strong arm and valiant hearts waiting for the fray, with the crushing tramp of destiny driving rebellious hosts, and sweeping down upon the fair fields of the haughty Southron! Bear witness, O nation—in thy leniency despised, in thy forbearance accounted weak, in thy reluctancy deemed timid; insulted, robbed, hated—as, with thy gathering and marching hosts, thou proclaimest liberty to the bound and oppressed, peace and protection to the obedient and law-abiding, death to armed traitors! The ages are passing, and the day will come; but these respond that it is not yet.

And clearly the period of its coming is dependent upon the passing away of the causes which are provocative of wars, and which seem to make them necessary. When these have ceased, then and not until then can it rationally be expected that wars will cease. When the principles of the Gospel of Christ shall be accepted by every individual, and shall become the universally-obeyed rule of action, then violations of rights will no longer occur, and there will no longer exist the manifestations of inordinate and grasping evil ambition. But there is in all this no valid objection against war now, while confessedly disobedience to the principles of the Gospel is so widely prevalent, and mad ambition "like an untamed tiger wildly rages." It forms no objection to the present use of remedial agents, while human beings are liable to the attacks of disease, to say that there cometh a time when one shall not say to another, "I am sick." And so a time will come when righteousness

will be everywhere prevalent; but this by no means precludes the present necessity of resisting "the devil," and of "fighting the good fight," but rather implies it, since it is thus that this prevalency is to be secured. And so the fact that hereafter the lion and the lamb shall be on terms of intimacy does not necessitate the inference that it is now wrong for the lamb to be afraid of the lion, and to avoid him by every means in his power, but the intimacy shall hereafter take place by reason of a change wrought in the disposition of the lion. And so in the good time predicted wars shall have ceased, not because they are in themselves necessarily sinful, in the present condition of the nations, but because of the change which has taken place in and among men: The application of force, moreover, may be one of the great instrumentalities which Providence may employ for the removal of the causes of war, since by its waste and loss, its miseries and privations, its uncertainties and disappointments, men may be brought to reflection and repentance, and may be speedily convinced of the impolicy and folly, as well as the unrighteousness of all disobedience to the laws of God, and the beneficent and just principles of the Gospel of Christ. The more violently the storm rages, the sooner it is spent; the more swiftly the clouds are driven, in all the more brief time are they dissipated, and all the more quickly does the bright and peaceful sunshine irradiate earth.

In the attempt to prove the position that Christianity has abrogated the "war power," the statement is made that the primitive Christians would not serve as soldiers in the Roman armies. In this statement there is some color of truth. It cannot be doubted that there were many *individuals* in the early ages of the Church who held the view of the incompatibility of warfare with the doctrines of Christianity. But there is an utter failure in the attempt to show that this opinion is sustained by a right interpretation of any Scripture, or by any Scripture at all other than those which we have shown to be in that view misinterpreted and misapplied. It is, moreover, a misrepresentation of the status of the Church upon this question to say that it wholly ignored the claim of the state for military service; and it is taking individual and exceptional cases as the rule, rather than as proofs by their notoriety of the existence of an opposite principle as the one generally

accepted, and to which the general practice conformed. For while it is true that some did refuse to serve in the army, it is also true (as is abundantly proved by Tertullian, notwithstanding his personal leaning to the "non-resistant" doctrine) that Christians took part in all the affairs of the empire, as far as could be done without compromising their religion by the observance of pagan rites and worship, so that, "though of yesterday, they filled" all places, even "the very camps," and "were engaged in navigation and in military service."* And this testimony of Tertullian is all the more valuable on this point from his well-known leaning to the errors of the "non-resistant" heretic, Montanus. Indeed, arguments drawn from his statements of Christian doctrine must be greatly damaged, if not invalidated by this fact, and especially so as to the point before us, from the further fact that the prevalent practice of the masses of the Church who were called being in the occupation of the soldier, was to continue therein; and his Montanistic non-resistant teachings are based, not upon the practice of the Church, which was clearly against him, but upon erroneous expositions of passages already herein discussed, such as that prohibiting Peter from the vain and unauthorized use of the sword in Christ's defense; upon which he grounds the false assertion that "the Lord had disarmed every soldier in disarming Peter."† And this "fiery African," "the warm opponent of the profession of arms among Christians," may not be depended upon as supporting the notion of the absolute and necessary sinfulness of military service, and by consequence of the invalidity of the right claimed for governments of waging war, since "he did not feel himself authorized altogether to condemn those who continued in their old profession as soldiers, provided it was unattended with anything which caused them to violate their fidelity as Christians."‡

Since, then, there is found no withdrawal of the war power from civil governments, as might be expected, it is found that

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* His words are: "Hesterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castellas, municipia, conciliabula, *castra ipsa.* (Apol., c. 37.) Navigamus et nos vobiscum et militamus." (c. 42.)

† Omnem postea militem Dominus in Petro exarmando discinxit. Tert., De Idol., c. xix.

‡ Tert., De Cor. Mil., c. xi. Neander, History Christian Religion and Church, part i, section iii, p. 169. Ed. Philadelphia, 1843.

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incidental allusions thereto in the New Testament imply its continued existence, and, for the subsisting state of things, its approval.

Thus we are taught that *the vocation of a soldier is not in itself* ("*per se*") *sinful.* Hence Christ approves of the centurion, declaring that he "had not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." And as showing that he referred not simply to the specific act of his faith in his healing power, but to his entire religious character, we have the statement added: "For many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven." Matt. viii, 10, 11.* So, too, there is the case of Cornelius, who, without the most distant intimation of his vocation being evil, was the first of the Gentiles to receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.†

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* The contortions and "masterly strategy" of the "non-resistants" in their efforts to break the force of this incident are somewhat amusing. We instance Dymond (Essays, iii, chapter xix, p. 542) only as a specimen. The argument deduced from it, he writes, "is founded not upon approval but upon silence." But it must be noted in reply that it is silence in the *moral teacher*, *lawgiver*, *and judge*, who was accustomed to seize upon incidental occurrences to enforce and teach general truths. "Approbation is, indeed, expressed, but it is directed not to his arms but to his faith; and those who will read the narrative will find that no occasion was given for noticing his profession." Now this is wonderful in the face of the fact that the centurion expressly mentions his "having soldiers under him," thus not only presenting the required opportunity, but suggesting the introduction of the topic for condemnation if sinful, and in circumstances which are usually considered eminently favorable for religious reformation. But "he came to Christ not as a military officer, but as a deserving man." Still he did not conceal his being a military officer, but openly avowed it, and it may fairly be queried how one could continue in a sinful occupation and yet in Christ's view be "a deserving man." At least, one would have expected him to say, "Go and sin no more." "But," says Dymond, "how happens it that Christ did not notice the centurion's *religion?* He surely was an idolater. And is there not as good reason for maintaining that Christ approved idolatry because he did not condemn it?" Certainly not, for elsewhere idolatry is explicitly and emphatically condemned, and had never in any possible way received the divine sanction or approval. No power or right to worship idols had ever been allowed, while the contrary is true of "war and the war power." Moreover this centurion was *not* then "surely an idolater," but a lover of the Jewish nation, for whom he had built a synagogue, and was by the testimony of the Jews "a worthy man:" a term which they would by no means have applied to a heathen and idolatrous officer of the hated Romans.

† It may be noted also as a pregnant fact that one of the messengers sent by Cornelius to call Peter is termed a "devout soldier of them that waited on him continually." Acts x, 8. It may be queried whether this *στρατιώτην εὐσεβῆ* was not a Christian. At least we must believe him to be even now in his military service approved of God.

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We are taught also that *continuance in that vocation* is *not of itself sinful.* This clearly is the doctrine of the incidental case of the soldiers coming to John the Baptist with the inquiry "What should they do?" in order to fit themselves for the coming kingdom of heaven. In the reply there is no condemnation of their profession, but rather a commendation of their continuing therein, since abstaining from unlawful violence, rapine, and false accusations they were "to be content with their wages;" and this contentment with their wages certainly implies continuance in that for which the wages were paid. (Luke iii, 14.)

It is also evident that *being under the protection of a military force is not of itself sinful.* Neither is there anything sinful in *availing one's self of its aid and assistance as against the designs of others.* For clearly Paul, with his own consent, if not at his own request, was placed under a military escort from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, and relied upon the military for his protection against the violence of his persecutors; and when shipwrecked did not scruple to avail himself of the authority of the soldiers in preventing the mariners from abandoning the ship. (Acts xxiii, and xxviii, 31, 32.)

Moreover, Christ himself expressly declares that if "his kingdom were of this world, then would his servants fight, that he should not be delivered to the Jews." John xviii, 36. That is to say, if his kingdom had had in view the same objects, ends, and purposes, which are rightfully had in view by earthly kingdoms, then the usual course would have been pursued, an appeal to arms been made, and his followers been aroused and prepared for battle. He surely did not mean to assert that for the purpose of carrying out the designs of a kingdom of this world, if it had been his intention to establish such a one, he would have done what was in itself sinful, or permitted his servants so to do; and he certainly does not intend to teach that an earthly or human government is necessarily sinful or wicked, or is an institution contrary to God's law and the principles of Christianity, else the master and the "chiefest of the apostles" are at variance, since the latter declares that they are "the ordinance of God," and that "the powers are ordained of God."

These incidental allusions, therefore, are found to imply and assume the existence of this attribute of human governments,

and by no means suggest disapproval, but rather manifest approval.

The ground upon which this power rests is to be found in the simple proposition that GOVERNMENTS ARE REPRESENTATIVE OF A TWOFOLD AUTHORITY. They are in their appropriate functions, and for the accomplishment of their true objects, *representative on the one hand of* " *God as supreme.*" In this respect their position is somewhat analogous to that of a parent, who in a certain sense and to a limited extent is also representative of God, and may, therefore, with respect to his child, exercise an authority and perform acts, the right to do which is not in another, except as that other may have from him a delegated authority. Hence also governments are vested with the right to do acts and exercise authority not proper to the individual man. This fact, that "*governments are representative of God*," is, perhaps, too much overlooked. It is, indeed, by certain classes of "Humanitarians" and "Liberals," almost wholly kept out of sight; and the ignoring of it has doubtless been the occasion of much error and misconception in the views of men with respect to the rights and powers of the civil state. Christianity certainly teaches this doctrine. Thus its authoritative "word" declares that, "There is no power (*ἐξουσια*) but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. It (namely, *ἐξουσια*, the power) is the minister of God." (Rom. xiii, 1–4.) As "the minister (*διακονος*) of God," as "ordained of God," it (namely, the power, that is, the governmental authority) is representative of God, and in him and his law must be found the exemplar and the directory for the exercise of its functions as a ruling and governing authority, since he is the supreme ruler and lawgiver. It is not of course intended by these passages or these statements to intimate that every civil government must have its organization specifically dictated as was that of Israel, and that every ruler must be personally designated by God as were Saul and David; for such demand and interpretation would have denied the legitimacy of every government on earth at the time when Paul wrote, and to illegitimate governments he could hardly have counseled submission. It is intended simply that every

government having an actual and legitimate existence, has from God, under certain limitations and restrictions, delegated authority to do such acts as may be necessary to the maintenance of its powers and the performance of its appropriate functions as a government; he being, indeed, the chief and primary source whence emanate its rights. According therefore precedency to this source of its authority, and claiming for this department of its representative character the greatest weight and importance, we may not be forgetful that every truly legitimate government is also on the other hand *representative of the people over whom it exercises its sway.* As a consequence of this, it is bound to act in the interest and "for the benefit of the governed." And this consequential fact is not, we apprehend, obscurely hinted at in the statement that "it (the power) is the minister of God *to thee* (that is, the subject) (*εἰς το ἀγαθον*) for good," (advantage, benefit.) It is not to be understood that a government represents the opinions and desires, the will, of every particular individual that lives under its authority or within its realm; for there may be those who in public as well as private sentiment may differ from it and would desire its overthrow. But every legitimate government must be *representative of the influential and predominating will of the people its constituents*, and must rule by their consent, either tacitly in passivity given, or actively expressed, according to such laws and regulations, and under such limitations and restrictions, as receive in some way a mutual sanction and acceptance on the part of both governed and governing. Thus acting, it is the representative of the people. It may, indeed, be considered but the people in collective mass by their and God's minister acting in accordance with divine law and exemplar, and subordinate to these, in accordance with principles, customs, forms, laws, and regulations which they accept, submit to, or authorize as those by which they will or consent to be governed. It may be possible that under other circumstances the will of the people might be different, and might, indeed, be wholly opposed to the now existent government; and that in some cases the predominant will of the people is simply a choice of submission and support of the state of things then in being in preference to the suffering, danger, and evil which might be the consequence of the effort to throw

off the then ruling authority, or to change the character of the government. This twofold representative character is, as we conceive, necessary to the legitimacy as well as the stability of every government; and this representative character absolutely requires that it should possess the war-making power. Without it, a government could have no power to make its authority respected and feared, and no means for the enforcing of its laws and the punishing of offenders, the disobedient, and the rebellious, and it could in no complete sense be a representative of God. Without power to do for its people what each individual in the absence of all government has a right to do for himself, namely, protect its subjects, individually and collectively, and secure to them their persons and possessions, and the enjoyment of their rights, privileges, and immunities, it could in no proper sort be the representative of the people; and yet we know that the performance of these functions is largely dependent upon the certainty which men have that the government "beareth not the sword in vain;" that underlying whatsoever of moral influence it may have, there is the power and right, as well as the will, to use the sword in sustaining its authority and vindicating its laws, and securing the integrity of its domain. Indeed, without this power in the present state of moral and intellectual culture of the human race, no government could long exist. We say not what may be the case hereafter under a different and higher culture or status, and it matters not for our present purpose; for as we have seen, what may be hereafter under a wholly different moral and mental status cannot be used as an argument against what may be needful in the present existent circumstances, no more than the state of heavenly rest and peace, yet future to the believer, can be an argument to prove that he need not now in his militant pilgrimage "watch, and fight, and pray." Let a nation lay aside this right; let it be understood that in no case, under no possible provocation, would it appeal to the military arm and venture the wager of either offensive or defensive battle, and its nationality must speedily disappear. It could not long be safe as against its own people or subjects. It might, perhaps, answer where every subject was a member of some religious organization, whose authority he recognized under the influence of religious and moral principle, and whose authority

was identical or closely connected with the civil state, as in the partial instance of Pennsylvania; but if any one chose to throw from him the authority and sanctions of religion, and betake himself to violence under the strong temptations which non-resistance would offer, it does not appear how such a case could well be met. Hence a change in the character of its citizens did at length necessitate a change in the "peace platform" of Pennsylvania. Such a government would, indeed, be at the mercy of a bold, reckless, and lawless few. Any small and otherwise contemptible number could perpetually, and with comparative impunity, without damage to themselves, disturb, embroil, rob, and pillage an entire nation. Resistance to authority must in the nature of things become common. Government officers would become objects of mockery and contempt. It would be in such a country as in Canaan when there was "no king in Israel." Predatory, roving bands, anarchy, dismay, and confusion, must speedily bear destructive sway. Nor could it be safe as against foreign nations. It is possible that a nation of savages—where the desire for conquest and rule, ambition, is not so much the impelling or motive power as is that of revenge for injury and the desire for plunder—might abstain from warfare with a people situated as were the colonists under Penn, where they received pay for everything which they transferred to the colonists, and were not resisted in any demands which they made upon them; and such a people might, perhaps, for a time have exercised over them a civil government, at least while protected, by the military power of the nation of which they formed a part, from the aggression of nations existent and acting under the influence of our civilization; but the maintaining of this subordinate nationality must be attributed rather to their identification with a supreme government which had given incontestible proofs of its willingness to fight, and emphatic demonstrations of its power to defend its subjects from all outside or foreign aggressors. So long as there is ambition among men, so long as the "lust of power" exists, so long as selfishness and passion may subordinate right and moral principle, in brief, so long as sin rules and reigns, so long will nations require this "war power," and find occasions for its rightful exercise.

Thus, then, a government recognizing Christianity as the

religion of the land, and "Holy Scripture" as the real and ultimate rule of its proceedings, may rightfully wage a warfare for just cause. True, reason as well as Christianity demand that nations as well as individuals should "live peaceably with all men, as much as lieth in them," "*if it be possible*," since peace is the normal and proper condition of man, and wars should be a means to that end; but reason surely does not require that to secure peace and avoid war, every principle of right and justice shall be held in abeyance, or be abandoned, or be trampled under foot of the wicked and lawless; and that every species of indignity should be endured. Christianity, by her own express hypothesis "if it be possible," more than intimates her conviction that after all our effort, peace with "all men" cannot be maintained, and by her own express limitation, "as much as lieth in you" (τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν) may be supposed to suggest the employment of whatsoever means may lie within reach, not for purposes of vengeance—that she expressly forbids—but to secure peace and quietness, attaining thereto by moral dissuasives and influence such as it possesses, if thus it may be attained; but if not, by the use of such other means as may "lie in them," as may belong unto them. And it "lieth not" in any nation to be an unresisting and unassisting spectator of the invasion of the rights and the compulsory subjugation of those who rely upon it for protection and have committed themselves and their interests to its care. Compulsory process and military force, "as much as lieth in her," all she may possess, may be the only means whereby a stable peace can be obtained. Thus when causeless, unjust, persistent, and otherwise invincible rebellion shall occur; a rebellion in the interest of barbarism, servitude, degradation, and sin, for the support and maintenance of the mother of harlots and abominations; shall it be admitted that Christianity, the religion of a true civilization, the assertor of human equality, the elevator, the antagonist of sin, the unyielding foe to whatsoever is abominable or maketh a lie, gives no power for its suppression, no authority to "crush it out," withholds its consent to the use of means which God and man place at its disposal applicable for this purpose, and trammels or renders futile thus the effort to defeat the nefarious designs of wicked or mistaken men? And shall we suppose that when nothing

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else will answer, where rebel hands have already begun the combat and struck the blow; where the power at the disposal of the government is in all human judgment sufficient, and the resources ample for the emergency and to compel the restoration of the peace which rebellion has disturbed, that Christian principle will not allow this power and these resources to be employed? This would be for God in his providence to put into our hands means to no purpose. This would be emphatically "to bear the sword in vain." We may not teach thus. The necessities of our national existence to-day forbid such teaching. Patriotism demands that the sanctions of our holy religion shall be given to its combat for humanity, freedom, unity, and stable peace; and the strong and vigorous arms of its soldiery must not be palsied, their earnest hearts must not be chilled with doubts as to the religiousness of their vocation. Let us gratefully record, that the multitudes of heroic slain, whose blood flowed so freely on every battle-field of our present struggle, by their gallant uprising and their noble daring in grasping the weapons of the carnal warfare at their country's call, were not obeying commands which the nation might not rightfully issue by authority of the religion of our hope and joy. To these heroic dead—PEACE! If in the good "fight of faith," they have acquitted themselves with as much of manliness, if in other respects they have "warred as good a warfare," then for the wearing and wielding of the carnal weapon in this contest, and their standing up for the mastery on these fields reddening with the blood of humanity's martyrs, under the call of their sorrowing country, the voice of "the man of sorrows" will utter no word of condemnation. Even from fields of gore and of carnage the peans of another triumph shall ascend, and from fields of disaster there shall go up the victorious warrior. Accessions shall be received from among earth's soldiers slain to the hosts of the robed and glorified who people Heaven's bloodless homes, and shout glad jubilees in the streets of the city of the King Invisible. To the marshaled hosts living, success! For the rebellious, even for "the children of Benjamin our brother," in the "sin which they have sinned," pleadings, supplications to THEE MOST HIGH, that their hearts "may be turned as the streams of the south," to repentance of their iniquity, to submission to their true rulers,

to obedience and unity under legitimate authority, lest they be utterly destroyed. For the earth, "let" it "be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters fill the great deep." Then shall "the nations learn war no more."

> "Then shall PEACE wreathe her chain
> Round us forever."

Happy day! Jesus, master, onward speed its coming glory!

ART. II.—GERMAN MATERIALISM—THE NATURALISTIC SCHOOL.

[FROM THE FRENCH OF THE REVUE DES DEUX MONDES—PART SECOND.]

III.

EVERY philosophic mind, in reading the above exposition of the system of Dr. Büchner, has doubtless noticed a strange gap: the author, who explains everything by matter, has entirely forgotten to tell us what matter is, and what he understands by the word. That, however, is not a question of slight importance, and it has for centuries busied men who were neither fools nor children. Is it not known that into the idea of what we call matter and body two very different elements enter: one which comes from our sensations, and is nothing but the totality of the diverse modifications of our organs; the other comes from without, and is really distinct and independent of our impressions? Now when it is said that matter is the original of things, this is evidently spoken of matter as it is in itself, and not as it appears to us; for if an analysis should prove that matter is composed only of our sensations, and includes nothing external, matter itself would thereby disappear, being but a modification of our minds, and materialism would change into idealism. It is therefore fully evident that the first obligation of a materialistic system is to distinguish what comes from ourselves from what comes from without in the notion of body or matter; but this distinction is difficult, as the history of science shows. Mr. Büchner has wholly neglected it; his system is defective, therefore, in its basis.

Let us try to do what he has not done; let us show by analy-

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sis how obscure and imperfect is the notion of matter; how far from self-sufficient it is; how it vanishes and disperses on examination. "It is an intangible something," says Fenelon, "which melts in my hands when I press it."

We must first ask what a body is, vulgarly understood. A body is a solid, colored, resisting, extended, mobile, odorous, warm or cold mass. In a word, it is an object which strikes my senses, and I am so habituated to living among such objects, to using, enjoying, hoping for, and fearing them, that they seem to me the most real things in the world. I laugh at those who bring them in question, and, if I wish to imagine my own mind, I give it the form of a body. What is there solid and faithful in this kind of representation of matter? Philosophy to answer this question begins by distinguishing the apparent from the real. This distinction the most positive and exact sciences have made familiar to us. In astronomy everything depends upon the distinction of real from apparent movements. If we consult appearances the sun seems to move from east to west, drawing with him the planets. In reality the earth moves and has two motions, of which we feel neither; the one a rotation on its axis, the other a revolution about the sun. We must likewise distinguish in the stars apparent from real size, apparent from real position. To get the true height of a star in space, astronomers are obliged to allow for the deviation of luminous rays through the atmosphere, that is, for refraction. Optics in general teach us not to confound visible appearances with the true form, true size, true position, true movement of objects.

We are authorized by all these facts, and by many others well known, to ask ourselves whether, in the notion that we form of bodies, there is not a part, which must be attributed to the observer himself, which comes from and disappears with him. Among the qualities that we attribute to matter there are two especially which appear to us to animate nature, and wanting which she would seem to us delivered to death: light and sound. Well, let us ask physicists what is sound and what is light. Here is their response: Sound and light are vibrations, that is, movements. Let us pause a moment upon this fine theory of physics, which has shed so much light upon the question of external perception.

If we strike a cord drawn taut, we impart to it a vibratory go-and-come movement, which our senses can seize; the touch feels it shiver under the thumb; the sight, in place of a very distinct line, perceives a cord swollen toward the middle and much less luminous, whose swelling goes on decreasing till it returns to a state of rest. This kind of movement is what we call a vibration, and it is from this simple elementary fact that the whole vibratory theory has sprung, so important in modern physics, and whose vocation is to so grand a future. Now, while the vibration lasts, while the finger feels the cord shiver, we hear a sound. The sound begins and ends with the vibration. Furthermore, the most exact experiments and the most precise calculations establish a rigorous relation between the pitch of the sounds produced and the number of vibrations, a number which is in constant relation with the length, tension, etc., of the cords. It is, therefore, proper to affirm, that the sole cause of the sound, or sonorous sensation, is a movement. This movement is communicated by the air, which is itself a vibratory body, to the ear, a mechanical instrument arranged to collect and transmit aerial vibrations to the acoustic nerve. It is there, there only, that the mechanical sound ceases and is replaced by a sensational sound. There motion is transformed into sensation, an unexplained and perhaps absolutely inexplicable phenomenon.

What is certain is, that until the moment when the acoustic nerve comes into play, there is absolutely nothing without ourselves but a vibratory motion, such that if we suppose for a moment the auditor to disappear, the nerve capable of perceiving sound paralyzed or destroyed, no animal on the earth or in space able to hear, then there will be absolutely nothing without us which resembles, in any respect whatever, what we call a sound.

Much time, many experiments, and many reasonings were required to apply to light this theory of vibrations. Sonorous vibrations may be perceived by the senses, luminous vibrations cannot; the elastic medium which transmits sounds may be perceived by the senses, it is the air; the elastic medium which is thought to transmit light is apparent to no sense, it is the ether. It follows that, as to sound, the vibratory theory is a result of experiment, it is merely a summary of the facts; as

to light, on the contrary, the vibratory theory is a hypothesis conceived by the mind, which may be more or less verified by experiment: thence the tardiness with which the theory was introduced and the difficulties it has encountered. However, to-day, it is definitively allowed by physicists, and here also they have been bold to say: Considered apart from ourselves, apart from the sensitive subject, apart from the seeing eye, light is only motion. The luminous sensation is a phenomenon proper to the living eye, which can take place only in and by it.

But here is something much more extraordinary, which proves in a decisive manner to what a degree our sensations are subjective and dependent upon our organs, and how greatly our ideas of matter as the senses present it to us should be rectified by the mind, namely, the identity nearly admitted to-day by all physicists between light and heat. What is more different, from the sensation point of view, than these two orders of phenomena? They seem even very often separate. I can be warm in darkness, for instance in mines, and cold amid flashing light. Despite these superficial and apparent contradictions, the experiments of Melloni have so multiplied the analogies between the two agents that science hardly hesitates in affirming their identity. Heat, like light, moves in straight lines and with the same speed; it is reflected like light; like light it is refracted and by the same laws; it is transmitted through bodies, like light itself; finally, it is known that by combining two lights we may produce darkness. Well, by combining two sources of heat we may produce cold: this a remarkable experiment of Mr. Foucault's has proved. To conclude with a remarkable and recent treatise of physics: "Never, when we address ourselves to a simple ray, do we find a variation of light without a corresponding variation of heat. Such an agreement in results gives ground for the belief that heat and light are perchance only different manifestations of one and the same radiation; the difference would result only from the kind of modification which the object struck may undergo. Upon the sight, this radiation would give the impression of light; upon the touch, the impression would be wholly different."

Outside ourselves, outside the sensitive subject, there are not

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these two things, light and heat, but only one, which is diversified in our organs of sensation. Heat is light perceived by the tactile nerves, and light is heat perceived by the optic nerve. Finally, as we have seen that light is merely a motion, so heat is a mere motion. Thus, to sum up the whole theory, the sensitive or living subject, in a word, the animal, being abstracted, there is in nature neither heat nor cold, light nor darkness, noise nor silence; there are only varied motions, whose laws and conditions are determined by mechanics.

Physiology comes to the support of physics in demonstrating the subjectivity of our sensations. This is the fundamental law of our sensations according to Müller, the great German physiologist: "The same cause may produce different sensations in different species of nerves; the most different causes may produce the same sensation in every category of nerves. Thus electricity brought into contact with each of our senses produces in each of them special sensations: in the eye luminous phenomena, in the ear sounds, in the mouth savors, in the tactile nerves pricklings. Narcotics likewise produce internal phenomena of hearing and vision, buzzing in the ears, scintillation in the eyes, stinging in the nerves of touch. Reciprocally the luminous sensation is produced in the eye by etherial vibrations, by mechanical action, by a shock, a blow, electricity, and by chemical operations. It is the same with the other senses." Müller concludes from these facts that the senses have each their distinct, determinate energies, which are, as it were, vital qualities, and he approves that beautiful theory of Aristotle, an anticipation of all that we have just said, to wit, that "Sensation is the common act of the object and subject of sensation."

I am far from affirming that there is nothing external and, as it is called, objective in our perceptions, and that everything is reducible to diverse states of the sensitive subject. Nothing is further from my belief than such a supposition. Excellent reasons may doubtless be given to establish the reality of the outward world, and the best is that we cannot help admitting it. There is then no room for doubting the reality of external things, and such a doubt will ever be frivolous; but what is not frivolous is the difficulty we experience in determining

what is external and what is not, a difficulty upon which the whole materialistic hypothesis is suspended.

Not to prolong this debate too far, I suppose it has been demonstrated by analysis and argument, that what is external in matter is all that we conceive can exist in the absence of the sensitive subject, for instance, extension, motion, impenetrability. Here the difficulties cease to be psychologic; they become metaphysical. I will mark but two of the highest importance: infinite divisibility and the coexistence of force and extension. Mr. Büchner, abandoning on this point the materialistic tradition, renounces the atomic hypothesis and admits the infinite divisibility of matter, but thereby, it seems to me, lets go whatever is positive and clear in the conception of matter. Through the infinite divisibility of matter, it vanishes and disperses, without our being able for a moment to seize and retain its image. Imagine a compound; for instance, a heap of sand: what is there real in this object? Plainly the grains of sand of which it is composed, for the compound itself is something only to the mind: it is only the sum of the parts; if there were no parts it would not exist. We may therefore say in strictness that a compound has no reality save that which it owes to its integral particles: it is a form which is nothing without the matter to which it applies. The sand heap having no reality, save that it owes to the sand grains which compose it, let us now suppose the grain of sand itself to be a compound: this sand grain, like the heap itself, will only have a provisional and relative reality, subordinated to the reality of its constituent particles. Suppose the same thing of the same parts: they themselves will not yet be the reality, and pushing this research to infinity, since there are no last terms, we shall never learn what constitutes the reality of matter. We will therefore say of matter in general, what we say of each particular compound, that it is only a provisional and relative thing, subordinated to some absolute condition to us unknown.

The same reasoning will apply to force as to matter, the two things being inseparable, according to Messrs. Moleschott and Büchner. If matter is infinitely divisible, equally so is force; but we shall say, as before, that a compound force has no reality other than that of its component forces. The force of a two-horse team is only the sum of the two forces inherent in those

horses. In reality, what exists is not the resultant which the mathematician considers, but two distinct, associated forces. If this is so, the general force spread through a heap of matter must be reduced to the elementary forces inherent in the particles of the whole; but if these particles are themselves compounds, the forces belonging to them are no less so, and consequently are not as yet the forces we seek. Finally, if all force is infinitely divisible, we shall never find the last force, that atom of force without which compound force is nothing real. Thus force vanishes like matter.

Strive now to conceive of this divisible infinite (matter and force) as an absolute, self-subsisting; you will not succeed. What is there, what can there be absolute in a compound? Obviously the elements, for no one will say, for example, that this tree, this stone, possesses absolute existence. These things are only accidental forms produced by the encounter of elements. The whole itself, the *cosmos*, is but the form of forms, the sum of all anterior forms. The absolute necessity of matter can then only reside in the elements of matter, and there materialists have always placed it. But if there are no elements, where then resides absolute necessity? And how could matter be conceived as self-existent?

Thus the infinite divisibility of matter, if it was allowed as true, would bring the German school to admit some principles different from matter, which, giving consistency to this absolute fluidity, should permit it to exist. In a word, a more profound study would bring back the new school from materialism to idealism.

This is not all. Messrs. Moleschott and Büchner have set forth, as a self-evident principle, the necessary coexistence of matter and force; but if from bodies you abstract force, from what now do motion and impenetrability arise, what remains to constitute matter? Nothing but extension. Matter is then an extended thing endowed with force. This extended thing moves, that is, changes its place in space: it is then distinct from the space which contains it. Now exactly here materialism has ever been greatly embarrassed, for how shall we distinguish this extended particle from the corresponding particle of space which it fills? Imagination, assuming here the place of the understanding, represents to us a kind of dustlike grains

floating in the air. So the Epicurean atoms floated in the void. But begin by stripping this dustlike grain of all that sight and the other senses make known concerning it, reduce it to extension and force, do not forget that force is a property of matter and consequently of extension, and say to yourself that this atom, considered in itself, is nothing but a portion of extension. It has, then, no mark by which it can be distinguished from the corresponding portion of space which it is thought to inhabit. Do not say that it is distinguished by the force which animates it, for then it would be force which would constitute matter; matter would be lost in force, which is the opposite of your system and the giving up of the materialistic principle. If, on the contrary, you admit a matter essentially extended, you will confound it, like Descartes, with space, and then try to conceive motion, figure, diversity, in this space infinite, homogeneous, and full.

But such a discussion is of too abstract and delicate a nature to be long continued. I have said enough to prove that the new German materialism has shown from the start ignorance enough of discussion in setting up as a principle the coexistence of force and matter, without giving any definition of either, and without showing what bonds unite them. The demonstrated insufficiency of the principle appears in all the consequences which can be drawn from it. Two examples will suffice for proof: they are the ideas of materialists upon the principle of life, and the principle of thought.

IV.

One of the most obscure problems of human science, before which a circumspect philosophy will ever prefer maintaining silence to proposing hypotheses so difficult to verify, is the problem of the origin of life upon the terrestrial globe. If there is a demonstrated truth in geology, it is that life has not always existed in the world, and that it has appeared here on a given day, doubtless under its most elementary form, for everything inclines us to believe that nature in her development follows the law of gradation and progress; but at length, on a given day, life appeared. How? Whence came it? By what miracle did inert matter become living and animated?

That, I repeat, is a great mystery, and every sage will prefer silence to affirmation of he knows not what.

To Mr. Büchner there is no difficulty. Life is a certain combination of matter, which became possible the day when it first encountered favorable circumstances. If he limited himself to these terms it would be hard to refute him, for who can know what is possible and what is not. But the German author goes much further. According to him, nature has never seen the appearance of a new force. All that was produced in the past must have been produced by forces similar to those which, to-day, we perceive. Thereby he pledges himself to maintain that to-day even, we witness the miracle of the origin of life, that matter is fitted to spontaneously produce living organisms. Bringing the question upon this ground, he furnishes a solid basis for discussion, for we can then ask what science teaches us about the actual origin of living beings; in a word, what is to-day the position of science upon the old and celebrated question of spontaneous generation.

By spontaneous generation, or *heterogeny*, is meant the formation of certain living beings, without preexisting germs, by the sole play of the physical and chemical forces of matter. From the highest antiquity, people have believed in spontaneous generation. "We see" (says Lucretius) "worms all alive start from fetid clay, when the earth, softened by rain, has gained a sufficient degree of putrefaction. The elements set in motion, and brought together in new conditions, give birth to animals." This belief lasted even to the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Von Helmont describes the method of producing mice, frogs, and eels. A decisive experiment of Redi gave a deadly blow to all these ridiculous superstitions. He showed that the worms which come from meat are the larvæ of flies' eggs, that, by enveloping the meat with a light varnish, the birth of these larva may be prevented; still later, the eggs were detected and the mystery was explained. However, the discovery of the microscope opened a new path to the partisans of spontaneous generation. The microscopic animals which appear in infusions of animal and vegetable matter seemed to be produced apart from sexual conditions and without preexisting germs. The fine experiments of Needham seemed to decide in favor of this opinion; those of Spallanzani made it give

way, without overcoming it decisively. In the beginning of the present century, the capital experiment of Schwann gave the finishing stroke to the question, against spontaneous generation. Science seemed to have abandoned this question, when Mr. Pouchet brought it into fashion again, by experiments which made a stir, and which, to his mind, were decisive for generation without germs. The antivitalists were still rejoicing, when another *savan*, one of our most eminent chemists, Mr. Pasteur, took up the question, and carried it nearly as far as we can to-day go: by the most delicate, ingenious, and solid experiments, he has refuted all the arguments of the heterogenists, and I believe we can say that, in this great debate, the Academy of Sciences and the great majority of *savans* think him right.

It would be difficult here to enter into the details of the experimental discussions that have taken place. Let us be content to give a general and philosophical idea of the question. It is now a remarkable fact, a presumption unfavorable to spontaneous generation, that the partisans of this theory have been gradually crowded back into the domain of the infinitely small, into the sphere of the invisible, so to say, where experiments are so difficult and the eye is so easily deceived. If such a mode of generation were possible, we do not see why it should not take place in other departments of animal life, and why it should be precisely reduced to the microscopic world.

Mr. Büchner says, to be sure, that those are the most imperfect organisms, and that consequently it is thought that they may be produced by the simplest and most elementary mode of generation; but it is still to be demanded whether the perfection of organisms bears a direct ratio to their dimensions, and whether the smallest are always the most imperfect. Now this is certainly not true. If we admit, with Mr. Milne Edwards, that the perfection of the animal is in proportion to what he calls the *division of labor*, that is, the division of organs and functions, it is easy to see that this division is wholly independent of the stature of the animal. Thus insects, for example, though generally very small, are very superior as animals to molluscs, in the number and division of functions, and yet greatly their inferiors in dimensions. Man, the most perfect of animals, is not the largest. We cannot, therefore,

argue from minuteness to imperfection, and consequently the pretended imperfection of infusoria does not explain why spontaneous generation should take place only in the world of the infinitely small. I add that the organization of the infusoria is not at all, as we have been tempted to believe, a simple organization: is on the contrary very complex, and the illustrious micrographist, Ehrenberg, has proved that these little, almost invisible animals are as perfect and as richly organized as many animals of far higher rank. Mr. Büchner tells us that the rotifer, which is only the twentieth of a line in length, has a mouth, teeth, stomach, intestinal glands, vessels and nerves.

The following reasoning is invoked in behalf of spontaneous generation: "If there was," say they, "only one mode of generation, generation by sex, we could understand the disposition to reject production in certain species as a pure illusion contrary to general law; but experience tells us that ~~there~~ are very diversified modes of generation; why then should not one of these modes, in the lowest rank of animal life, be *heterogeny?*" The great works of modern science upon the generation of the inferior animals have answered this objection; and the opinion which seems to prevail to-day in the natural sciences, the arguments, the researches upon which it rests, have been more than once set forth in this Review by Mr. Quatrefages. He it is who summed up in a few lines of rigorous distinctness the data acquired on this point by modern science. "Mediately or immediately," said he, "every animal goes back to a father and a mother, (male and female apparatus.) And what we are now saying applies also to vegetables. . . . A father and a mother, that is, a male and a female, such is the origin of every living thing. The existence of the sexes, of which inorganic nature offers not a trace, appears as the distinctive mark of organized matter, as one of those primordial laws whose ground we should not seek to know."

This reinstauration of the sexual element in the generation of animals is evidently a fatal blow to spontaneous generation. This theory has suffered other checks not less curious. For a long time it could cite in its favor a fact truly strange and inexplicable in appearance; this was the existence of intestinal worms. "To-day," said J. Müller, "it is by the consideration of intestinal worms that it is most permissible to maintain the

hypothesis of the conversion of an unorganized animal matter into living animals." The existence of these worms, which are born in the most secret tissues, in the interior of the muscles, in the interior of the brain, seemed a real mystery; ah well! that is to-day explained, and the origin of these strange beings is brought back to the ordinary laws of reproduction, only it presents one of the most strange and marvelous cases of the theory of metamorphosis. This is decidedly established by the fine labors of Mr. Van Beneden. Who would have suspected, before this learned man, that a parasite worm was destined to pass a part of his life in one animal, and another part in another? that it was to live at the fetal stage in a herbivorous animal, and at the adult stage in a carnivorous animal? This, however, is what happens. These animals, after a sort, change their *hotels*. Thus the hare lodges and nourishes a parasite worm which will become adult only in the dog. The sheep nourishes the *cœnure*, which in the wolf becomes a tape worm. Every parasite worm passes three stages: the first is the egg laid in the intestine of the carnivorous animal and rejected by it; the second, that of the embryo: the egg is swallowed by the herbivorous animal with the herb it browses, and it hatches in its stomach; the third is that of the adult. This takes place in the body of the carnivorous animal which feeds on herbivorous ones. The whole mystery is explained without spontaneous generation. Moreover, the discovery of sex and eggs in entozoa plainly cuts the question short.

After having shown the state of the debate upon spontaneous generation, it would suffice to win the reader's suffrage to set forth with some detail the beautiful and luminous experiments of Mr. Pasteur on this difficult subject; but how can we sum up experiments whose art lies wholly in extreme precision of detail, and a sagacity which admits no cause for error? Let us be content with indicating three main points of the works of Mr. Pasteur. He has shown, first, that the air contains in suspension organized corpuscles wholly similar to germs, and he succeeded in collecting them in abundance by a method peculiar to himself; he has proved that the number of these corpuscles diminishes as we rise in the air, by virtue of the law of gravity which draws them toward the earth, and in fact, exposing divers liquids to the open air, at different heights in the atmos-

phere, he obtained just so many less of the so-called spontaneous generations as he ascended higher: facts perfectly conformable to the theory of the dissemination of germs. The second series of his experiments consisted in preventing spontaneous generation by removing every exterior germ and burning by heat the germs that may exist in a fermentable liquid: this second series of experiments is the least original thing in the works of Mr. Pasteur; it is at bottom the celebrated experiment of Schwann under more perfect conditions for its execution. Finally, the third and most interesting series of experiments consists in obtaining, at will, the production of *infusoria*, and reintroducing the germs, that is, the organized corpuscles already collected by the first method.

However, in experimental sciences, no demonstration ever has an absolute value, and the authority of a conclusion can only be relative to the number of facts observed. Further, we need not say that spontaneous generation is impossible; we need but to say that, in the present state of science, there exists no clear case of spontaneous generation; we may say that whenever we have taken the necessary precautions, such facts have not been forthcoming; we may say that all the arguments used to favor this theory have succumbed before experiments. Limited as are these affirmations, they are nevertheless very important, for they condemn those who deny them to defend a gratuitous hypothesis. Theory is doubtless permissible in the speculative sciences, where it is impossible to put your finger upon facts themselves; but hypothesis ought never to be gratuitous and repose upon a desire and a need of our mind. Now materialism, in affirming spontaneous generation for the sole reason that it has need of it to stay up its system, forms a wholly gratuitous hypothesis, for which the facts, as they are, do not furnish proof.

To escape the foregoing difficulties, Mr. Büchner proposes a conjecture: "We might suppose that germs of every living thing, *endowed with the idea of space*, have existed from all eternity." But who will fail to see in this supposition a manifest contradiction of the general system of the author? How were these germs formed? By what force were the elements of matter united to form a germ, and a germ that potentially contains a species? That is a completely idealist point of view.

Remark that we cannot conceive two kinds of matter, of which one should be vital the other inert. The theory of Buffon on a kind of matter suited for organized being has been exploded by the discoveries of organic chemistry. The matter which enters into the human body is the same as that of minerals and brute bodies. It is not, therefore, by its elements that the human is distinguished from the brute body, it is by its form. Now this form, if you do not allow spontaneous generation, supposes a special force distinct from matter. Moreover the notion of a species inherent in a germ, is a principle which exceeds all the data of materialism. The new system is, therefore, convicted of impotence in its propositions upon the origin of life. Is it happier when it essays to explain thought?

V.

At first glance, the theory which reduces thought to a mere function of the brain, seems to present itself with certain advantages, and to be but a rigorous application of the scientific method; for, see upon what it rests. Wherever we observe a brain, it is said we encounter a thinking, or at least, in some degree, intelligent being; wherever the brain is wanting, intelligence and thought are likewise wanting; finally, intelligence and the brain increase and decrease in the same proportion; what affects one, affects the other at the same time. Age, disease, and sex have quite a similar effect upon the brain and upon intelligence. Now, according to the Baconian method, when a circumstance produces an effect by its presence which is suppressed by its absence or modified by its changes, it may be considered as the true cause of that effect. The brain unites these three conditions in its relations with thought: it is then the cause of thought.

But I should first remark that science has still much to do before it will have rigidly demonstrated the three propositions I have just mentioned. Without speaking of the two first, which are not absolutely indisputable, it is the last particularly whose proof is desirable. Before establishing that changes in thought are proportioned to changes in the brain, we should know upon exactly what circumstance in the brain the fact of thought depends. This is yet unknown, for some cite size, others weight, others the convolutions, others the chemical composi-

tion, other some a certain invisible dynamic action, which it is always facile to suppose. Now, according to the most eminent physiologists, the physiology of the brain is still in its infancy, and the relations of the brain and thought are profoundly unknown. For example, the condition of the brain in lunacy is one of the most redoubtable stones of stumbling in pathological anatomy. Some find something, and others find nothing, absolutely nothing, altered. According to Mr. Leuret, one of the most eminent practitioners in insanity, we find a change in the brain of the insane only when madness is connected with some other malady, such as general paralysis. Further, the changes found are so different from one another, are so seldom constant and regular, that there is no reason to consider them as the true causes. We may just as well deem them effects as causes, since insanity may at length bring on these changes. In this case they would be, to speak like the physicians, merely consecutive and not essential. A final difficulty is drawn from the difference between man and animals. Is this difference sufficiently explained by the difference in the brain? It seems not, since certain naturalists insist on the identity of the brain of man with the brain of the monkey to prove that man may have been a monkey, or, at least, may have sprung from a common stock with the monkey. Here materialists are sufficiently embarrassed, for now they are interested to prove that man differs from the animal, and now that he does not differ. Would they show that man is not a separate class in nature, and that, at the origin, he might be confounded with the inferior classes? they present the analogies. Would they show the indisputable difference which exists between the actual man and the actual monkey? they insist on the differences. But the analogies, the differences, over which the dispute rages, are they sufficiently great to explain the abyss that separates the two classes? Intermediates are invoked; on the one hand negroes, on the other gorillas, very popular since the travels of Mr. Du Chaillu. Now, I ask, would the gorillas be capable of founding the republic of Hayti or of Liberia? Could they ever replace the negro in the culture of the sugar-cane? Propose this to the American planters, they would, indeed, be forced to confess that the negroes are not wholly animals. The more analogy there is between the constitution of their

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brain and that of the monkey, the more it is demonstrated that difference in intelligence depends upon some condition which the senses do not show us.

I add that if these proportions were demonstrated, materialism would gain nothing, for it is enough to admit that the brain is the condition of thought without being its cause, to explain the facts named, by one hypothesis as by the other. Indeed suppose, for an instant, that human thought is of such a nature that it cannot exist without sensations, without images, without signs, (it is not proved that there can be no thought save this;) suppose, I say, that such is the condition of human thought; do we not understand that then a nervous system would be needed to render sensation possible, and a nervous center to render possible the concentration of sensations, the formation of images and signs? The brain would be, in this theory, the organ of imagination and language, without which there would be no thought for the human soul. It would result that, as a blind man wants one source of impressions, and consequently one source of ideas, so the mind that should want a certain part of the brain, or that should be attainted in the cerebral conditions necessary to the formation of images and signs, would become incapable of thinking, since pure thought without connection with what comes through sensation seems impossible in the actual conditions of our finite being. We perceive that the relations of the brain to thought are quite as conceivable under the spiritualistic theory as under the materialistic, and even that difficulties which the latter presents would vanish before the former. For instance, what would become of the difference between man and brutes? It would have its cause no longer in the difference of brains, but in the difference of the internal force, the thinking force, which in the animal can combine only a small number of images, and which cannot transform natural into artificial signs. The physical conditions of thought would be identical in both cases; the entirely non-material conditions of the thinking power alone would be modified. It would be the same in cases of lunacy which might have as causes, now organic changes which would affect the organ of imagination and of signs, now changes wholly moral which would unfit the soul to govern its sensations, to combine images and signs,

which would make it pass from the active to the passive condition. If we admit with certain physiologists a cerebral dynamics, and if we explain insanity or imbecility by the variations of intensity in the cerebral forces, why may I not admit an intellectual and moral dynamics resident in an elementary and indivisible substance, which is equally susceptible of certain variations of intensity, of which the cause is now within now without itself? It was then only by taking a wholly superficial point of view, and by not sufficiently examining all the aspects of the question, that materialism believed itself authorized, from the fact that the brain is indispensable to the production of thought, to conclude that the brain is itself the thinking subject.

But it is not enough to show that the facts cited by materialists are explained also, and perhaps better, by the contrary hypothesis, for it would only result that the mind ought to remain indifferent and in suspense between the two theories. There is something further: there are certain decisive facts, we think, certain eminent characteristics of thought, which seem absolutely irreconcilable with materialism. These facts are well known. Whoever has studied this subject a little, divines that we are thinking of personal identity and the unity of thought. I shall insist principally upon personal identity, striving to push its consequences somewhat further than is usually done.

We do not define personal identity, but we feel it. Each one of us knows that he continues to be himself at every moment of the duration which composes his being, and this is what we call identity. It manifests itself very clearly in three principal facts, thought, memory, and responsibility. The simplest fact of thought supposes that he who thinks abides the same at two different moments. All thought is successive; if this is questioned in judgment it will not be questioned in reasoning; if it is questioned in the simplest form of reasoning it will not be questioned in demonstration, which consists of a series of reasonings. We must admit that it is the same mind which continues through all the moments of a demonstration. Conceive three persons of whom one thinks a major, another a minor, the third a conclusion; will you have a common thought, a common demonstration? No, the three elements must unite

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in one and the same mind. Memory brings us to the same conclusion. I remember only of myself, M. Royer Collard very justly said: exterior things and other persons enter into my memory only through having passed into my cognitive powers, and it is this cognition that I remember, not the thing itself. I could not, then, remember what another than I did, said, or thought. Memory supposes a continued bond between the *I* of the past and the *I* of the present. Finally no one is responsible save for himself; if one is so for others it is only as he can act upon or by them. How could I answer for what another did before I was born? Thus thought, memory, responsibility are startling witnesses to our identity. That is one of the capital facts which characterize our mind. There is likewise in the human body a capital and characteristic fact, but it is the opposite of the preceding; this is what has been called the vital vortex, or the perpetual exchange of matter which goes on between living animals and the exterior world. We know that organized bodies have need of nutrition, that is, of borrowing from foreign bodies a certain quantity of matter to repair the losses that they continually suffer. If, indeed, living bodies preserved all acquired matter and incessantly introduced new, we ought to see their size constantly growing. This is what we do see up to a certain age; but this increase of size stops, and the body remains stationary in its dimensions. It is thereby evident that the body loses as much as it gains, and that life is a circulation. Further, the greatest naturalists have acknowledged the fact. I will above all cite the fine words of Cuvier. "In living bodies," says he, "no particle keeps its place; all enter and depart in succession; life is a continual whirlpool, whose direction, all complicated as it is, remains constant, as well as the kind of particles which are drawn into it, but not the individual particles themselves. The present matter of the living body, on the contrary, will soon be no longer in it, and yet it is the depository of a force which will constrain the future matter to move in the same path as itself. So the form of these bodies is more essential to them than their matter, since this constantly changes while that is preserved."

Without insisting upon a fact whose confirmation will be found in all physiologists, let us say that the problem for

materialists is to conciliate the personal identity of the mind with the perpetual mutability of the organized body. Now we must admit that materialists have not taken much pains to solve this problem, and Dr. Büchner does not even mention it. It does not depend upon him, however, that the identic should result from change, or unity from composition. If that is so, it must still be explained how it can be. The first explanation which might be given, is that indicated in the passage from Cuvier cited above. The vital whirlpool, it is said, has a constant direction; in the change of matter, there is always something left, form. The materials are displaced and replaced, but always in the same order and in the same relations. Thus the features of the face remain ever nearly the same, despite the change of the parts; the scar always remains, though the wounded particles have long ago disappeared. The living body has a historic oneness, which results from the persistence of relations, and which is the foundation of the identity of the *I*.

Such an explanation, however, can only satisfy those who do not take good account of the conditions of the problem, for in supposing that we may explain this fixity of the type, whether individual or generic, by a simple play of matter, by chemical or mechanical action, it must not be forgotten that an identity so produced will ever be only an apparent and wholly external identity, like that of those petrifactions in which vegetable molecules have been gradually replaced by mineral molecules, without the form of the object's experiencing any change. I say that such an object is not really identical, and especially that it is not so to itself, and that in such a theory you will find no foundation for the consciousness and the memory of identity, for I demand, where will you place memory in this ever-moving object? Shall it be in the elements, in the molecules themselves? But as they disappear, those which enter cannot remember those that depart. Shall it be in the relation of the particles? It must be, for that is the only thing that truly continues; but what is a relation which itself thinks, remembers, and is responsible? These are so many unintelligible abstractions to which our readers are welcome.

One might turn to the following hypothesis. It might be said: In proportion as the molecules enter into the body, for

instance into the brain, they place themselves where the preceding ones were; there they are found in the same relation with the neighboring particles, they are drawn into the same vortex as those they replace. Ah well? so, by hypothesis, thought is a vibration of the cerebral fibers; since to-day everything is explained by vibrations, each new molecule will come in its turn to vibrate exactly as the preceding; it will give the same note, and you will believe you hear the same sound; this then will be the same thought, though the molecule has changed. Having the same thought, the man will be the same individual. Such an explanation, however, is nowise satisfactory, for identity of persons is not attached to identity of thoughts. I may vacillate between the most opposite ideas and feelings without ceasing to be myself; two men thinking of the same thing at once, the series of numbers for example, will not therefore become one and the same man; several cords emitting the same sound are not one cord. Thus identity of vibrations, no more than persistence in form, explains the consciousness of personal identity.

It may be rejoined: You reason upon a false theory. You seem to believe that the human brain totally changes from moment to moment, from second to second. This is not so; the brain only changes in succession. On the other hand is the *I* then immobile? Does it not change also from moment to moment? Is the youth the same as the mature man, the mature as the aged man? So neither is change absolute in the body, nor immobility in the soul. Could we not come into harmony? The consciousness of identity in us would correspond to the durable part of the brain, the consciousness of change to the changing part. So that, in man, would be united, according to the expression of Plato, the *one* and the *many*, the *same* and *another*. That is, I think, the profoundest thing that can be said in favor of materialism; but I do not believe it has ever taken the trouble to go so far in its defense: we take pains to furnish it with arms. However that may be, this last turn no more satisfies me than the preceding. At the outset it is something strange that man should every moment lose a part of himself, and that he should recomplete himself every moment. At the end of a certain time I should have but three fourths of myself, then a half, then a fourth,

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then nothing. Is that a faithful picture of what we experience when we feel ourselves change? Phenomena change, but we attribute them always to the same individual; there are variations in the consciousness of this permanent *I*, overturnings, revolutions, a thousand accidents, but the being continues and recovers itself always after faintings, excitements, and troubles of every kind to which it is a prey.

And, moreover, these organic changes, though working more slowly, none the less produce in the end the same effects. After some years, a new *I* would have succeeded the preceding. Let us suppose the renewal to occur four times, corresponding to the four ages of life: there will then be an infant *I*, a youthful *I*, a mature *I*, an aged *I!* But these are four different men, who somehow are heirs one of another. How are they united to form one, and one possessing himself, and having a consciousness and memory of his identity? Still that will be only an apparent identity, like that of a public function filled successively by men following the same routine as their predecessors, but at bottom different from them. I grow weary of following out frivolous and subtile consequences which are repugnant to good sense.

After this exposition and discussion of the new German doctrines, it only remains to ask what scientific cause can explain this relapse to materialism already so striking in Germany, and whose advance is so startling among ourselves. Shall we say with Dr. Büchner that the cause is a return to experience, and the observation of facts, in a word, to the true scientific method?

No, doubtless, for immediate experiment pronounces nothing upon materialism; it is not for it to sound first principles; and to affirm materialism, we must employ reasoning, hypothesis, and induction at least quite as much as in the contrary theory. No, what explains materialism is a tendency natural to the human soul, and one that to-day is very potent over men's minds: the tendency to unity. We wish to explain everything by a single law, a single phenomenon, a single cause. This is no doubt a useful and necessary tendency, without which there would be no science; but of how many errors has it not been the cause! How many imaginary analogies, how many capital omissions, how many chimerical creations, has a love of vain simplicity produced in philosophy!

Who can deny without any doubt that unity is at the very bottom of things, at the beginning and at the end? Who can deny that the same harmony governs the visible and the invisible world, bodies and minds? But who tells us that the harmonies, the analogies, which unite the two worlds, belong to those which we can imagine? Upon what do we found to force nature to nothing but an eternal repetition of herself, and as Diderot says, the same phenomenon indefinitely diversified? Illusion and pride! Things have greater deeps than our minds possess. Doubtless matter and mind must have a common cause in the thought of God; there we should seek their ultimate unity, but what eye has penetrated them? Who can think that he has been enabled to explain this common origin of every created thing? Who could do this, save He who is the cause of all? But especially what weakness and what ignorance to limit the real existence of things to those fugitive appearances which our senses grasp, to make our imagination the measure of all things, and to adore, like the new materialists, not even the atom which had, at least, some appearance of solidity, but an inexpressible somewhat that has no name in any tongue, and which we might call *infinite dust!*

Art. III.—CREATION A SERIES OF SUPERNATURAL GROWTHS.

And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.—Genesis ii, 7.

No objection need be taken to this rendering in respect to verbal accuracy. Any attempt at a stricter conformity to the original would only have given it a stiff and pedantic appearance, without yielding any clearer understanding of the general idea. Of this general *idea* we may say that while it is the same, essentially, for all minds, the *conception* accompanying it may vary indefinitely, in manner and extent, for different intelligences. Perhaps it is not too much to say that since it was first put upon record, hardly any two readers have had precisely the same *conceptual image* of the great *fact*

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announced, and yet all have received the same *truth*, and the truth, too, which the divine Author of the passage intended it should convey. This distinction between the *idea* and the *conception*, between the truth and the image under which it is conveyed, is not a vain one. It is an essential distinction we must be ever ready to make in all efforts to interpret the language of men to each other, much more the language of God to man. In most cases there may be no urgent need for making it. No question is affected by it. We take the thought, each of us, in our own way; and it is the same *thought*, we say again, although the *way of conceiving* be very different for different minds.

"Our Father who art *in heaven!*" Among the millions who have repeated these words how varying the imagery accompanying the great idea. It is very possible for men to say the pater noster without having anything in the mind at all. There may have been neither *idea* nor *conception.* To others there may have been presented the image of a vast and lofty abode in the sky immediately above us. The word *heavens* (the plural, it should be remembered, in Hebrew, and so transferred to the New Testament Greek) may have had to different minds immensely varying degrees of number and of altitude. With others, all such conceptions have vanished. It is simply the thought of something above us. In another mental stage this too departs. The mind has become too scientific to think of God or his divine abode as any more in the one direction than in the other; or if it hold to some locality as matter of fact, the conception of it is severed as much as possible from any relative images of up and down that come from the constantly changing position of our own place in the universe. "He is the Father of lights, to whom there is no *parallax*," (*παραλλαγή*.) And yet Newton and the newly-converted Australian may each have uttered the words of this invocation with the same simple reverence of feeling and idea. They have each had in their souls the same two truths, that suggested by the words "our Father," and the fact expressed by the phrase "in the heavens." The latter words are not surplusage, notwithstanding this great diversity of conception attending them. It is a divine paternity, and that paternity *unearthly*, reigning throughout all that is comprehended or

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can be comprehended, in the word heavens, according to the most limited or the most extensive, the most nearly superterrene, or the most widely cosmical *conception*, with which the mind's knowledge or the mind's thinking can clothe it.

We have dwelt upon this illustration in the start, because if fairly presented and received by the reader it will dispense with the necessity of much argument that might otherwise be needed. To fortify it, however, take another, Philippians. ii, 10: "That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those in heaven, or upon the earth, or under the earth." There has been much discussion here as to what is meant by the word *καταχθόνιοι*. Some would prove from it the apostle's belief in antipodes. Others interpret it of a supposed subterranean world. What was the exact conception present to the apostle, or common to the imagination of the age, we may not precisely know, nor would we be limited by it if we did. The *conception* is in fact a part of the language. It is representative of the thought or truth, even as it is itself represented by the bare words. The *idea*, to which the words and the image raised by them in the mind are both subservient, is that of universality—the same, as a truth, for all minds, however diversely imaged by the sense. The apostle might have used general terms for this. But he wished to carry vividness and emotion along with the thought, and by such use of conceptual terms there is gained far more in respect to strength than is lost in logical correctness. "*All intelligent beings in the universe*"—whatever may be our attending conception or the science whence such conception arises—this is what is meant, although such conception may be very imperfect; it ever must be very imperfect; in its best state it is a very partial thing, ever defective, ever small in comparison with that of some science yet to come. We cannot think without images any more than we can discourse without words conveying to others, not our thought directly, but the image of our thought. Jesus shall be the *universal sovereign;* he shall be Lord of *all*. We may express this abstractly or in general terms; but if we wish power to accompany it we make a picture. This picture may be general; all above, around, beneath us. Or we may give it more locality and precision, "all in heaven, and on the earth, and below the earth;" the latter term denoting extent

unbounded in one direction, even as the first expresses what is limitless in another.

"He knoweth our frame; he remembereth that we are dust." What is meant here by the words *frame* and *dust?* The question, it may be said, is out of place; this is poetical language, and requires a peculiar style of interpretation. It is, however, not so easy to fix the bounds of what is called poetry in the Scriptures. Everything in the divine book is so high, so earnest, so full of life and emotion, that the ordinary critical and rhetorical divisions cannot be carried out. Figures are not used in the Bible for embellishment; the plainest narrative carries with it something more than bare fact, or truth of thought and conception. One department of style runs into another, and this in every section of the superhuman volume. Strong phenomenal language, or word-painting as we may call it, is everywhere; and oftentimes we cannot distinguish between it and the predominantly poetical. This latter character would be ascribed to the thirty-eighth chapter of Job, while the creative account would be called plain history or narration. But let the reader compare the two by taking them in immediate connection, and he must be struck by the resemblance both in thought and imagery. In the one, the waters are gathered together, and the dry land appears; in the other the sea has bars and doors; limits are assigned to it which it must not pass. In the one, "darkness rests upon the formless abyss" out of which earth and seas are *born*. In the other, ocean "breaks forth as if it issued from the womb;" a prominence is given to the image of *birth;* and yet this same conception is presented in the Hebrew of Genesis. It is contained in the verb תוצא, as used repeatedly in the creative account. The earth brings forth. It is a coming forth from something which precedes it, as a ground, in the order of process. There is the same conception in the Hebrew תולדות, *generationes*, *naturæ*, where it is used of "the generations of the heavens and the earth." So again in Job, the darkness is earth's swaddling band; in the plain Mosaic narrative, as some would call it, there is the same imagery, though it is not made predominant, as in the other, by that express presentation of the figure which brings upon language the name of the poetical. There is, however, in Genesis, an image connected with the idea of birth, exceeding in

the vastness of its sublimity anything to be found in Job. It is "the Spirit brooding on the waters." It is the origin of life. Poetry we may call it; but it is that poetry that transcends philosophy, and whose aid is sought when all other forms of language fail in adequateness of conception as well as of idea. There is vivid imagery in both cases. We have no right, in dealing with the one, to call it hyperbole, nor to interpret it as we would dry skeleton facts in the other. In truth, ineffable ideas are struggling for utterance; every power of language and conception, of thought and imagery, are employed to set forth the wondrousness of the earthly and the human origin. In both, to the thoughtful mind, there is prominent the idea of *process*—of going forth—of one thing coming out of another; in other words, of a *nature*, (natura,) a being born, and an ever being about to be born, and to give birth to something else. Natura in Latin, *φύσις* and *γένεσις* in Greek, are no more poetical, and no less poetical, than ילד and תולדה in Hebrew. They all have one radical conception; they all have the germ of a thought, expressed in Job by extended and particular images of birth, infancy, growth, nurture, etc., which, on account of their greater extent and particularity, making the conception more prominent and pictorial, we call poetry. Had we been ever accustomed to read in our Bibles, (Gen. ii, 4,) "These are the *natures* (*births*, *growths*) of the heavens and the earth, in their being created (בהבראם, Septuagint, *ὅτε ἐγένετο*,) in *the day* of the Lord's *making* them," it would doubtless have greatly modified our thinking, and given a different aspect to the whole account; but the meaning would have been precisely the same, etymologically, conceptionally, and ideally. We should not in that case have wondered that the orthodox Augustine, who had none of our modern notions, or narrow prejudgments of time, should have called the creative days *naturæ*, or a series of "ineffable" successions in the divine working.

To call it poetry amounts to nothing. In the same way the language of our most abstract philosophy, all our physics and metaphysics, are poetical when the terms they employ, and are compelled to employ, are reduced to their etymological and primary images. In other writings, the poetical form is expressly designed as poetry; the figures are clearly rhetorical. In the Scriptures, the rhetorical effect, though designed, is

never proposed as the aim, or it is kept wholly in the background. "I am but dust and ashes," says the patriarch. This may be called poetry, indeed; but Abraham no more thought of speaking poetically, according to our modern definitions, than when he uttered the abstract ethical question, "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" Again: "Dust thou art;" pulvis et umbra sumus; "He formed man of the dust of the earth." Why should it be thought that this is any more the language of particularity (or of thought limited to the narrowest conception) than the other? Lowliness of origin and of physical constitution is the idea in the one case; why seek to narrow it in the other, or to make it an *outward plastic* formation from the ground as the immediate material of the first human effigies? Do we not, in fact, by such interpretation impair that most significant moral idea of which this language is the vehicle, and which its imagery was designed most vividly to express? "The first man is *ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός*, from the earth, earthy;" there is little ground for dispute about the meaning here. It is an expression for the physical life; it is the same as the *σῶμα ψυχικὸν*, the animal body, or the body in which sense and nature rule, in distinction from the *σῶμα πνευματικὸν*, the spiritual body, or the body in which the spirit, the divine reason, the heavenly life, reign supreme; whether we regard it as the heavenly life first given when God stamped upon man his own immortal image, or that same life restored by Christ, "the second man, the Lord from heaven," after it had been sunk in earthliness and animality. The allusion in 1 Corinthians xv, 47, is evidently to Genesis ii, 7, only *χοϊκός* is a still lower word, still more significant of humble origin, and more closely allying man with those lowest natures that came out of the *χόος*, the *fusile*, moist, *alluvial* earth, or the slimy waters. No word could have been better adapted to this conception; and yet who would quote it in favor of an outward plastic formation, unless he had previously from some source acquired a prejudice, a prejudgment to that effect? We could no more draw from it a scientific or matter-of-fact conclusion, than from the etymology of *homo* from *humus*, (if that be correct philology,) or of *Adam* from *adama*, the earth.

There are two modes of interpreting the Scriptures, and especially the creative account, that are at war with the views

here suggested. The one is the attempt at scientific accommodation, making science the interpreting oracle, and the Scriptures a nose of wax, to be formed into any shape that this higher authority may dictate, and without regard to any method of exegesis having its rule and sanction in itself. It is a favorite in platform speeches, and in ambitious sermons and treatises that have so much to say about "the harmonies of science and revelation"—ever glorifying the latter in words, but making science the true *regula fidei*, "the pillar and ground of the faith." Of this easily-assuming and faith-destroying tendency there may be something said, if space permits, in another part of these remarks. We have called it a mode of interpretation; but, in fact, it does not pretend to *interpret* at all, only to *reconcile*, to use its favorite word, or to give the Scriptures that meaning which is demanded by some scientific hypothesis, without ever waiting to see how soon such hypothesis may be superseded by something else equally clamorous in demanding recognition. Seemingly in wide opposition to this, but equally opposed to the spirit of the Bible and of antiquity, is that mode of interpretation which boasts of its *literalness*, or close fidelity to the very words of Scripture. It contains a fallacy in its very start. It is illogical and unphilological in the use of the very term which it so exclusively claims. The *literal* interpretation in a proper sense is the *true* interpretation, giving that which the language, regarded in all its idiomatic and historical aspects, was designed to convey, or which lies most interior in its words and sentences. Thus we interpret the words, "Our Father who art in the heavens," most *truly*, and in that sense most *literally*, when we interpret them most widely. We would therefore prefer to call it the *narrow* interpretation, especially in giving the meaning to Genesis i. It is marked by an utter insensibility to the grandeur of the account. Everything is taken on the most reduced scale of conception the language will possibly bear. Inches and barleycorns are preferred, when the due proportion of the events narrated would not only allow, but even demand, the remotest degrees of longitude, and that too as reckoned on the vast celestial equator. It is not simply that such interpreters are insensible to the grandeur of the language, the awe of its conciseness, its mysterious reserve of reduplications and minute

particularities that would only belittle the immensity it aims to set forth, but they seem to take no heed of the difficulties and inconsistencies which spring up in the literal account itself, (according to their notion of literalness,) and as a necessary consequence of such abnormal crowding. Thus the Hebrew *yom* must be twenty-four solar hours exactly, in the face of the fact that it is predicated of phenomena and events antecedent to any time-measures having any connection with the sun, or astronomical movements as now existing. This very first step brings them into difficulties—most *literal* difficulties—which have to be obviated by guesses and crude scientific hypotheses, having no ground in the language, introducing still more crowding and inconsistency, and giving rise to more objections than any of those accommodations to science at which they so loudly rail. Moses must have understood these difficulties of a solar day without a visible sun, and of a morning without a sunrise, as well as Mr. Lord; yet he makes no provision for them; and this is the clearest evidence that the great facts of his account lay in a plane transcending such collision, and altogether superseding the necessity of any such hypothetical explanations. And so with all the times and successions that follow. Throughout, it should be remembered, creation begins with the night. The first morning is that ineffable command, "Let there be light!" whether it mean light generally, in its first and essential being, or light as then commanded to shine on that dark abyss of waters; "Let there be light *there*." In either case it is the *first morning* which this narration takes into view. And now, to accommodate it to the twenty-four-hour hypothesis, there must be a reckoning back of just twelve hours to get our principium principiorum, which must either be an arbitrary starting-point taken out of an indefinitely preceding darkness, and having nothing to distinguish it from anything before or after, or else we utterly mar the chronological consistency of this nicely-adjusted calendar. But how inconceivably narrow is all this! How utterly different the impression that must be made upon a thoughtful mind that, casting aside all prejudgments, lets this sublime language have its due emotional effect. Let such a one slowly and seriously read these majestic opening verses, and carry with him this diminutive ephemeris, this frigid almanac calcula-

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tion, if he can: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth; and the earth was formless and void; there was darkness upon the face of the deep; the Spirit of God was brooding upon the waters. And God said, Let there be light, and there was light; and God saw the light that it was good; and God divided the light from the darkness; and God called the light day, and the darkness he called night; and there was an evening and a morning—one day." Who shall measure this? On what scale of current chronology shall it be counted?

"And the earth *was* formless and void." The tense form of the Hebrew verb היתה denotes cotemporaneousness with the principium mentioned in the first verse. Such was its *state* when the creative work *began;* the creative work, we mean, set forth in this Mosaic account, without reference to any other works that might have been beside it, or before it, in the eternities of God. Had it been not cotemporaneous, or the state in which the work commences, but a *succeeding* state or act, it would have required the vau conversive form, ויהי, according to a rule which is one of the most fixed things in the Hebrew language. We need not stop to prove this if the reader will only take his Hebrew Bible and observe how constantly this successive form—ever denoting one event following after another—is used in all the subsequent steps of the process. "And God said," ויאמר; "Let there be," ויהי; and there was, ויהי. Again, "And God saw," וירא; "and God divided," ויבדל; "and God called," ויקרא; and so throughout, until "the earth and heavens are finished." This invariable and unbroken sequence makes it certain that the great things mentioned in verses first and second are not successive, but cotemporaneous and initial. They all belong to the *beginning.* Then was the formless earth and heavens—for the heavens here mentioned are the heavens of our earth—then was the darkness resting; then was the Spirit brooding; and then went forth the Word, and light and life began. There had been a night; who shall tell us how long it was? And now the day is dawning; by what method shall be computed its beginning or its duration? God calls it Day. The name is not given to it as a measure of extent—that is a later and a subordinate idea—but as denoting a wondrous phenomenon, marking the first great transition, and calling up the dual contrast which

has entered into the corresponding name ever since "God called the light day, and the darkness he called night"—that same darkness that wrapped the formless earth while the Spirit was brooding o'er the chaotic deep. We are in the midst of the vast, the shapeless, the undefined; who shall talk of twenty-four hours? Who shall give us the watches of that night, or the dial-plate of that ineffable period which "God divided?" He called it yom, the day, and from that has come the lesser naming. All words ~~for~~ periods, or cycles of time, being radically grounded on this primitive conception of duality, and corresponding to it, even as the reduced scale corresponds in every division and in every point to the greater measurement.

Such an impression of the first great day once fixed in the mind, it goes with us readily through all the rest. "Let there be a firmament"—an atmosphere is formed; a sky appears; God calls it heavens; this is the second morning; and so there is a second day. This must have borne some analogy to the wondrous first, or all harmony and proportion in the account are lost. Again: "Let the waters be gathered together; let the dry land appear." Here is process; how long or how short we cannot know. We have nothing to measure them by. God might have brought forth all these phenomena in twenty-four hours, or twenty-four seconds; but why then a process at all? Why is so orderly a succession presented, unless it is meant to be a succession according to the then nature of the things succeeding, whatever that nature might be, or however it had been given to them. It must have been a movement according to the properties then existing in earth and water, and which we have no reason, from the account, to regard as essentially different from those that belong to them now. Oceans are formed; lands are dried; they *appear* as something emerging from the deep. It is the very language in which the same or similar phenomena would be described now. Here is order, and order suggests time. Why such appearings? why such statements, if there is no reality corresponding to them? The whole might have been instantaneous—sky, earth, and seas in a moment assuming the form and state they now possess. That we could readily have believed had it been told us; but why then this orderly chronology of cause and effect in just such order as nature employs, and would be expected to employ, in

a similar process? There is a settling, a gathering, a drying, and an appearing. Was this all crowded into the compass of a few hours, as our hours are now measured by the sun? It does not look so on the face of the account, and we would not think of it if we did not regard ourselves as shut up by this narrow conception of the word *yom.* We could have believed in the direct and instantaneous supernatural, but this has the appearance of something like a nature without that other idea of time-succession which is demanded as a necessary correspondence to make the conception harmonious. It seems magical rather than supernatural; that is, it is a process without any reason; it is an appearance of successive causation without any corresponding successive causality. When we attempt to regard it as supernatural, purely and throughout, the conception is impeded by this appearance of a nature; and when we would view it as a nature, we find no law, or an unnatural law of succession. Harmony of thought is only found when we regard it as a process supernaturally originated by "the going forth" of the divine Word, and then carried on in perfect accordance with the previous nature, or natures, given by the same Word to the substances so affected.

"Let the earth bring forth grass," Gen. i, 11, תדשא הארץ דשא—literally, "Let the earth *grow* grass," *βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ βοτάνην*, *germinet terra herbam.* Here is process again; here is something which looks like a nature, a *generatio*, or תולדה. There is an inward energizing power in the verb תדשא. It is in the Hiphil or causative conjugation. The grammatical subject is the earth, and it denotes an agency *in* the earth. It brings forth according to a law; the things brought forth come forth with their law *in* them, "the herb seeding seed, each after its *kind*, (מין,) or species."

The supernatural Word goes forth again, and again is there something which looks wondrously like a process or nature. There is another תולדה, or generation, to take its place among "the generations of the heavens and the earth." And God said, "Let the waters bring forth abundantly (literally, let them *swarm with*, ישרצו) the swarming, or moving creature of life, and birds that may fly," etc. Here is a higher nature, but still a nature. It is strange that commentators should not have been more struck with this language. It can only be accounted

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for on the part of the modern, (for some of the ancient had more freedom,) by their having been bound up in a preconceived notion at war with its plain and *literal* import. Had it been stated, as an independent hypothesis, that the waters ever could originate life, by any power, however given to them, some good people, and some learned people, and even some scientific people, might have been startled with it as naturalistic and even atheistic. But here it is in the Scriptures. It is the naturalism of the Bible that does not hesitate to ascribe to the waters a life-giving power, (even of the birds ultimately,) and we may see in it, very evidently, the origin of that idea, very conspicuous in the ancient mythologies, (and even entering into the earliest philosophy of the Ionic school,) that water was the first material principle, and Oceanus and Tethys the parents of all things that have life.

"The waters bring forth," not only the substances that form the lowest stratum, or seem to make the transition from the vegetable to the animal, such as the zoophytes, the mollusks, (if the writer makes no blunder here in his terminology,) or the shell-fish immovable, but the moving creature (reptile) the creeping thing, or swimming thing—the serpent and the fish. We have nothing to do with the science of this; in our present business of interpretation we care nothing about it; but here is naturalism of a certain kind taught in the Scriptures, and why should it alarm us? It is the word of our God, and should we find it connecting man's physical with the waters or the earth, it should cause no fear to a true faith. On any hypothesis, we are sufficiently allied to all below us, so that we may say, literally, "to corruption, Thou art my father: to the worm, Thou art my mother, and my sister." Job xvii, 14; xxv, 6. It is the lowliness of our physical that exalts our spiritual. There is nothing here to prevent our truly believing, or our truly hearing the voice so near and yet so far—the voice that says unto us, "Fear not, thou worm* Jacob, I have redeemed thee, saith the Lord, I hold thee by thy hand, thou art mine."

Here is a nature supernaturally called out from the waters by the Omnific Word, and that ineffable thing Life (as ineffable in the mollusk as in the archangel) is the product. There is a process, a going on of cause and effect, a law in the waters.

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* Isaiah xli, 14; Psalm xxii, 7.

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How long or how short this process was we know not, we have no means of knowing. It looks very much like a process through a series of gradations. It must have been by many steps that the bird nature brings its origin from the waters.* It says, collectively, "the moving thing that hath life," "let it swarm with them;" as though it began with the lowest and most prolific forms. It looks somewhat as though the higher came from these, through progression of species born of species. So say some scientific men. The writer has not science enough to give any scientific decision in the matter; but this occasions very little concern for the honor of the Scriptures one way or the other. Generic or specific generation is, in itself, no greater mystery, no further from or nearer to the recognition of science, than individual generation, or one individual life coming out of another; and as for any inductive testimony in the case, time is too long, and we are too brief, to arrive at any firm conclusion. "As thou knowest not what is the way of the spirit (of the life) or how the bones do grow in the womb of her that is with child, even so thou knowest not the *work* of God who maketh all." Ecclesiastes xi, 5. It is his *working*, in either way. On proper testimony we can believe one as well as the other, and there need be no fear about its possibly linking us *physically* (although the Bible necessitates no such conclusion) with the animal races below us, as long as we believe aright in respect to our more divine spiritual origin. We need to elevate this side of man; we need a more spiritual philosophy of the human soul. With a low psychology, we may well be afraid of the scientific naturalism. With a

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* Genesis i, 20. ועוף יעופף There has been an attempt on the part of some modern commentators to correct this passage, in order to divest it of its seemingly gross naturalism. They have made it a clause by itself, "And let the birds fly," etc., as though it were a separate thing in the creative process. This, however, even if it were critically allowable, would not help the matter. It is further off, indeed, but no more strange, essentially, that the waters should produce the bird life than the reptile life. It is that wondrous thing life, in both cases. We cannot take up our space here in dwelling on the exegesis, except to say, very confidently, that our common translation is right, favored by the ancient versions, and strictly agreeable to the idiom of the Hebrew. יעופף here is the descriptive future, quite common in the Hebrew, and still more common in the Arabic. The very expression occurs in the Koran with the same subject, and in precisely the same way. The true rendering is, "Let the waters bring forth the *creeping* thing and the birds that *fly* in the heavens."

higher doctrine of the spirit than is taught in our most common text-books, we may laugh to scorn all physical theories, whether of the regular scientific or of the new development school, that find in the physical man types or antique remains of everything below. They touch not the divine breath, they reach not the divine image, which spiritually and specifically constituted the *primus homo*, the species *man*.

What does the language really mean in the passages we have quoted? It is not too much to say, that most readers, even among the biblically learned, have been content with a hazy, unsteady view of some kind of mechanical formation, without troubling themselves with the strange and perplexing conclusions to which they must inevitably be brought if such view is subjected to strict examination. The most common notion has been that of a direct outward *making*, by an outward divine power, and then an arbitrary connection, in some way, of this outward mechanical product with the earth and waters; for, after the express language of the Scriptures, it would not do to deny to these all place in the process. Let us look steadily at the thing and see where it leads. When it takes the poetical form, the mind feels less revulsion in following it to its extreme, and it is carried out in all its grotesque unreasonableness. Milton, for example, represents the animals, behemoth and all, as some way made full formed, in the earth, and then, each one finding its own way out when the earth is commanded to bring them forth. With all respect and reverence be it said, that even Milton's genius, with all the poetical embellishments he has employed, can hardly save it from the aspect of the ludicrous.

> *Out of the ground* uprose,
> As from his lair the wild beast where he wons.
> The grassy clods now calved; now half appeared
> The tawny lion, pawing to get free
> His hinder parts.
> The tiger and the mole
> Rising, the crumbled earth above them threw.
> From under ground, the stag
> Bore up his branching head; scarce from the mould
> Behemoth, biggest born of earth, upheaved
> His vastness.

"Let the waters bring forth abundantly," "Let the earth bring forth the living creature after its kind." This is the

brief record that Scripture gives us of these ineffable processes. Which is the more sublime view, the more pious, the more worthy of God, a power given to the earth, a nature working after its laws and ideas as constituted by the in-forming Logos, or such a grotesque, mechanical, idealess operation as Milton poetically sets forth, though it is the same conception that is commonly and prosaically held? Let the thoughtful reader judge.

But our dread of naturalism, even though a naturalism revealed in the Bible, will force us to go much beyond this, if we adhere rigidly to that so-called orthodox notion which would utterly exclude every thought of a physical process in the origin and early growth, either of vegetable or animal existence. It will lead us to regard some of the most striking words of the account—the words of generation—as mere surplusage. "Let the waters swarm a swarm of life," which is the most literal rendering, "let the earth germinate;" we slip over them as though they had hardly any place, or we regard them as rhetorical (thus insensibly falling away from our confident literalness) and find ourselves coming back to the unwarranted notion of God's directly making, and at once, or in the space of a few hours, all the varying kinds of grass, herbs, trees, etc., "from the hyssop that cometh up by the wall unto the cedar of Lebanon," and all the varieties of animal life, in their full and perfect growth, as individuals of each species, from the invisible animalcule to the lion or the elephant. He fabricates them of some outward material. He gives, in this way, to each its outward form and inward difference, not as the product of a law, or force, invisible and immaterial, working after an idea, (thus constituting an inward natural ground of species,) but by an arbitrary outward force determining the quantity, the quality, and the constituent elements of each. The מין, or species, does not work *out*, making, or building out, the organization, but is put *into* it, or made by it. To use the language of Cudworth and Aristotle, the artificer stands outside of his work, and introduces his idea into it by outside means. Thus viewed, there is no essential difference between the divine and human workman in the manner of working, but only in the degree of force or strength employed. Though more elaborately finished, perhaps,

inwardly and outwardly, than similar human fabrications, the first tree, thus made, is just as arbitrary and as artificial a thing as a toy tree, or a waxen rose. The organization is independent of the life. It is its antecedent instead of its effect. The material, the artificial, is first, and afterward there somehow springs up in it a motion, force, or nature, that works according to the mechanical conditions in which it is placed, instead of such nature, or force, as a pre-existent thing, having determined such a mechanism, such a selection of material, and such an out-building of the material through which it is manifested in the sensible or phenomenal world. In any way we can conceive it on such hypothesis, the material organization is first; the nature, the law, or the force acting according to a law, is a consequent, whether springing out of the organization (a doctrine which would be very dark and dangerous to faith if traced to its ultimates) or created by God as a separate thing, and then arbitrarily connected with the organization and made to dwell in it. There would have been some relief from these difficulties had it been revealed to us that God made every particular thing directly, just as he made the first matter of the universe; or that each thing, each first plant, tree, fish, reptile, man, had been brought into being directly out of non-being by an immediate fiat making each thing just what it was, both in respect to matter and organization, without any becoming, or any creative connection with any previous force or material. Then there would be no first or last, no order of priority about it, either in time or nature. Mohammed is very fond of this notion of the making of each individual thing wholly and directly from nothing, or non-existence. Hence the formula so oft repeated in the Koran, in which God is represented as saying to each thing, *kun fayakun*, "Be, and it was."* The Arabian prophet affects a hyper piety here. He was determined that there should be no

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* See Koran, Surat ii, 111; iii, 42–52, where he represents man as created in this way, vi, 72, where it is applied to the earth, xvi, 42; xix, 36; xxxvi, 82; xl, 70, in which places it is spoken of every particular thing that is said to be created.

There is similar language in Psalm xxxiii, 9, "He spake and it was, he commanded and it stood," but that is spoken of creation generally, as being all by the word of God, as more particularly recounted in Genesis, the first part refering, probably, to the primal origination of worlds, and the second to the standing or permanent order, the work of subsequent mediate creations.

naturalism charged upon him, such as some might impute to Moses if they judged him strictly by his language. But nothing is more clear than that our Scriptures take a different course. There is no new material for the first plants, the first animals, or the first man. And so in respect to all the works after the first day. They are invariably connected with a pre-existing material, and with something which may be regarded as a pre-existent nature, existing generally, or in the particular material in which and through which the life is to be manifested.

What is the next step in the conception, as defended by the so-called literalist? Let us carry it steadily out; for there is but one way to do this without getting involved, somewhere, in this dreaded naturalism. These mechanically formed products, grasses, plants, trees, in their numberless varieties, are planted, or rather set out in the earth to grow. Now nature may come in. But why not sooner if God had so willed? Why not in the first as well as in the second generation? The first tree had, doubtless, all the appearances of growth and succession that marked the second, and which have appeared in all subsequent trees of that species, denoting a causality of some kind, working in the most interior nature. Were these appearances unreal in the first tree? Did they tell a false story? Did they indicate no real process, no actual corresponding causality? If they did, then this first tree was a *growth* just as much as any subsequent one from that time to this. The causality thus indicated (unless it was a magical causality without its true successions in time, which is an absurd contradiction) must have had a duration equal to that of the second, if not vastly longer, unless we suppose nature to have had her motion retarded after the first birth, of which, in this case, there is no evidence. The first tree was to be the model, the paradigm, the representative of the idea, for all subsequent trees. Was it to be so in appearance only, or in the very things that appeared through such appearances, and of which they were the representative? Was it the model simply in the quantity, the figure, the mechanical arrangement of the matter, or in the law process also, the *actual working* through which that quantity of material was gathered, that figure brought out, and that organization received its peculiar struc-

ture, differing from every other? But this is all speculation, it may be said, about birth and growth. No, it is not so. It is the very language of Scripture. "Let the earth *bring* forth, Let the earth *grow* grass, Let the waters *swarm*,"* be prolific, "bring forth abundantly." If Mr. Lord had been making a Bible, with his views of time and creative causation, he would never have used such language.

We must have the supernatural; the writer holds it as firmly as any other; but this is not inconsistent with the idea of a nature, and that, too, from the very start. The tree is not a real tree until it has a nature, and that nature is in act. Before this, or without this, it is only an image of a tree, however elaborately wrought, both in its inward and its outward construction. It is still an image, as much as the figure in the toy shop. Unless we arbitrarily limit the power we call creation to a point short of the perfect work, we must have a nature in it. Why not then from the beginning, or a nature supernaturally started, but working, immediately, as a nature, and making its first production a birth, a growth, a time growth, having its seed, or the envelope of its law, growing in it as much as any subsequent one; we might even say more so, inasmuch as it is to be, in all things, a model or pattern to the rest. Why not recognize an immaterial power (if we shrink from the word spiritual) which God originates, a great host of such immaterial powers, having their species, their varying ideas, each working according to a law, (which is an idea in action,) and all as real, in one sense, as the outward material manifestations with which, in God's time, and with God's permission, they clothe themselves when made to work in the earth, the air, and the waters? This looks very suspicious, some might say, besides being very unintelligible; it is the old dream of Origen and Plato about an ideal world; we are afraid of it; it requires us to think of forces, powers, laws, as

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* The Arabic translation of this passage, in the version called Arabs Erpenianus, is very remarkable. We attach great value to this version, as made by one of those learned Arabian Jews who were distinguished in the ninth and tenth centuries, and as being, in itself, marked by the closest fidelity to the Hebrew. For the Hebrew שֶׁרֶץ, he uses a denominative Arabic verb made from the noun for *lizard*, as being, or supposed to be, one of the earliest and most swarming productions of the slimy earth and waters. *Dhababa*, scatuit lacertis. It shows clearly his view of the passage.

somehow antecedent to matter, (in the order of nature at least, if not of time,) shaping and organizing matter: as causes in truth, instead of *effects* of such organization or material arrangement. But what if matter, itself, be force? Some of our scientific men seem to be approaching that idea. They have already resolved heat into an immaterial force; it would not be taking a very great leap to hold it true of all those other sensible or phenomenal manifestations by which matter is made known to us, leaving only a dark residuum, to which we should find it very difficult to apply either name, conception, or idea.

The mere *conception*, we admit, or sense image, here, may not be quite so easy and simple as the other which we have called the mechanical one, but *ideally* it is more easy. *Conceptually* it gives us some trouble, because it takes us into a higher sphere than the conceptual or imaging world. But still, we say, we must take it, or something like it; we must hold to natures, forces, etc., as something separate from matter, (somewhere at least in the producing processes,) or we must unshrinkingly carry out the other view with all its crudities, and perhaps land at last in something far more to be dreaded than what some call naturalism, in other words, a dead, cold, hard materialism, which makes matter the older thing, and force, and law, and life, nothing but results of the way in which it is put together. In the other view, there is, indeed, something required higher than sense, or the reflex imagings of sense which we call *conceiving*. We are beyond the *φαινόμενα*, and in the region of the *νοούμενα*, (Heb. xi, 3,) where it is difficult to retain our hold, but where, nevertheless, we have a good scriptural anchor to hold us. Not by sense, or by our power of conceiving, but "by faith do we understand (*νοοῦμεν*) that the worlds were framed by the word of God." And how framed? "So that from the unseen things were made the things that are seen." The answer is ascribed to the same faith that is defined, (v. i,) above, as the *ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων*, "the conviction of things unseen." In the common version the text reads, "so that the things which are seen were not made of things that do appear." The Vulgate has it, *ut ex invisibilibus visibilia fierent*, "so that the visible things were made (or became) from the things invisible."

The Syriac (Peshito) gives it in the same way, and can have no other rendering. So the other ancient versions. All that thus render it evidently present "the invisible things" as something from which the visible things become, (*fiunt*) come into manifestation, or are made, not certainly as material, or as material cause, (*ex quo*,) for that would be inconsistent with their *invisibility*, which is to be taken in the widest extent, as denoting what is beyond all sense. The *τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα* here, "the unseen things" which faith "understands," are not merely such as are unseen or unfelt because now, or at any time, absent, but such as are, in their very essence, invisible, that is, beyond the possible sense of any possible sentient, until, through the word of God, they are made manifest in a sensible or phenomenal world. Still they are spoken of as causes, if not as *material* causes, yet as *formal* and *efficient* causes, which the Word employs in "framing the worlds." Calvin gets this same rendering from the Greek by connecting *μὴ* with *ἐκ-φαινόμένων*, taking these as forming one compound participle; and so he translates it, "from the non-appearing (non-apparentibus) came the appearing." This will not do; since there is to be a preposition understood, and for other reasons the Greek language will not allow such a construction. A careful examination, however, shows that the sense of the Vulgate and of the Syriac, as well as that arrived at by Calvin, is substantially the sense of the Greek text as it now stands, only expressed in a negative way. "Were not made of things that are seen," or that "do appear," is only another and a more Greek mode of saying (the Greek language being fond of negatives and negative expressions) that they were made from things that do not appear. We think that one who thoughtfully studies the passage will come to the same conclusion from considering the unnatural force that is to be put upon the language, and the idea, in the interpretation that is most commonly given by those who will not allow the sense for which we are contending. The "unseen things," they say, mean nothing at all; the "not being made from things that do appear" is, to them, only another mode of saying that the world, or the things that are seen, were made out of nothing. We do not intend here to discuss the question how far this is true, or in what sense true, of creation in the start, or

the *principium* principiorum, before which there was a non-existence of everything but God; but this we say, and with much confidence, that the Greek terms here employed are not at all the ones that would be naturally used to express such an idea. The Greek words for not being would be *τὸ μὴ ὄν*, or *τὰ μὴ ὄντα*, to which the *τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα*, or *μὴ φαινόμενα*, "the unseen," or "the non-appearing," are by no means equivalent. Besides, although *τὰ ὄντα*, "the things being," is used in the plural, yet *τὰ μὴ ὄντα* is not commonly so employed, "*not being*" being expressed by *τὸ μὴ ὄν*, for a very obvious reason, since not being can have no plurality. Much less would such a phrase as *τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα*, "the things unseen," be used in the plural to express non-existence, or mere nothingness.

These "things unseen" are realities, if being is reality; they are plural, they are many, they have varieties. Whatever difficulties may surround the question of their existence *in time*, before the things in which they are manifested, (like the truth in the diagram,) they must be regarded as before them in *the order of nature*, so as to be causes instead of the effects, the powers organizing instead of the results of organization. Let no one think here of a pre-existent world of empty images of all things that may afterward exist. That is but the caricature of the thought. Powers, causes, or whatever else we may call them, they are individualized only when exhibited outwardly in the forms and motions of matter; but this does not prevent us from *believing*, even if we cannot easily *conceive it*, that God, "whose thoughts are higher than our thoughts, whose ways are not as our ways," and whose *working* is not as our working, may give being to forces, natures, laws, as entities antecedent in the order of working, invisible, immaterial, causal, life-giving, that are to have their individual manifestations in matter, though not properties of matter as such, nor any mere effects arising from any possible disposition of matter in itself.

A meaning altogether too recondite and metaphysical, some might say, to be put upon a plain scriptural passage, especially when the other idea of creation out of nothingness is so much more simple and obvious. We take issue here on the fact. The rendering which would make "the unseen things" a mere term for nothingness, or the negative declaration that "the

things seen were not made of things that do appear" to be but another mode of saying that "they were made out of nothing," we have already shown, is not in harmony with the verbal spirit of the passage. There was another and a clearer mode of saying that. Neither was it more in harmony with the most prevalent ancient thinking. Quite the other way. We impose a modern notion on an ancient writing. We need not go back to the doctrine of archetypal ideas, which is lost in a remote Greek and Oriental antiquity, but the general notions prevalent both in the East and in the West, (whether as taking the poetical and mythological, or the earliest philosophical form,) were more favorable to what some would now call the metaphysical interpretation. If we judge Paul by the thinking of his age, the Vulgate and Syriac were right in giving to the Greek the meaning which they have so distinctly brought out. There was, indeed, something like the hard-matterism of our own times in the atomical and corpuscular doctrine of Democritus, Epicurus, and Lucretius; but speculation, vulgar as well as philosophical, generally tended in a different direction, and there is evidence that some of the early Christian fathers were imbued with the same style of thinking. This, indeed, does not settle the truth, but it relieves the interpretation from any charge of being historically uncritical.

The forces and laws of nature are not properties of matter; that would be sheer materialism. They are not the offspring of matter, born of it, but the seminal powers themselves, mysteriously working *in* matter, controlling matter, making the earth and the waters bring forth the living forms. They were *sown* when "the Spirit brooded on the waters," in that first mysterious night of creation. They were there as potentialities when the Word went forth on the fifth day, and the command was given for life to *appear*. How long the process of their appearing, how many the gradations, who shall tell?

They worked not from without, but outwardly. And this is the great difference between the divine operation in nature, and that human mechanical operation to which the more easy conception would assimilate it. The latter is admirably, though rather oddly and quaintly expressed by Cudworth, in his Intellectual System of the Universe. "Human art cannot

act upon the matter otherwise than from the outside, nor communicate itself to it otherwise than by a great deal of tumult and hurly-burly, noise and clatter, it using hands and axes, saws and hammers, and after this manner, and with much ado, by knockings and thrustings, moliminously introducing its form or idea (as, for example, of a ship or a house) *into* the material." Chapter iii, section xxxvii, 9. Not so gross as this, perhaps, but still essentially the same, is the conception that many have of God's working in the making of things. He stands on the outside; he makes the matter first as simple mass though the human artist has to borrow it; he fashions that matter into the form of a tree, an animal, or a man; he puts movement into it, and makes it act in a certain way which becomes its nature, and the constant action of which the scientific man records and generalizes into what he calls laws. Another difference, though an unessential one, is that the human workman, if he uses tools, has to borrow them. The divine workman makes his tools as he makes his matter, or he does it all directly, by sheer strength. There is no law or idea, working from within, as the very seminal power of the process. In this respect the work is as outward in the one case as in the other. The law and the idea (or species) are both mere generalizations from outward facts. They are the result, or the expression, or at the highest, the *effect* of the organization, and not its *cause*, its informing life and power.

Such we cannot believe to have been the working of the Logos in nature (John i, 3; Col. i, 16; Heb. i, 2, and xi, 3) when "the worlds were framed (or out-builded) by the word of God, so that from unseen things were made the things that do appear."

Our leading idea, throughout, is that of process, law, or nature, in creation. The subject cannot be fully discussed in one number, and we would, therefore, hope for the patience of our readers in some further attempt at its proof and elucidation.

ART. IV.—THE APOCALYPSE AND ITS EXPOSITION.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

Versuch einer Vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes; oder, Allgemeine Untersuchungen über die apokalyptische Litteratur überhaupt und die Apokalypse des Johannes insbesondere. Von DR. FRIEDRICH LUCKE. Zweite Vermehrte und Verbesserte Auflage. Bonn. 1852.

A Commentary on the Apocalypse. By MOSES STUART, Prof. Sac. Lit. Andover. London. 1845.

Die Offenbarung des heiligen Johannes für Solche die in der Schrift forschen erläutert. Von E. W. HENGSTENBERG, Prof. Theol. Berlin. Berlin. 1861, 1862.

"THE Revelation of John," says Lücke, "stands like a sphinx on the lofty, closing summit of holy Scripture." More difficult, indeed, to explain than the riddles of the Sphinx, it has defied the sagacity of the most sharp-sighted and penetrating theorizers, and baffled the skill of the soundest expositors. It has been commented upon by men of all grades of intellect, from the great Newton down to the feeblest scribbler. Almost every conceivable theory has been formed at some time or other to explain the book. Fanciful and ingenious expositors have found in it the past, present, and future history not only of the Church, but of the world.

But in spite of this conflict of opinion, in spite of the dark and mysterious character of the book, its author must have had an object in view, and he must have intended that object to be understood. Even the proposers of riddles usually give us data sufficient for their solution. Could we expect less than this of the author of the Apocalypse? But as the book is inspired and prophetic, we should expect to find in it both the clearness and obscurity of prophecy; God himself is both a revealing and concealing God; we should expect to find a great intelligible outline in the midst of much darkness and apparent confusion; and if we are not greatly mistaken, this can be found.

But the *exposition* of the book is not the only subject of difficulty and dispute; its author and the time of its composi-

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tion are still critically discussed with very different results. In Germany the current of opinion is in favor of its composition under Nero or Galba, but seems decidedly against its apostolic origin. The ablest of the English and American writers, on the other hand, favor its apostolic origin, but nearly coincide with the Germans respecting the time of its composition.

THE CHARACTER OF THE APOCALYPSE.

No book of the Bible is so highly symbolical; it abounds in the most striking and awful imagery. Nothing can be more sublime than the description of our Saviour in the opening chapter, and the mighty events that follow are set forth in language and symbols of almost equal sublimity. Even the addresses to the seven Churches, which are of course didactic, assume an earnest and lofty tone. John reaches the sublimest heights without effort; he borrows, it is true, a part of his imagery from the Hebrew prophets, but he by no means slavishly copies them. In some respects he surpasses them; his descriptions are more lifelike and more terrible. He carries us to the throne of God, shows us the Eternal, the magnificent court of heaven, the glorified saints, and the forces and weapons which the Almighty employs in the destruction of his foes. But amid all the storms of divine wrath, amid thunderings and earthquakes, he never loses sight of God's people; he represents them as secure. This divine panorama, beginning with the appearance of Christ in a glorified state, addressing the Asiatic Churches, unfolds the mighty conflict waged for centuries between Christianity and Paganism, resulting in the complete overthrow of the latter, and closes with the resurrection of the dead, eternal judgment, and the creation of a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

Two reasons may be assigned for the use of the symbolic style: first, for the sake of making a strong impression by a vivid presentation of the truth by means of striking pictures; secondly, because the truths pertaining to the higher spiritual life and to the kingdom of Christ can be adequately set forth only by symbols drawn from the natural world.

There is a peculiarity of the Apocalypse, its use of the numbers seven, four, and three, which Prof. Stuart calls its *numer-*

osity, that deserves attention. *Seven* Churches are addressed; the "Son of man," in the midst of the *seven* golden candlesticks, holds *seven* stars; *seven* spirits are before the throne of God; *seven* vials of wrath are poured out, *seven* seals are opened, and *seven* thunders utter their voices. The Lamb is declared worthy to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing, *seven* in number. The numbers *three* and *four*, however, are not used so conspicuously. It may be difficult for us to assign a reason for this preference of the number *seven*. Seven, we know, was a sacred number among the Hebrews; yet this would hardly account for its frequent use in the Apocalypse.

The *linguistic* character of the book is remarkable. It is well known that all the books of the New Testament, with the exception of Matthew's Gospel, were originally written in Greek,* yet every scholar knows that it is not classic Greek, but abounds in Hebraisms. But the Apocalypse has more Hebraisms than any other book of the New Testament. Nor is this all. There are great irregularities in construction, and more or less solecisms. The following are examples of Hebraisms: *οἷς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἀδικῆσαι τὴν γῆν*, literally, to *whom* it was given to *them* to hurt the earth, the relative and personal pronoun both used for the relative simply; *ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλεῖσαι αὐτήν*, *which* no one was able to shut *it*, ii, 8; *ὅν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἠδύνατο*, *which* no one was able to number *it*, vii, 9; *ὧν ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν*, of *which* the number of *them*, xx, 8. That these constructions are Hebraistic, no Hebrew scholar can doubt; compare for example the language of Genesis: אֲשֶׁר זַרְעוֹ־בוֹ, *which* in *it* was its seed, for *wherein* was seed. *Ὅπου ἡ γυνὴ κάθηται επ' αὐτῶν*, *where* the woman sitteth upon *them*, xvii, 9, is Hebraistic for *whereon* the woman sitteth. As Hebraistic is to be explained the following passage: *καὶ ὅταν δώσουσι . . . πεσοῦνται . . . προσκυνήσουσι . . . βαλοῦσι . . .*

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* The extensive use of the Greek language in the Roman empire about the time of Christ may be shown from the Latin writers. Cicero, about B. C. 50, in an oration for Archias, says: "If any one supposes that less glory is derived from Grecian than from Latin verses, he is greatly mistaken; for Greek literature is read in nearly all nations; Latin literature within their own narrow limits." Juvenal, cotemporary with the apostles, says: "In this language (the Greek) they fear; in this pour forth their wrath, joys, cares; in this they utter every secret of their breast." Satire vi, lines 188, 189.

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And when the living creatures *will give* glory and honor and thanks to Him that sitteth upon the throne, to Him that liveth for ever and ever, the four and twenty elders *will fall down* before Him that sitteth upon the throne, and they *will worship* Him that liveth for ever and ever, and they *will* cast their crowns before him, iv, 9, 10. To indicate what is customary, the Hebrew language uses the future tense, meaning that the state or action is so not only now but for time to come. Hence the passage indicates what is *continually* done in heaven.

The use of the participle is peculiar: instead of its being construed with a finite verb, it frequently stands *absolute* in a *nominative* form; *ἔχων*, *holding* in his right hand; *ἐκπορευομένη*, a sword *proceeding* from his mouth, chap. i; *ἡ κατα βαίνουσα*, which *descending*; *ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καθήμενος*, one *sitting* upon the throne. These are but a few of the instances. We are strongly inclined to think that this construction is Hebraistic. For a similar use of the participle, compare Ecclesiastes i, 4: דּוֹר הֹלֵךְ וְדוֹר בָּא, one generation *goes*, another *comes*. In some of the later books of the Hebrew Bible, the verb הָיָה, *to be*, is joined with the participles; and perhaps in these passages in the Apocalypse some form of *εἶναι*, *to be*, should be joined to the participles. Anomalous is the connecting of the present and future tenses by *καὶ*: *ἔρχομαί σοι ταχὺ καὶ κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου*, I *am coming* to thee quickly and *will remove* thy candlestick, ii, 5. *Καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀστέρος λέγεται ἄψινθος, καὶ γίνεται . . . απέθανον . . . ἐπικράνθησαν.* And the name of the star *is called* Wormwood, and the third part of the waters *becomes* wormwood; and many men *died* on account of the waters because they *were made bitter*, viii, 11. Here we have, quite anomalously, the present tense and the two aorists. Yet the construction may be explained by reflecting that the name of the star and the turning of the waters into wormwood are *permanent* states, while the dying of the men was *momentary*; and the first aorist, *ἐπικράνθησαν*, *were made bitter*, was used, most probably, to correspond in tense with the second aorist, *ἀπέθανον*, *died*.

Καὶ ἔχουσιν οὐρὰς ὁμοίας σκορπίοις, καὶ κέντρα ἦν ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν, and they *have* tails like scorpions, and stings *were* in their tails, ix, 10. It is very difficult to explain this connec-

tion of the present and imperfect tenses. Exceedingly harsh and irregular is the following passage: *καὶ ἐνταῖς ἡμέραις αἷς Αντίπας ὁ μάρτυς μου ὁ πιστὸς, ὅς ἀπεκτάνθη παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅπουκατοικεῖ ὁ Σατανᾶς*, even in those days in which Antipas my faithful martyr, who was slain among you where Satan dwelleth, ii, 13. Here we are compelled to supply a verb of existence after "martyr," as the easiest way to dispose of the difficulty. 'Ο *νικῶν, δώσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ*, he that overcometh I will give to him to sit with me, etc., iii, 21, is obviously an anacolouthon. 'Aπό *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, i, 4, etc. Here we would expect the genitive after *ἀπό*; it is, however, probable that the phrase was regarded as indeclinable. The following reading has been adopted into the text by Griesbach; 'Ο Μ*ιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολεμῆσαι κατα δράκοντος*, Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, xii, 7, the infinitive, *τοῦ πολεμῆσαι*, construed with a nominative case, would seem to be unparalleled. If this reading is to be received, we think that it should be explained Hebraistically. There was war in heaven, Michael and his angels *were to fight*, by supplying some form of *εἶναι*, or *γίγνεσθαι*; compare the Hebrew וַיְהִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לָבוֹא the sun was about *to go down* (infinitive construct). In Griesbach's Testament we have the following reading, *ληνὸν τὸν μέγαν*, great winepress, xiv, 19; but it must be observed that *ληνός* is common gender, so that *μέγαν* is as correct as *μεγάλην*. There are some other irregularities, but not of so striking a character. But after all, the most of the Greek is as regular in its construction as it is in the other books of the New Testament.

THE TIME OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE APOCALYPSE.

Until recently it was a very common opinion that the Apocalypse was written in the reign of the Emperor Domitian, A. D. 95 or 96. The most eminent of modern biblical scholars, with few exceptions, place it under Nero or Galba, A. D. 68 or 69.

Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, (A. D. 177–202,) is the first writer that bears testimony to the time of its composition: "For had it been necessary," says he, "that his name (the name of the apocalyptic beast) should be clearly made known at the present time, it would have been proclaimed by him who saw the reve-

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lation; for it was not seen a long while ago, but almost in our own generation, toward the end of the reign of Domitian."[*] Domitian reigned from A. D. 81 to 96. What makes the testimony of Irenæus valuable is the fact that he spent the early part of his life in Asia Minor, and was acquainted with Polycarp, a disciple of John, and would, therefore, be likely to know the time of the composition of the book. Yet Irenæus may have obtained no traditional knowledge upon the subject, and may have determined the time by critical conjecture.

Clemens of Alexandria (191–202) remarks that "John returned from the Island of Patmos to Ephesus when the *tyrant* was dead."[†] But what tyrant he means is not clear; for it is very obvious that the epithet suits Nero at least as well as Domitian. Origen (220–254) in commenting on Matthew's Gospel remarks: "The sons of Zebedee drank of this cup, and were baptized with this baptism, since Herod slew James the brother of John with the sword. The king of the Romans, as tradition teaches, banished John, who bore witness on account of the word of truth, to the Island of Patmos. These things John says concerning his own testimony, not telling us who condemned him."[‡] He appears not to have regarded the testimony of Irenæus as decisive. Eusebius, (died 340,) in his Ecclesiastical History, relates that during the persecution of Domitian, "tradition says (*κατέχει λόγος*, the story goes) that the apostle and evangelist John, who was still alive, was condemned, on account of his testimony to the divine word, to dwell in the Isle of Patmos."[§]

According to Tertullian (about 200) the apostle John was thrown into boiling oil, (he appears to mean by Nero; a fiction doubtless,) but escaping unhurt, he was banished to Pat-

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[*] *Εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ἀναφανδόν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τού ονομα αὐτοῦ δι' ἐκείνου ἂν ἐρρέθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωράκοτος. Οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη, αλλὰ σχεδὸν επὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς πῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ αρχῆς.*

[†] *Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσον μετῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἔφεςον.*

[‡] . . . *Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἡ παράδοσις διδάσκει, κατεδίκασε τὸν Ἰωάννην μαρτυροῦν τα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον εἰς Πάτμον τὴν νῆσον διδάσκει δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἑαυτοῦ Ἰωάννης, μή λέγων τίς αὐτὸν Κατεδίκασε.* . . .

[§] *Ἐν τουτῷ κατέχει λόγος τὸν απόστολον καὶ Εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἔτι τῷ βίῳ ἐνδιατρίβοντα, τῆς εἰς τὸν θεῖον λόγον ἕνεκεν μαρτυρίας, Πάτμον οἰκεῖν Καταδικασθῆναι τὴν νῆσον.* Book iii, chapter 18.

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mos. He would, therefore, seem to have placed the composition of the Apocalypse under Nero.

Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, (died 403,) states that John wrote his gospel when he was over ninety years of age, after his return from Patmos, which took place in the time of Claudius Cæsar.* In another place he says, John prophesied in the time of Claudius Cæsar. Claudius reigned A. D. 41–54. Epiphanius would seem, then, to place the Apocalypse during this period.

Jerome (about 400) says that "John wrote the Apocalypse when banished to the island Patmos by Domitian, who, after Nero, stirred up a second persecution in the fourteenth year of his reign."† Andreas, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, (probably near the beginning of the sixth century,) says in his commentary on the Apocalypse, vi, 12, "There are not wanting those who apply this passage to the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus." This shows that one class of interpreters referred the book to a period before the destruction of Jerusalem; his own opinion he does not clearly give. Arethas, in the middle of the sixth century, in his commentary on the Apocalypse, places it before the destruction of Jerusalem.

The title-page of the Apocalypse, in the Syriac version, says that the book was written in Nero's time.‡ The value of this testimony, however, is diminished by the fact that the present version of the Apocalypse in Syriac does not belong to the original Peshito version, but to the Philoxenian version, which was made about A. D. 500; yet it would seem that this version of the Apocalypse was really made earlier, so that the superscription may give the judgment of the Syriac Church, of the translator at least, at a very early period.

This is about all the testimony of any value that is to be found, in the earliest centuries of the Church, respecting the time of the composition of the book. It is quite meager

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* *Μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου επάνοδον, τὴν επὶ Κλαυδίου γενομένην Καίσαρος.*

† Johannes quarto decimo anno secundam post Neronem persecutionem movente Domitiano in Patmos insulam relegatus Scripsit Apocalypsin.

‡ In Bagster's edition of the Peshito-Syriac New Testament, which lies before me, the superscription is as follows: "The Revelation which was made to the Evangelist John from God in the Isle of Patmos, to which he was banished by Nero Cæsar."

and unsatisfactory, but at the same time, the most of it points to the age of Domitian as the time of its composition. If internal evidence coincided with this external testimony, we should with confidence refer the book to the age of Domitian. But internal evidence of a strong character, as we will proceed to show, forces us to place it under Nero, about A. D. 68. The author himself states that he was in the island that is called Patmos for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ, (*διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*) The inference to be drawn from this is, that he either took refuge there to avoid his persecutors, or that he was banished there. It is true, that if Patmos had been a populous island, we might have supposed that he went there to preach the Gospel; but it is incredible that John would leave the populous cities of the Roman Empire to visit a desert island. From this text we infer that the book was written during a persecution of the Christians, and the spirit of the whole book clearly indicates the same thing.

During the first century there were but two persecutions of any note, those of Nero and Domitian. Under the reign of one of these Cæsars, our book must have had its origin. Respecting the persecution of Nero, Neander remarks: "This persecution was not, indeed, in its immediate effects, a general one; but fell exclusively on the Christians in Rome, accused as the incendiaries of the city. Yet what had occurred in the capital could not fail of being attended with serious consequences, affecting the situation of the Christians—whose religion, moreover, was an unlawful one—throughout all the provinces."* In reference to Domitian's reign, he remarks: "The charge of embracing Christianity would, in this reign, be the most common one after that of high treason, (crimen majestatis.) In consequence of such accusations, many were condemned to death, or to the confiscation of their property and banishment to an island."† Hengstenberg, who bends all his strength to show that the Apocalypse was written in the time of Domitian, asserts that the punishment inflicted upon the Christians by Nero was not principally because they were Christians. "The Christians," says he, "according to the reliable statement of Tacitus, were not punished especially

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* General History of the Church, p. 95.

† Ibid, 96.

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as Christians, but upon the charge of burning Rome."[*] But the language of Tacitus refutes Hengstenberg; for, speaking of a great multitude of Christians that suffered, the historian adds: "Convicted not so much on the charge of burning Rome as on acccount of their hatred of the human race."[†] This "hatred of the human race" was their contempt of Paganism, which so exasperated the Roman people.

"Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein, but the court which is without the temple, leave out and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months." xii, 2. It is clear from this passage that the Jewish temple was standing when the book was written; but the temple perished when Jerusalem was taken by Titus, A. D. 70. With this passage compare Luke xxi, 24: "And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled."

In the description that is given of the great whore that had corrupted the earth, sitting upon a beast with seven heads, the angel declares: "The seven heads are seven mountains [the seven hills on which Rome stood] on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition." xvii, 9–11. We cannot refrain from expressing here our conviction that Pagan Rome is represented as the great foe of Christianity, and that there is no pope in the Apocalypse. With the data here furnished, we are enabled to determine approximately the time of the composition of the book. Five kings of Rome are fallen; these kings would be, Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caius Caligula, and Claudius. "One is," that is, Nero, "the other has not yet come; and when he cometh he must continue a short space;" that is, Galba, who reigned but seven months. "And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition." This seems to refer to Nero, who was expected to reappear

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[*] Volume i, p. 27.

[†] Haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis, convicti sunt. Annalium, lib. xv, c. 44.

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upon the stage of the Roman world. Tacitus remarks: "About the same time (A. D. 70) Achaia and Asia were troubled by a false alarm, as if Nero [who had been dead about two years] was about to make his appearance. Various were the reports concerning his death, and for this reason many pretended that he was alive, and not a few really believed it."* "Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred and three score and six." xiii, 18. Professor Stuart states that Professor Benary, of Berlin, remarks, "that in the Talmud and other Rabbinical writings the name of Nero, נְרוֹן קֵסַר, (*Nēron Kēsar,*) often occurs. This amounts numerically to the number of the beast; *q. d.* 50, 200, 6, 50, 100, 60, 200, added together equal 666. Nor is this all. There was another method of writing and pronouncing the name of Nero, נְרוֹ קֵסַר, Nero Cæsar, which amounts numerically to just 616, and thus gives us a good ground of the diverse reading which Irenæus found in some codices." This seems highly probable, and would furnish additional proof that the book was written in the age of Nero. But if we begin the list of Roman kings with Augustus Cæsar, as some writers do, the five fallen kings would include Nero, and the book would have been written under Galba, but the difference of time would not be material, as Galba reigned but seven months; yet we think the bitter persecution of the Church which the book was intended to meet, with its promises of success to the Christian cause, forbids the supposition that it was written under Galba.

But Hengstenberg insists that the state of the seven Churches in Asia, which are addressed in the revelation, indicates a period later than the apostolic age. He says that the coldness of the Churches and the heresies that had sprung up are inconsistent with the hypothesis that the book was written under Nero. If the argument of Hengstenberg is valid it will prove more than he intends; it will prove that the book was written long after the Apostle John left the world. For was not John the great center of apostolic influence in the very midst of the seven Churches in Asia Minor during the reign of

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* Sub idem tempus Achaia atque Asia falso exterritæ velut Nero adventaret; vario super exitu ejus rumore, eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque. Hist., lib. ii, cap. 8.

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Domitian? Is it credible that under his very eyes heresies would spring up, and that under the powerful, warming influence of his love the Churches would grow cold? Is it not more credible that upon settling down at Ephesus at the close of Nero's reign he found the Churches generally growing cold? The recently discovered work of Hippolytus, a "Refutation of all Heresies," has thrown new light upon the early history of the Church. Bunsen remarks: "It is now clear we have to deal with sects which were coeval with Peter and Paul, as Simon was. But they started from foreign Judaism, mixed up with the pantheistic mysticism of Asia Minor." *

Before leaving this part of our subject, we must inquire how the linguistic character of the book bears upon the time of its composition. The Greek of John's Gospel is more regular and freer from Hebraisms than is that of the Apocalypse. To the hypothesis, which we hold, that both books proceeded from the same author, this difference of style offers no objection, but is easily explained if we suppose the book to have been composed under Nero's reign. The Apocalypse, the earlier work, gives us a style and language in which the Hebrew idiom still cleaves to the author while the Gospel, written probably twenty-five or thirty years later, exhibits a higher degree of Grecian culture, the result of a long abode at Ephesus. But on the hypothesis that both books were written by the same author about the same time, there is difficulty in explaining this difference of style.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE APOCALYPSE.

The authorship of the Apocalypse is more difficult to determine with certainty than the date of its composition. For while external evidence is very strong in favor of its apostolic origin, internal evidence, in the judgment of a considerable number of biblical scholars, is decidedly against the apostolic origin of the book, and outweighs the external evidence. We shall first produce the ancient testimonies concerning the book.

Hengstenberg finds in the epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians several allusions to the Apocalypse. But we confess our inability to see them, and the passages that he cites are far from being clear in their allusion to the Apocalypse From

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* Hippolytus, vol. i, p. 39.

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the letter of the Church of Smyrna respecting the martyrdom of Polycarp, Hengstenberg quotes several passages as alluding to the Apocalypse. *One* of these, we think, may possibly refer to it. According to Andreas and Arethas, Papias, who lived at the close of the first century, held the Apocalypse to be an *inspired* book.

Justin Martyr of Syria, who lived about the middle of the second century, delivers a clear and valuable testimony to the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse. After attempting to support his chiliasm from the Old Testament, he adds: "And since also a man among us, whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, in the revelation made to him, prophesied that those who believe in our Christ shall spend a thousand years in Jerusalem," etc.* Justin had traveled extensively over the Christian world; and according to Eusebius, the Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, from which the foregoing testimony is taken, was held at Ephesus. He must, therefore, have known who was the author of the Apocalypse.

Melito, Bishop of Sardis, who lived during the latter part of the second century, a man of great learning, wrote a work "concerning the devil and the Revelation of John." Eusebius, speaking of Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, (A. D. 170–180,) says he wrote a work with the title, "Against the Heresy of Hermogenes," in which he *makes use of testimony from the Revelation of John.* That Theophilus should quote the Apocalypse in writing against a heretic shows that the book was extensively known and authoritative, and perhaps acknowledged by the heretic himself to be an apostolic work. It is highly probable, that if either Melito or Theophilus had ascribed the Apocalypse to any other than the Apostle John that Eusebius would have noticed it.

Apollonius, who flourished A. D. 190, in refuting a Phrygian heresy, "quotes," says Eusebius, "the Revelation of John as testimony; and relates, also, that a dead man was raised by the divine power, through the same John at Ephesus."† It is in the highest degree probable that Apollonius speaks of

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* *Καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα 'Ιωάννης, εἰς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀποκαλύψει γενομενῇ αὐτῷ . . . προεφήτευσε.* Dialogus cum Trypho, cap. 8.

† Ecclesiastical History, b. v, cap. 18.

the *Apostle* John. He would hardly have attributed the power to raise the dead to any other person at Ephesus.

Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, who lived during the latter part of the second century, in his five books against heresies, everywhere speaks of the Apocalypse as the work of John, the disciple of the Lord, evidently meaning no other than the apostle. For example, he says: "Whatever John the disciple of the Lord saw in the Apocalypse," etc.; "John the disciple of the Lord saw in the Apocalypse the glorious coming of his kingdom," etc.* In the fifth book, he says in reference to the calculation of Antichrist's name: "As matters are thus, and the number 666 is thus found in all the genuine and ancient copies, and *as they who* saw John attest," etc. The testimony of Irenæus is important from the fact that he spent the early part of his life in Asia Minor, in the very midst of the seven Churches addressed in the Apocalypse, surrounded at the same time by the disciples of John. It is true that Irenæus also says that the Apocalypse was seen toward the end of the reign of Domitian, which we have already remarked is inconsistent with the internal evidence offered by the book itself. But his error respecting the time of the composition of the Apocalypse cannot destroy his testimony concerning its author. The genuineness of a book professing to be divine, the credibility of which depended in a great measure upon its apostolic authority, could not fail to excite the highest interest. The time of its composition is not of so much importance, and hence less would be likely to be known about it. How few there are, comparatively, that know the time of the composition of most of the ancient and modern works! Indeed, the time when many of the ancient works were written cannot be determined with any accuracy.

All the witnesses that we have hitherto produced in favor of the apostolical origin of the book lived either in the very midst of the scenes of John's labors, or at least at no remote distance from them. This makes their testimony so valuable.

Tertullian, of northern Africa, the first ecclesiastical Latin writer of any note, makes great use of the Apocalypse in his Montanistic writings (A. D. 220) and in those composed before that period. He appears to know of no opposition to the Apoca-

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* Book iv, cap. 20.

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lypse in the Church. Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus Romanus, in the first quarter of the third century, regarded the Apocalypse as a very early work of the Apostle John.*

Clemens of Alexandria, in the beginning of the third century, frequently cites the Apocalypse as a genuine work of the Apostle John; and in reference to the heavenly elders and the twenty-four thrones in the Apocalypse, he remarks: "As John says in the Apocalypse."

The great Origen, who lived in the first half of the third century, delivers his testimony in his Commentary on Matthew in the following words: "What ought I to say concerning John, who leaned upon the bosom of Jesus? He left one Gospel, confessing that he was able to write so many that not even the world could contain them. *He also wrote the Apocalypse*, having been commanded to conceal and not to write the voices of the seven thunders."†

The testimony we have cited belonging to the second and third centuries of the Christian Era is of the highest importance, and, we think, it should be considered as quite conclusive respecting the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse. We meet with no opposition to the Apocalypse until Montanism began to develop itself fully, about the year 200. This sect, which had its origin in Phrygia about the middle of the second century, based its fanatical pretensions to new revelations on the promise of Christ to send the Paraclete, (comforter.) This seems to have been the principal reason that led the Alogoi, who opposed the Montanists, to reject John's Gospel. Montanus taught that Christ would reign a thousand years upon the earth, and that Pepuza in Phrygia would be the capital of his millennial kingdom. The great support of the millenarian views of the Montanists was the Apocalypse. This led some of the more reckless opponents of the system to reject the book, while others sought to weaken its authority by denying its apostolical origin, admitting it, however, to be a holy book.

The first great opponent of the apostolic origin of the Apoca-

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* Bunsen's Hippolytus, vol. ii, p. 141.

† *Τί δεῖ περὶ τοῦ ἀναπεσόντος λέγειν επὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Ἰωάννου; ὃς εὐαγγέλιον ἓν καταλέλοιπεν, ὁμολογῶν δύνασθαι τος αὖτα ποιήσειν, ἃ οὐδὲ ὁ κόσμος χωρῆσαι ἐδύνατο. Ἔγραψε δὲ και τὴν Αποκαλύψιν, κελευσθεὶς σιωπῆσαι καὶ μὴ γράψαι τὰς τῶν ἑπτὰ βροντῶν φωνάς.*

lypse was Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, who flourished in the first half of the third century, a man of great learning, who inquired diligently into everything that pertained either to canonical or apocryphal writings. A sensual chiliasm was prevailing in the nome of Arsinoe, the bishop of which was Nepos. So far did they carry their fanatical views, that whole Churches separated themselves from communion with the mother Church at Alexandria. Dionysius refuted these Chiliasts. It would be very natural for him to degrade as much as possible the book which was the principal support of the Chiliastic sect that had given him so much trouble. On the Apocalypse he remarks: "Some, indeed, before us, have set aside, and have attempted to refute the whole book, criticising every chapter, and pronouncing it without sense and without reason. They say that it has a false title, for it is not of John. Nay, that it is not even a revelation, as it is covered with such a dense and thick vail of ignorance that not one of the apostles, and not one of the holy men, or those of the Church, could be its author; but that Cerinthus, the founder of the sect of the Cerinthians, so called from him, wishing to have reputable authority for his own fiction, prefixed the title. For my part, I would not venture to set this book aside, as there are many brethren that value it much; but having formed a conception of its subject as exceeding my capacity, I consider it also containing a certain concealed and wonderful intimation in each particular. For, though I do not understand, yet I suspect that some deeper sense is enveloped in the words, and these I do not measure and judge by my private reason; but allowing more to faith, I have regarded them as too lofty to be comprehended by me, and those things which I do not understand I do not reject, but I wonder the more that I cannot comprehend."* He objects to the book as a work of the Apostle John, on the ground that the apostle prefixes his name neither to the Gospel nor to the first Epistle, and that he never speaks as of himself (in the first person) nor as of another (in the third), but he that wrote the Apocalypse declares himself immediately in the beginning; that it is a John that wrote these things he must believe, as he says it, but what John it is is uncertain; that the author does not call himself the beloved

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* Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, book vii, chap. xxv.

disciple of the Lord; that there was also another John whose surname was Mark. He then proceeds to show a similarity of style between the Gospel of John and his first Epistle, and that the whole style of the Apocalypse is different from them in every particular. The objections of this acute critic have furnished the basis of all the subsequent attacks that have been made on the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse. Dionysius, however, acknowledged the book to be the work of a holy and inspired man.*

It must be observed that he alleges no want of external evidence as the ground of objection to the book. He produces not a single preceding writer of eminence that rejected its apostolic origin. It is evident that he knew of none to whom he could appeal as furnishing a precedent.

Eusebius of Cæsarea, the Church historian, who flourished during the first part of the fourth century, doubts the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse. The criticism of Dionysius seems to have perplexed him. In speaking of the canon of Scripture, he remarks: "The opinions respecting the Revelation are still greatly divided." Again: "After these [canonical books] is to be placed, if proper, the Revelation of John."†

Methodius and Pamphilius, about the beginning of the fourth century, following the tradition of the Church, received the Apocalypse as the work of John, the apostle, without doubt. So did Lactantius and Victorinus, who lived about the same period. The great Athanasius, who flourished during the middle of the fourth century, held the Apocalypse to be the work of John, and frequently cites it as such.

Didymus, president of the Catechetical School of Alexandria, in the latter half of the fourth century, speaks of the Apocalypse as the work of the Apostle John. So, about the same period, does Gregory of Nyssa. In the same age, it is cited as canonical by Basil the Great. Cyril of Jerusalem, however, in the latter half of the fourth century, omits the Apocalypse in his canon of Scripture. The celebrated Chrysostom of Constantinople, who lived during the latter part of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries, received the Apocalypse. Suidas says of him, under the title Ἰωάννης:

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* Eusebius's Eccl. Hist., book vii, chap. xxv.

† Book iii, chap. xxv.

"Chrysostom also receives his [John's] three epistles and the Apocalypse."

Epiphanius, who lived near the close of the fourth century, speaking of John as of one of the apostles, says, "He has imparted of his holy gift in presenting us with his Gospel, epistles, and Apocalypse." Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, (395–430,) received the Apocalypse as canonical. He cites it as follows: "The Apostle John in the Apocalypse;" "John the Evangelist in the book which is called Apocalypse." Ambrose of Milan, near the close of the fourth century, received the Apocalypse.

Jerome, who was the greatest biblical scholar of the early Church, a cotemporary of Augustine, received the Apocalypse without hesitancy. He says: "John was an apostle, an evangelist, and a prophet; he was an apostle, because he wrote to the Church as a master; an evangelist, because he prepared the book of the Gospel; a prophet, for he saw in the Isle of Patmos—to which he had been banished by the emperor Domitian, on account of the testimony he bore to the truth—the Apocalypse." Hilarius, Bishop of Poictiers, in Aquitania, in the middle of the fourth century, received the Apocalypse as the work of the Apostle John.

The Apocalypse was recognized as a canonical book by the two councils of Northern Africa, held near the close of the fourth century. The judgment of these councils respecting the Apocalypse was reaffirmed by the Council of Carthage in the year 419. In the canons of the Council of Laodicea, held near the middle of the fourth century, the Apocalypse is omitted. This was, however, a small council.

Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, in the first half of the fifth century, speaking of the Apocalypse, says: "The wise John composed for us the book of Revelation, which has also been honored by the suffrages of the fathers." By the phrase σοφὸς Ἰωάννης," *wise John*, he could mean the Apostle John only.

It is a well established fact that the first Syriac version of the New Testament, the Peshito, did not contain the Apocalypse. This version was most probably made in the latter part of the second century, or in the beginning of the third, and it may seem strange that it did not include the Apocalypse, especially as we know that this book was almost universally received when the version was made. It is possible

that the translation was made by a violent opponent of Montanism and the Chiliasts in general, and he may have feared that the translation of the book would introduce the fanaticism of these people into the Syrian Churches; just as Ulphilas, the Bishop of the Goths, omitted from his translation the Book of Kings, that he might not infuse into his people a warlike spirit.

Hengstenberg contends that the Peshito version could not have been made until after the middle of the third century, when the doubts of Dionysius of Alexandria, respecting the Apocalypse, had begun to produce their fruits. He thinks, also, that the version is too elegant* to have been produced so early, and that the most flourishing period of Syrian literature begins in the fourth century. But Ephraem of Edessa, the prophet of the Syrians, who died 376, speaks of the Syriac version as "our translation," and he explains some words in it that had already become obsolete, which shows the version must have been made a considerable length of time before his age. And why may not the Syriac version have been made during the last part of the second century, if Bardesanes could at that time compose hymns in Syriac?

But the Apocalypse appears to have obtained an authority in the Syrian Church in the fourth century, since Ephraem of Edessa quotes it; and as it is generally supposed that he did not understand Greek, it would seem that he had a version in Syriac. Assemani says in his Biblioth. Orient., p. 141: "In this language [Syriac] the holy doctor [Ephraem] quotes the Apocalypse of John as canonical Scripture,† to which I have called attention for this purpose, that the judgment of the most ancient Syrians concerning the authority of this book might be known."

Let us in the next place examine the book itself to ascertain what testimony it furnishes respecting its author. "The

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* It is by no means certain that the original Peshito version was an elegant one. A few years ago, Cureton brought from the East a manuscript containing in Syriac, in the Estrangelo character, fragments of the Gospels more ancient than any manuscript hitherto known. We borrowed a copy of these fragments from our friend Dr. M'Culloh, and began a comparison between them and Bagster's edition of the Peshito, and soon became convinced that the latter is a more elegant version than the fragments, though substantially the same.

† In hoc sermone citat S. Doctor Apocalypsin Joannistan quam canonicam Scripturam, etc.

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Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John, who bare record of the word of God and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, of all things that he saw. John to the seven Churches," etc. In verse 9 of first chapter John's abode in Patmos is said to be, "for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ," which certainly refers to the witness he bore to the truth of Christianity, as an eye-witness of the sufferings and glory of Christ. In the words, "his servant John, who bare testimony to the word of God," etc., we think there is a designation of the Apostle John. And who but an apostle would take it upon himself to address the Churches in Asia in such an authoritative tone, to chasten and rebuke them? Could John the Presbyter of Ephesus, to whom some have been pleased to ascribe the book, be expected during the lifetime of John to do this? But little, indeed, is known of this John; certainly nothing to indicate such a position as the author of this book must have held. In x, 11, John says: "And he said unto me, Thou must prophesy again before many people, and nations, and tongues, and kings." This language seems to us to indicate the sphere of an apostle, not that of such an insignificant man as John the Presbyter, whose very existence some have doubted. Nor would these words be so appropriate, if addressed to John four or five years before the close of his life, as they would be in the time of Nero, when John had thirty years or more to live.

It is true that the name of the Apostle John is not found either in the Gospel or in the Epistles as their author. Yet in the Gospel, John xxi, 24, we have the remark: "This is the disciple that testifieth of these things and wrote these things; and we know that his testimony is true." This passage, in the connection in which it stands, asserts the author of the fourth Gospel to be John. Prophets and the writers of epistles insert their names in their works; the writers of history, both in the Old and in the New Testament, do not; the apparent exceptions being John in his Gospel, to which we have just referred, and the absence of his name in his epistles. The Epistle to the Hebrews, being anonymous, is another exception. We should, therefore, look for the name of the author

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in the Apocalypse because it is both epistolary and prophetic.

We have already remarked, in our observations upon the linguistic character of the Apocalypse, that its Greek is more Hebraistic, and the construction more irregular than in the other books of the New Testament. Its style differs greatly from that of the Gospel and Epistles of John. On these grounds the apostolic origin of the book has been denied by a number of very able critics. "The difference of language," says Lücke, "in the Apocalypse and in the other writings of John in the New Testament is so great, of such an individual and mental character, in short, a difference of original genius of language in the similar use of the New Testament Greek, so that even if we could grant that John's stock of words was not foreign to the author of the Apocalypse, nevertheless the identity of its author with that of the Gospel and Epistles, especially of the first Epistle, can in no way be maintained, but the contrary is in the highest degree probable."—Page 680. Again: "If all critical experience and rules in such questions do not deceive us, then it is as firmly established that the evangelist and the author of the Apocalypse are two different Johns, as it is established in a very similar problem of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that the Apostle Paul did not write it."—Page 745.

Neander remarks: "We cannot acknowledge the Apocalypse as the work of the apostle," (John,) and after discussing the question, whether it was not written by John the Presbyter of Ephesus, he says: "It is, then, more probable that the author, a disciple of John, by some circumstance unknown to us, having devoted himself to write on a subject which he had received mediately or immediately from the apostle, thought himself justified [!] in introducing John as the speaker." *

On the other hand, Gieseler, who is inferior to neither of these men in learning and critical ability, remarks: "I cannot, however, bring myself to refuse to the Apostle John the authorship of this book. The author designates himself as the apostle; the oldest witnesses declare him to be so. Had the book been forged in his name thirty years before his death, he would certainly have contradicted it, and this contradiction

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* Hist. of Plant. and Train. Chr. Ch., vol. i, pp. 396, 397.

would have reached us through Irenæus from the school of John's disciples. On the contrary, the later contradictions of the apostolic origin proceed from doctrinal prepossessions alone. The internal difference in language and mode of thought between the Apocalypse which John, whose education was essentially Hebrew, and his Christianity Jewish Christian of the Palestinian character, wrote, and the Gospel and epistles which he had composed after an abode of from twenty to thirty years among the Greeks, is a necessary consequence of the different relations in which the writer was placed, so that the opposite would excite suspicion. There is much at the same time that is cognate, proving continuousness of culture in the same author."* Hengstenberg and Stuart likewise adhere to the apostolic origin of the book.

To determine the time of the composition of a work can frequently be done with certainty, but to determine the authorship from the style is frequently impossible. We think, however, that similarity of style is a stronger proof of identity than a difference of style is of diversity of authorship. The same man does not always write in the same style. It is true we expect from the same man a similarity of style when writing on the same or similar subjects. But when the subjects are different, and when many years have intervened between the times of the respective compositions, and when the surroundings of the writer have changed, we would naturally expect a change of style. Between the times of the composition of the Apocalypse and of the Gospel and the Epistles of John, as we have already seen, twenty or thirty years intervened.

But this is not all. The Apocalypse is a prophetic book. The visions are of the grandest and of the most terrible character. It is impossible in this ecstatic state not to speak and write in a lofty and symbolic style. The human spirit labors to give utterance to its magnificent conceptions, language is taxed to its utmost, and the mind, excited to the highest degree of tension, spurns the ordinary rules of grammar and seizes upon whatever will express its deep emotions. In this way, perhaps, we may account for the fact that the prophet Ezekiel is careless in his grammatical forms. He had more vis-

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* Church History, page 97.

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ions than any other prophet, and was more in the ecstatic state. And it must be borne in mind that John wrote in the very midst of his awful visions. Had years elapsed before he wrote them down, the style and language would perhaps have been different.

But notwithstanding the difference of style between the Apocalypse and the Gospel and Epistles of John, we shall find upon a close scrutiny of the Apocalypse a great deal that is decidedly Johannean, and which may, after all, render the apostolic origin of the book highly probable from internal evidence. The verb *νυκᾷν*,* *to conquer*, *to overcome*, occurs in the Apocalypse *sixteen* times; in the first Epistle of John *six* times; in the Gospel of John *once;* in all the rest of the New Testament but *four* times. This is remarkable. The word *ἀμνίον*, *lamb*, occurs *twenty-eight* times in the Apocalypse; it is found *once* in John's Gospel, and nowhere else; but the word *ἀμνός*, *lamb*, occurs *twice* in John's Gospel, and *twice* in all the rest of the New Testament, and one of these is a quotation from the Old Testament which the Ethiopian Eunuch was reading. Μαρτυρία, *testimony*, occurs *fourteen* times in John's Gospel, *eight* times in his epistles, and *nine* times in the Apocalypse; in all the rest of the New Testament *seven* times. The verb *διψᾷν*, *to thirst*, is used in a spiritual sense, *once* in Matthew's Gospel, *three* times in John's Gospel, and *twice* in the Apocalypse. In a physical sense, but twice in all the epistles. Compare John vii, 37, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink," with Rev. xxii, 17: "And let him that is athirst come and take the water of life freely." There is no other passage in the New Testament like these two. Compare the following passage, in which the author of the Apocalypse speaks of himself, "Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ," etc., i, 2, with John xxi, 24, where the author also speaks of himself: "This is the disciple which testifieth of these things and wrote these things." "And he was clothed with a garment dipped in blood, and his name is called, *The Word of God.*" Christ is nowhere in the New Testament called the *Word* of God, except in the writings of John. In Hebrews iv, 12, "For the word of God is quick and powerful," etc., the reference is not

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* In this examination we use the Greek Concordance of Schmid.

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to the *personal* word Christ, but to divine truth in its all-searching power.

"Behold I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me." Rev. iii, 20. With this compare John xiv, 24: "If a man love me, he will keep my words: and my father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him." "Unto him that loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood." Rev. i, 5. There is no passage in the New Testament that so strikingly resembles this as 1 John i, 7: "The blood of Jesus Christ his son cleanseth us from all sin."

Nor can it be urged with any force against the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse that its tone is not of that mild type which we should expect from the loving John who dwells in the Gospel so much upon the love of Christ, rarely upon his sterner attributes. The occasion of his writing was different. In the Gospel he discusses the profound internal relations existing between Christ and his Father and between Christ and his followers. All the discourses of our Lord that bear upon this subject he gives in their fullness. These were the rays of divine truth that he perfectly reflected, while the other evangelists reflected different rays.

When John wrote the Apocalypse it was a time of bitter persecution. The world in its most destructive form was arrayed against Christianity. The sword was drawn against it. To meet this terrible enemy, Christ is represented as a mighty conqueror, before whom every foe is prostrated and the power of the world brought to naught. Nor let it be said that this last description of Christ's character is inconsistent with the first, nor that John in these different circumstances is inconsistent with himself; for souls the most amiable and the most loving are frequently the most severe when once aroused. The divine goodness itself when it has been repeatedly spurned becomes implacable; and our Saviour in the very midst of discourses full of benevolence and goodness declares, "Upon whomsoever this stone [himself] shall fall, it will grind him to powder." Is there anything at variance with John's character in the terrible descriptions of the divine judgments which he gives in the Apocalypse? In the Gospel of John it is said: "The

hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice and shall come forth: they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation." v, 28, 29.

But if the addresses to the seven Churches are the real words of Christ, if the visions are not the offspring of John's imagination, then we should expect in the Apocalypse a different presentation of divine truth from what John himself might have given. Very different was the case when he wrote the Gospel; from the multitude of Christ's discourses and acts he could select those that best suited his taste, and fill up what had been left incomplete in Christ's character by the other evangelists. In the Apocalypse he delivers *all* the messages to the Churches; he is ordered to write what he sees. But little room is here left for the display of his subjectivity.

In conclusion, who but an apostle could have written the sublime book? We cannot suppose that the *presbyter* John was capable of it. John the apostle, if we are to judge from the Gospel he wrote, was competent to the task. His appreciation and appropriation of the profound discourses of Christ shows his mental power. Minds that make use of symbols and imagery are often incapable of deep and philosophical reflection; but profound intellects can, if they wish, employ bold imagery and striking symbols.

ART. V.—THE GREAT ELECTION.

THE greatest battle ever fought among men was waged in this country, in the Presidential contest of eighteen hundred and sixty-four. Over millions of square miles the combatants contended. Three thousand miles, from ocean to ocean, the line of battle stretched. Three millions of soldiers were in the field. The gage of battle was equally grand. Not only the life of a nation, but the life of humanity, hung trembling in the balance of the hour. Milton's imagination is of the sublimest order; yet his description of the war in heaven excels not the plain statements of the actual events that have transpired in America to-day. Were he living at this hour and in this land,

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in his moments of repose from the duties to which his patriot soul would devote itself, his pen would revel in the grandeur of the scenes that have moved forward under our half-apprehensive eyes. It will assume its place in history as one of the last turning points, may we hope, in that divine highway which is being cast up among men, and which ends in the

> "Shining table-lands
> To which our God himself is moon and sun."

To the consideration of its character and consequences this paper is devoted.

I. Its importance will be the more clearly recognized by contrasting it with its predecessor—the election of eighteen hundred and sixty. In every respect will it be found greatly superior.

1. It is superior in the circumstances under which they were fought. Then the land was in apparent peace. Quiet possessed its borders. No tramp of armed men resounded through our streets. No cannon shook the skies. No groans of wounded multitudes made the heavens mourn. No maimed thousands limped about our doors. No weeds of hopeless sorrow shadowed the souls of mothers, wives, and children, "grieving over the unreturning brave." No dreams of war, horrid war, affrighted men's hearts. Here and there a fevered vision might fancy it discerned it. Here and there, possibly, a clearer eye did behold it. But none imagined that it would assume such a fearful magnitude. The wildest dreamer did not so fill the land with blood. Among peaceful fields from the Rio Grande to the St. Johns, the discussion went forward and the decision was made. Shotless cannon announced the victory, and tearless eyes overflowed with joy.

This battle was fought in the midst of gloom and anguish. Blood, and fire, and vapor of cannon-smoke filled all the air. Hundreds of thousands of our bravest and best had entered untimely graves. Hundreds of thousands breathed painful breath, eating the bread of affliction in Southern prisons, lying torn and shattered on the nation's couches, or wandering among us, with riven frames and pallid faces, fragments of their then vigorous and manly selves. Crape covered many a heart that then was bright with bridal bloom. Children cried for fathers whose bones unburied looked up to the pitying and

avenging eyes of God. Mothers by scores of thousands had become Naomis and Rachels. Wives by tens of thousands were going down in sorrow to the grave. What a land! lamentation and mourning, the screaming ball and the wailing household joining in doleful miserere. Starvation over hundreds of miles that then flourished in plenty; and worse than all, brothers aiming the rifle at each others' hearts that then were dwelling together in unity.

Can we say that an election proceeding under such circumstances is superior to its peaceful predecessor? Yes, even in these very elements is it superior. Look beneath the calm exterior of the former campaign. Over all that vast domain where now war rolls its bloody surges rested the gloom of hell. Millions of delicate women wrought daily in the field without reward except the lash of the master, and were nightly scourged to most horrible service. Millions of men were subject to like unmitigated toil, and to hardly less agony unutterable as they were compelled helplessly to behold their dearest selves the dreadful victims of their oppressors' lust. Everywhere the auction-block was mounted by Christians, while demons in human guise discussed their points as they would those of beasts, but with a ferocity of passion such as no legitimate and lower merchandise awakens. The husband and wife, whom God had joined together, man rent asunder. The babe was torn from its mother's breast. The saintly maiden was cast into the lecherous clutch of a fiendish buyer; and all this was sanctioned by the professed Church of Jesus Christ. Deacons, vestrymen, and class-leaders, ministers and bishops, vied with the rumseller, the gambler, and the avowed libertine in this traffic of hell. Not of the Father's house, but of the Father's sons and daughters, did they make merchandise. All Churches ran together to see which should soonest reach this goal of Satan. They all alike threw off the impediments of Northern conscience and communion that they might the more easily surpass their rivals in their diabolic race. Bishop Polk and Bishop Pierce, Dr. Palmer and Dr. Manly led their several hosts down the steep places of sin into this gulf of perdition. They yet retained the form and likeness of sacramental hosts of God's elect, though with no divine presence within them and only divine justice overhanging them. As we saw their

seemingly sacred forms, Abdiel's exclamation at Satan's yet undimmed glory leaped from our lips:

> "O heaven! that such resemblance of the highest
> Should yet remain, where faith and fealty
> Remain not! Wherefore should not strength and might
> There fail where virtue fails, or weakest prove
> Where boldest, though to sight unconquerable."

They have thus proved. Their brightness, their strength, their good name is gone. Those then puissant congregations and commanders have sunk into as complete infamy, and will into as complete destruction, as the less apostate Churches of Ephraim and Jerusalem.

Is not this election preferable? The auction-block has rarely exhibited its atrocities since the fires of heaven fell upon this hideous Sodom, whose very Lots had become partakers of its vilest sins. Rare have been the forced separations, then so frequent; rare the lash, then so constant; rare the unspeakable shames, then so universal and so awful. God has suspended these atrocities even where he has not yet led them into liberty. Their Pharoahs have paused in their career of abominations where they have not yet let them go. Baleful as were the attendant miseries of the last election, they were blessed as the smile of heaven in comparison with the agonies that then rolled up from half the land in a wail that made the angels weep.

2. In another respect it may be said this last election is inferior to its predecessor. "That was held freely over the whole country, this only over a fraction." But this statement is not true. This was a freer and fuller expression of the people's sentiments than was that.

In one half of the land four years ago, no man could have deposited a ballot for Mr. Lincoln without the sacrifice of his life. Freedom of the ballot was as much precluded from the states below the Ohio as freedom of men. There was immeasurably greater liberty of voting at this election in Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and Maryland, than was ever known there before. A friend in Baltimore told me that it was at the risk of his life that he gave his vote for Mr. Lincoln in 1860. Now that city rolls up a heavier vote for him than even Boston. The alarm cry of our regiments at the Relay, fearing midnight

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assault, was "Baltimore;" the midnoon shout of joy to-day is "Baltimore;" so swift tread time and truth.

3. The two campaigns are vividly contrary, though also vividly alike in their relation to the great evil against which they fought. Both are but parts of one stupendous whole. Both are steps of God in his march through the earth. Each involves more than it formally asserts. Their declarations of policy and purpose show how great has been our progress in this brief hour of time.

Four years ago the highest we could reach was the non-extension of slavery. To touch it where it was was declared impossible. To lift the fetter from a single neck, to even express sympathy for those who wore them, was forbidden. Our unpeopled territories should be free. So said only a minority of the people, and they not its representatives of fashion, wealth, or influence. To-day by a great majority the people say, "No more slavery. If the Constitution does not forbid it, amend the Constitution. Not territories alone but states, not wilds but cities, shall be cleansed of this plague. The nation shall be pure." How vast that stride! Then defensive, almost in a posture of entreaty, now aggressive and defiant, liberty wraps her starry robe about her and marches forth to the sovereignty of the continent.

Though this culmination was involved in that victory, but few beheld it at all, none saw it so near. Nay, I should not say, none. The slave saw it. He felt that his redemption drew nigh. He knew how full, how pressed together and running over was the cup of his calamity and the cup of his master's iniquity. He knew, for God had told him, in his secret groanings and writhings, that the day of vengeance was at hand. The little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, as it seemed to all common gazers, appeared to his prophetic eye in its true proportions, and he saw that there was to be speedily abundance of rain. "Father, I thank thee that thou didst hide these things from the wise and prudent, and didst reveal them unto babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight."

We saw the gradual approach of the sun of liberty. We knew that it was the first blow slavery had received from the arm of the people, and that from it she could not recover.

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Though it might fight long and die hard, die it must; yet we could not believe it would die so soon.

The first word spoken against it doomed it. Though Church and nation subsided into silence and submission, still that word lived. It broke forth with new power through the pen of Mr. Garrison. For thirty years it had grown amid storms such as never beat upon God's truth in this land before. It had compelled to its service ministers, lawyers, statesmen, Christians of every creed, Christians with no Christian creed, until it had become an exceeding great army. Yet it never got beyond the simple principle first enunciated: liberty is the immediate and unconditional right of all men. It had never, till this campaign, reached the height of that great argument, and for the first time since he leaped into this conflict with all the power and populace of the land, could the great revivalist of this reform approve the nomination and aid in the election of a chief magistrate. He ought to have been on the electoral ticket of Massachusetts with Edward Everett. The dullest eye would then have seen the mighty change. The two antagonists of Mr. Lincoln, each from an opposite side, the one the conservative candidate for the vice-presidency, the other the most radical denouncer of any presidency upon such a Constitution, the extreme lover of the Union and the extreme lover of liberty, unite together, to uphold both of these great pillars of our national temple.

4. This contrast of these conflicts is yet more marked in their relation to foreign nations. The former election was local and unknown. It was not seen across the Atlantic save by a few discerning eyes. The masses, whether titled or without a surname, whether in robes or rags, saw nothing. To-day they saw nothing else. The quarrels of Europe were unseen. Their international politics, once so grand to their unwidened vision, appear as the battles or diplomacies of pigmies. What matters it if Denmark is disparted, or Italy united, or Poland subjugated? They are baubles of an hour, tiny eddies of the great current whose gulf stream sweeps across America. Even the pregnant movements of this continent, the imperializing of Mexico, and nationalizing of British America, are alike unnoticed. Europe pays no regard to them. What is that rent and bleeding Democracy going to do? cry these pallid kings. "Will

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she assert her purpose to fight it out on that line, if it takes a century; or will she succumb to her foes and her wounds, and, sinking amid the waves her blood has reddened, leave the ocean of the future free to our monarchic sails?"

"Will she," cry their half-despairing subjects, "will she abandon the struggle for our rights no less than for her own? Will she be slain in her own home by her own children, the most horrible matricide in history? And shall we weep in unutterable sorrow the death of her who might have been the mother of free empires wide as the earth, enduring as time?" How they gathered to their shores! How they fastened greedy eyes upon our great controversy! How they prayed for our salvation! How they leaped for joy at the glorious result! We were exultant, but with no such happiness as beat in every peasant breast of Europe.

As the first election awoke the greatest exultation in the cabins of southern slaves, so has this in the hardly less degraded cabins of England, and Scotland, and France, and Germany. It carries dismay and death to kings and their minions, life and light to their downtrodden brethren. Never before did such a message cut the skies.

II. But the greatness of this election is better seen by a more direct contemplation of its actual results. Not alone in the questionable superiority of war over slavery, or publicity over privacy, does it deserve its title of great, but by the principles which, through it, have become the unalterable masters of the nation, the certain masters of the world.

Three ideas essential to the consummation of the divine desire in Christ with respect to man have been established by this decree of America.

1. The first is that of Union. The debate on that topic is closed. Till this year it has always been questionable whether the Union would endure. It was effected with great difficulty. It was imperiled at the start by the wrongful demands of some of the states, by the wrongful pride of others.

When effected by the partial, and as we have too painfully learned, by the fatal surrender of principle, it was still expected to survive but for a season. In 1798, within ten years after its organization, the Virginia Democrats set state sovereignty above the Union. The resolutions of Kentucky, which were

written by Thomas Jefferson, became the serpent that the Satan of slavery entered and seduced the new-born nation from its rectitude. To what depths of weakness and disgrace it brought her, the closing hours of Mr. Buchanan's administration have written with the point of the diamond. Under their formulary the nation saw her forts and armaments seized, her power triumphantly defied in her own domain, and herself the scorn and derision of every petty princedom.

Not only did resolutions thus early foreshadow this struggle; the purpose to sever the Union was itself avowed in the same century that witnessed its birth. It assumed many forms, and was never formally passed upon by the people, unless the re-election of Andrew Jackson, by a great majority after his suppression of South Carolina nullification, was an expression of their hostility to it. If so the determination still lived. It flourished more and more. The reawakening of the national conscience to the great evil of slavery gave its supporters the pretext they desired. For thirty years they waged the ceaseless strife. At last, when the people had mildly said to this iniquity, "Thus far shalt thou go but no further," they sprang to arms. "The United States," cries Keitt, of South Carolina, in a jubilant voice to his rebellious associates, "are scattered unto a thousand fragments." "Disunion forever!" re-echo the leagued traitors, as they hold by the throat eleven states, more than a third of her commonwealths, more than a half of her domain.

To this shout of disruption the nation with a universal voice responded, "Not yet!"

"Not yet the hour is nigh, when they
Who deep in Eld's dim twilight sit,
Earth's valiant kings, shall rise and say,
'Proud country, welcome to the pit!
So soon art thou like us, brought low?'
No, sullen group of shadows, no!"

The first cry for the Union was an inspiration. It sprang unconsciously from every lip. They said "a picnic excursion to the Potomac will settle the business. Seventy-five thousand men, in holiday costume, lounging in Baltimore and Washington hotels, and easily moving down upon Richmond, will re-cement the Union in its old and immaculate perfection." They knew not with how great a price this treasure was to be

bought. One army after another must perish. The pleasure excursion must become funereal. "Death must come up into all our windows, and enter into our palaces to cut off the young men from the streets." After three years and over of such a price paid for the Union, the people reaffirmed their solemn vow, not as at first, in thoughtless exultation and enthusiasm, but in a tearful, an humble, yet most resolute purpose to carry out that divine inspiration, at whatever expense of money or of life.

So intense was this feeling, that no one presumed to ask our suffrages who would not publicly consecrate himself to the Union. But some held out the olive branch to the rebellion; complained of the war and the sacrifices of purse, of life, of liberty that were essential to secure its perpetuation; and the people decided, with an agreement that has since been made unanimous by the willing co-operation of all, "the Union shall be preserved; at whatever cost, at whatever hazard, at whatever suffering, we will be still one people." From the Calais of our continent to its Golden Gate, a space larger than that which Europe spans between her Calais and her Golden Horn, with a depth, a solemnity, an enthusiasm that was unutterable, the heart, the voice, the vote said, "We are, we will be one." That debate has closed; 1864, it will be said by the future historian, settled the question of America's nationality. No longer will state rights resolutions vex and frighten the people. No longer will we foolishly say, "our system is an experiment." It has ceased to occupy that place in human affairs. Once the press was an experiment; so was the railroad, so the steam-ship, so ocean steam-navigation, so the telegraph, so Protestantism, so Christianity. But they have ceased to hold such positions. The American Union has likewise; it stands forth before the world the most tried, the most triumphant form of government that exists among men.

2. The election settled the greater and more doubtful question of liberty. The President had proclaimed emancipation, but would the nation proclaim it? It was his act before, his alone. Congress had not confirmed it. The Supreme Court had not constitutionalized it. The people, "the masters," as the President happily says, "of Congress and the courts," sat in judgment upon it. They heard the appeals of

the contending attorneys. They carefully deliberated. They enthusiastically affirmed it. Henceforth it stands as enduring and sublime as the Declaration and the Constitution.

Already has it brought forth its perfect fruit. Congress, the servant of the people, has uttered their decree, and the nation is redeemed forever from the yoke of bondage. At the risk of seeming repetition of what has been referred to under another head, let us mark the steps of this reform. Four years ago we only dared to stay the progress of this deluge of death. We promised to preserve it inviolate where it was. We would have passed an amendment to the Constitution pledging ourselves to secure it national protection in the states where it existed, if that would have appeased our enraged masters. Charles Francis Adams offered such an amendment, and only the hopelessness of its acceptance by the slaveholders prevented its passage; and now another amendment has passed, not to preserve it intact but to sweep it from the land. Then the President, under his inaugural oath, promised it the support of his official arm; now the same President, before the campaign opens, and when policy requires those declarations that are the least offensive and the most popular, announced his purpose to labor for its universal extirpation.

No such reform was ever so speedily effected. Never before has a great nation so suddenly swept away an iniquity which was so inwoven into its whole fabric of social as well as civil life as to have received the familiar title of "the *domestic* institution." Till within four years it governed the land. It had elected our presidents, appointed our judges, sent abroad our embassadors, chosen our Congresses, enacted our laws, controlled our commerce, dictated our fashions, tyrannized over society; had been the only constant, the supreme power in the land.

It had grown from a feeble handful, at the organization of the government, till it claimed the ownership of four millions of souls. It had spread itself from the Atlantic coast half across the continent. It had injected its poison into the whole community, so that there was a most unchristian and inhuman, but universal shrinking from all however lightly touched with the degraded blood, as if they were infected with pestilent disease.

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Thus stood the system then. The people after years of exhortation gained courage to look the monster in the face; they dared to say to it in its onward march, Halt! It raged on them with supercilious scorn. "If war comes," says its arch-leader, "it shall be on northern soil. They shall smell southern powder and feel southern steel." Little did its myrmidons fancy its future. They were assured of unquestioned dominion.

How are the mighty fallen! Three fifths of their territory is wrested from them. One half of their slaves are national freemen. One half of their states have broken from their allegiance and have adopted constitutions forbidding slavery. And now we are on the verge of universal emancipation. Ere this year shall close, liberty will be proclaimed by the agreement of the ratifying states throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof. Halleluiah! the Lord God omnipotent reigneth! His right arm hath gotten him the victory!

Wise men, even when believing in abolitionism, counted those foolish who said when the former election occurred, that under peaceable movements slavery would cease before 1876, but if war came it would not last five years. War came and where is it? You may diligently consider its place, but it is not. As the antediluvian world in forty days was washed out of the earth, with all its wealth and pride, with its solid temples and palaces, so that the keenest antiquarian can find no trace of its existence, so has this system, wicked as any the antediluvian sinners imagined, much less did, been buried under the deluge of God's indignation through the myriad arms and votes of his obedient people.

3. This election was the victory of Democracy. Union might have been maintained and true democracy destroyed. So was it well-nigh in the "save-the-Union" victories of 1852 and 1856. So is it utterly in the strong league of the slaveholders to-day. But our victory was the triumph of the equal rights of all men, without distinction of color or origin. "I vote the white man's ticket," said one on depositing his ballot for the unsuccessful candidate. "I vote all men's ticket," might have been the just response to his antidemocratic democracy. This question, deeper far than that of Union, deeper even than that of liberty, was also in the thickest of the great

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conflict. It was the unspoken word louder than any that was uttered. It was the undertow, stronger than any which agitated the surface, that moved the ship of state on its God-appointed course.

This victory has already achieved great results. Its greatest we have mentioned. It alone produced the amendment and purged the land of its ancestral curse. Another result, hardly inferior, deserves a record. It caused the elevation of Mr. Chase to the chief justiceship. Had his principles not triumphed in that campaign, he would not sit, to-day, on the throne of national justice, their most permanent and, with one exception, most exalted embodiment.

For a generation the people had been made to err in judgment. One who occupied that bench had begun his career as an abolitionist, but abandoned it under the temptations of ambition.* That seat became the fountain of injustice. The whole bench became corrupt. Every judge became a partaker of the sins of his chief. If one died who kept his ermine spotless amid the great defilement, his place was supplied with one fouler than the rest, until at the last the whole was a unit of sin and shame. The circuit judges, and even the commissioners, were infected with the same poison, so that no human being pleading for his liberty found favor in the eyes of these unjust judges. The fact that they sought it was made the ground of its refusal. The more they wearied them the less they obtained justice. In Boston as well as in Charleston did this iniquity sit in the throne of judgment.

At last their chief spoke, and, like his master in Eden, gave the lie to all the principles in which we were created. America, the child of equal rights, gives no rights to one sixth

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* Will not the Methodist Church and ministry of Maryland be called to answer for that dereliction and its fatal results? When Mr. Taney defended Mr. Gruber for denouncing slavery, he found no supporters among the Methodist preachers of his native state. They palliated, they did not uphold their brother, as Dr. Strickland's life of Mr. Gruber amply and painfully shows. When the most numerous and powerful Church was silent, why should he speak? That clerical dumbness was broken in the utterance of the Dred Scott decree. This was the hideous birth of that sinful dalliance. May the present ministry of that now free state show their sorrow for their fathers' error, by most ardent service in the cause of God and man; especially in the abolishing of all outward and inward separations of the brethren of a common faith and common country.

of her population. Free or slave, they are all without the pale of law. They cannot plead at her bar for property, liberty, or life. They cannot testify for themselves or others. They cannot defend themselves, their wives, or their children. They have no rights which this nation is bound to respect.

God heard that hiss of hell, and he too entered this Eden and walked among a fallen people, who sought to hide themselves from him by impudently denying his authority and his law. He said, "If my children have no rights, you shall have no peace. If they cannot hold their property, I will take yours away. If they are deprived of their liberty, your sons shall pine in a more loathsome prison-house, beside which the hut and the fare of my negro child are princely. If their lives are not protected, yours shall be wasted." How fearfully has he avenged his own elect who cried day and night unto him! We have heard and heeded, and through this election brought forth a great work, meet for our great repentance. For that God-vacated office the national voice nominated their candidate. It was God's appointment, not theirs. He had identified himself with the oppressed from the beginning. He had been a consistent, humble, faithful lover of God and his fellow-man. He had plead their rights unheard at the very bar where now he sits supreme. Greatest of all our victories is this. More than the triumphs of Grant, and Sherman, and Farragut; more than the re-election of Mr. Lincoln and the assertion of our unity and abolitionism, is the elevation of Salmon P. Chase to the chief-justiceship of America. Those were wrested from our foes, this from ourselves. Those were the expressions of pride, this of principle. Those sought to save the national life, this the national soul. Those insured our existence, this our glory.

No more will Congress frame iniquity by a law. No more will petty circuit judges, and pettier commissioners, play their hideous tricks of authority before the indignant heavens. His subordinates shall imbibe his spirit, his associates shall utter his will, and national justice shall find expression in the national judge.

His was more than the appointment of Jay or Marshall. Upright as they were, they were not selected especially in view of the relation of their uprightness to existing wrong. Justice Chase was. He will uproot with his judicial ax not

slavery alone, but its worse roots, caste and prejudice, and all the undemocratic and unjust treatment of our fellow-citizens and fellow-men, and complete the work that is so gloriously begun.*

III. The consequences of this decision are twofold: those that concern foreign states, those that will affect our own.

First. This election will be an important step in the liberation of Europe. As the "bubble democracy" has not "burst," that of aristocracy must. The two systems are wrestling for the mastery of the world. Three millions of bayonets support a half dozen thrones on the necks of a hundred millions of men. Those hundred millions have heard this great decision; their half a score of masters have heard it also. Victoria sees in it the hand of America, her nation's first born, writing the doom of her family on the walls of her palace. Napoleon beholds in it his dream dissolving, of Mexican domination and California acquisition. The breakwater he had hoped to have set across our Southern line to the deluge of democracy is swept away, and the refluent waves will not only drown his American pretensions but his central throne.

Already the *Times* confesses its influence on the rising demands of the disfranchised masses of Britain. Already the secretary of her treasury declares that manhood is the only right basis for suffrage. Already the peasants and patriots of the continent are uniting together for the common weal.

The suddenness and completeness of our emancipation is but a type of that which will yet renew the face of the earth. In a day has this nation been born. In one shall those of England, France, Germany, Italy, Greece, and Russia; not in their pres-

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* In the light of the present position of Mr. Chase, his private words, written to Theodore Parker, are worthy of our attention. They are found in the appendix to his Life, pp. 519–521. Thus writes this humble-hearted yet strong-hearted man of God: "My conscience tells me that you overrate me greatly. I am only fit to do the common work that lies right before me from day to day, and in truth, I have no aspiration to do any other. I never could fancy myself a great man, or ever realize that I occupied a great position, and I suppose both of these ideas are necessary to great achievement, especially political achievement." Again, p. 520, he says, "I don't pretend to be a very wise or expert statesman, or anything of that sort; but a roughly-trained practical man, who wishes to *do* something for truth, justice, and human progress, and who would prefer that what little he does or says should be so spoken of, that nothing in his example of word or deed shall even seem to contribute to the upholding of wrong." How perfect is this portrait of a true judge!

ent disintegrated and hostile condition, but like ours, a unity of life, of liberty, of name; one nation, free, fraternal, Christian.

Second. But more important duties invite our service. We too have a future as well as a present and a past; and it would ill become us in our rejoicings over what we have attained to be unmindful of what yet remains to be accomplished.

This battle has settled two great questions that have been in fierce debate and in perilous position throughout our history. It has shown that the nation is rooted and grounded in the doctrine of Union and the doctrine of liberty. These pillars of its common weal it will stand by so long as its nationality endures. There is yet one step it must take, fraternity. The French democrats wisely put this as the climax of their creed. It is there and everywhere the highest grace, and the last attained. We have decided for democracy. We must carry out the principles of democracy. That principle is no distinction of man from man by any accidents of color or clime. "All ye are brethren" is its sole creed. We have yet failed to embrace this truth. The Cleveland Platform declared the right of all men to suffrage. Congress in its territorial constitutions, Maryland and Missouri in their new free constitutions, limit that right to white men. They are not yet wholly free. Only by consistently obeying this call of God can we preserve that whereto we have attained. Cromwell and Napoleon both failed in the great revolutions they achieved; and why? Because they were false to the fundamental principle of those revolutions. The Pilgrims of Plymouth gave Cromwell the model of a free commonwealth. Equality and fraternity were the foci of its orbit. He created himself lord, and the Lord of lords cast him down headlong, and his work fell with him into a grave, where it has lain for more than two centuries. Napoleon was the child of democracy. He denied the mother that bore him, and was cast out and trodden under foot of his enemies. This grace he could not reach. The peasant Frenchman his equal and brother? never. Do not we feel like him? Would we not welcome to our tables to-day a rebellious slaveholder sooner than his loyal slave, even if the latter was as well mannered as the former? Would we place one of this class in our stores or shops, however capable? Would we accept the brightest scholar in the land, if of this race, as a professor in our schools,

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or the most eloquent preacher, whose lips God has anointed with grace, as our pastor and guide?

This prejudice exists only in this fraction of our continent. It must be overcome here. Brazil, Mexico, the West Indies are without it. Europe and the East are without it. The conductor on the cars from Cairo to Alexandria was as black as ebony; while nearly all the passengers were either Europeans or Arabs; and the African was the easy master of the turbulent Asiatics and the haughty Caucasians.

To the removal of this prejudice every lover of Christ and his country should devote himself; and this because it is the only way of duty, the only way of salvation. If we pause now, we fall back into a deeper pit than that out of which God has most mercifully and most miraculously delivered us.

That such is our peril, the history of the great party whose career is just closing clearly shows. No party ever had a more glorious beginning. It sprang into life as the friend of man. Its name came from France, and was considered synonymous with the rights of man everywhere. Its great leaders, Jefferson, Monroe, Madison, Gallatin, were the ardent defenders of the French democrats, and organized their party on the basis of fighting their battles with and for them on every sea and against every foe, Austrian, Russian, British and all.

They won the power, and war arose in consequence of their principles. For war never would have come with England had the Federalists kept the government. In the height of the war the Federalists assailed them and were annihilated. An era of good feeling arose. The Democrats refused to apply their principles to their own people. They rejected the head-stone of their corner, the equal rights of all men, and it has become the head-stone of their grave. Jefferson favored slavery, of which he had declared God had no attribute that did not make war upon it. He urged its extension beyond the Mississippi. The democracy passed the Missouri Compromise, and in that day dying it died. Never since has it breathed its natal air. Never since has it been the defender of the rights of man.

What then is the service to which the Master calls us? This, and this only: *to abolish from the national action and the national heart all distinctions arising from color or origin; all thought and feeling that such distinctions are divinely*

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intended to separate members of the same human family, who are and must ever be one in blood and in destiny, in sin and in salvation, in Adam and in Christ.

1. In the discharge of this duty we must seek to abolish the unrighteous distinctions which are made in the composition and control of our armies. Two features therein are contrary to every national idea, their separation into regiments by themselves, their exclusion from the honors they have won. There should be no black regiments by the decree of the government. If persons of this hue should of themselves organize such a regiment, the government might accept them as they accept Irish or German regiments. But had it been announced to our foreign-born population: "You can only serve in regiments of your own nationality; you are forbidden to march in the same company with American troops;" how would they have scorned the summons of such a government! How justly would they have said, "Let Americans save America, if they persist in oppressing us with such invidious distinctions!" Equally just would it have been for colored Americans to have said: "You compel us to keep in regiments by ourselves; we will march in no regiments at all. You brand us with prejudicial infamy; we will not voluntarily accept the insult. If your government shall draft us and compel us to fight, we are powerless to resist; but not of ourselves will we rally to the flag, that is not fraternal."

This distinction must be abolished. A citizen if he volunteers should join what regiment he chooses; if he is drafted, those that most need his musket. The idea of color or origin should be as far from the mind of the provost marshal as is that of nationality or name. We shall then cease to read of the valor of white or colored troops as separate bodies, but of men and patriots, whose complexion may be various, but whose blood and bravery are one.

The second military iniquity we should abolish is the refusal to grant them commissions and commands. This glaring injustice will be patent to every eye, if we consider what would be the feelings and conduct of other privates should such a law degrade them. Were it announced to the army that only West Point graduates could hold commissions; that their valor, their skill, their experience can only elevate them to a sergeant's

bands, how long would they serve such a land? Yet there are a hundred thousand of our soldiers who fight under this insulting opprobrium. However valorous, however endowed with military genius, however prodigal of life, they are not only compelled to serve in the ranks, but to see less competent white men set over them, and that solely on the ground of their complexion. This great injustice, this democratic lie, must be abandoned. It is part and parcel of the system of aristocracy that we have formally decreed shall vanish away. The work has been initiated by the conferring of a lieutenant's commission on one of these soldiers. It should be hastened forward. Congress should abolish the unjust distinction, and the man, whatever his complexion or origin, who wins his shoulder straps, should wear them studded, if he deserves it, with the three stars of a lieutenant-general.

2. We must grant them civil equality and fraternity.

The question of negro suffrage is assuming an importance, not only to the true democrat and Christian, but to the most feeble or most false professor of democracy and Christianity. It will be found that here as in the army we must call on those we yet despise to come and save us. Professor Lieber shows that by abolishing slavery we have increased the basis of representation in the Southern states by the two fifths of the slaves who were before constitutionally excluded. If these are forbidden to vote it increases the power of the white man in those states against his fellow of the North, by that large addition to a census-counted but non-voting population. If the rebels should be allowed to return with any powers and privileges, such as would have been accorded them in the late peace conferences, they would avail themselves of this iniquity to re-establish themselves in more than their former power. Our only and sure cure for this peril, is for Congress to decree the right of suffrage for national officers to be without respect of color.

Again, the loyal white men of the South must call on their equally loyal brothers, often of more white than colored descent, to come and save them from the voting of their Secession neighbors. These once active rebels, when these states resume their forms of civil life, will outnumber their loyal neighbors, and snatch again the scepter after having thrown down the sword with which they had sought the murder of the very

government they will then represent. The loyal whites will be cast back into the pit out of which the national arm has dragged them, unless they will lift their like loyal colored fellow-citizens to equal honor.

But not as a measure of necessity should this be urged. It is one of duty. In many states of the Union this cruel disability exists. With proud rebellious hearts we say, "the foreigner may vote, the native shall not. The brutalized victim of papacy, whom priests and pope make hostile to our ideas and institutions, may oppose the government that protects him with ballot, almost with bullet, and yet lose no right of suffrage; while the most protestant of our protestants, the most godly of the godly, the most faithful of the faithful, shall not utter his voice at the ballot-box against these foreign foes." We should instantly annihilate every such barrier, and make suffrage and manhood identical. What Gladstone demands for England, Congress ought to bestow upon America.

"But," cries one timid of soul, "if this right is conferred so freely in states where the blacks have a majority, they will become its governors and representatives, and a black man may sit as a senator in our national capitol!" And why not? Ought not the larger fraction of the population of South Carolina, who are among the most loyal in the land, to have the administration of the affairs of that commonwealth? And if the most conservative citizens have for years contemplated with approval, and aided with their liberality, the rising glory of Liberia, can they object to a more truly named Liberia growing into majestic life on the ruins of Charleston, so long the seat of the beast? Will not Captain Robert Small be as good a governor of South Carolina as Michael Hahn, far less loyal, is of Louisiana? Is not his first office prophetic of his future, and is not the master of "The Planter" yet to be the master of the planters?

But not alone in the states where they are numerically superior, will they justly claim the position their merits shall secure for them. In every state the same privileges must be accorded. No more and no less in Carolina than New York should they rise higher than they merit. Here as there, whoever deserves the highest seats should sit there. Frederick Douglass, one of the first orators and clearest headed statesmen

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of America, should be the representative in Congress from his district. He has no equal in the national estimation within its boundaries. He would soon show that he was worthy to follow his great Auburn neighbor into the senate chamber and the cabinet. He might win what the other has lost, because to his ability is joined more popularity if not more principle—the highest honor the nation can bestow. "*Palmam ferat qui meruit*" is the only motto for a democratic people. If he deserves the palm he should carry it, by the votes and with the applause of all the nation.

3. This work should be carried forward in the Church. Sad is the fact, but most true, that those who call themselves the disciples and representatives of Jesus Christ are in their body the most tenacious of this iniquity. Whatever the name of the Church, her spirit and act is the same. No professed Church of Jesus Christ here has reached the hights of fraternity which every other profession has allowed. The medical and the legal bodies have admitted them as equals; not so the clerical. They visit around the same couch, they act as attorneys for the same client, as their whiter fellows; they cannot belong to the same conference with us, travel the same circuit, or be settled over the same congregation. And yet the Church professes to represent and should represent the highest ideas that man can receive or entertain. It is the depository, the vehicle of God. His best truths he commits to her as a distributing reservoir to all the world. Her ministers he deigns to call his servants and embassadors; her members, his sons and daughters; and yet when his Son, the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, calls himself especially the Son of man—not of men, much less of a class of men, and that white men, but the Son of MAN—when his Spirit orders his servant to declare to the Churches that in Christ Jesus the middle wall of partition is broken down, that in him there is neither Greek nor Jew, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free, male nor female; when he forbids the setting off one portion of the Church by itself for any outward distinctions; against the words of Christ, the teachings of the apostles, the lessons of history, the testimony of every conscience in the sight of God, the Church in America gives itself earnestly to the support of this heaven-hated sin. She compels these her brethren and sisters to form

Churches of their own. She separates God's ministers of the least tinged with this complexion into conferences by themselves. If any of these Christians come into her brahmin assemblies, she hastens to commit the very sin that James rebukes, and has "the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons," saying unto his brother, often of the very complexion of James and the Lord Jesus Christ, "stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool." How those holy words rebuke our haughty sin! "If ye fulfill the royal law according to the Scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, ye do well. But if you have respect of persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors." Then comes that dreadful imprecation, so awfully fulfilled upon the apostate Churches of the South, so fearfully experienced in our own griefs and calamities: "For he shall have judgment without mercy that hath showed no mercy."

O that the Church would arise and wash herself of this abomination! She should instantly invite her despised brethren to sit in her exalted seats. She should abolish the iniquity known only to Protestant America, the colored Church. She should invite all those whom God has called to serve at her altars, which are not hers, but his. She should throw her mighty influence against this cruel and false prejudice, and drive it from the land. She should proclaim the great doctrine of the Bible, the central doctrine of the cross, the unity, the fraternity of man, and should declare that what God hath put together man shall not put asunder. Then and then only will God's smile and benediction rest upon her. Then shall she go forth, not as now, to feeble victories and frequent defeats, but to constant, glorious, and increasing triumphs. Scriptural holiness will spread rapidly over all the land, and the coming of Christ speedily redden the divine horizon.

To this high and heavenly work the great election calls us. This grand future opens its celestial vistas to our waiting eyes. Union, emancipation, democracy, the triad of triumphant principles, will insure the unification, the liberation, the fraternization of America. Her sons of whatever hue, shall wear her honors of whatever height. Sella Martin will be the popular

pastor of a popular Church, having no taint in its composition of the present bitterness of Christians against their better brethren, but composed indiscriminately of those who, though of many complexions, are of one Lord, one faith, one baptism. John S. Rock will sit as judge where now not one of his race can sit as a juror even when those of their own color are on trial for their life; and the perfection of justice will be consummated, and God the judge of all be satisfied then, and then only, when one of this blood whom our late chief-justice declared had no rights, shall occupy his seat* as the administrator of equal rights to all the land. Such a one is the Queen's highest judicial representative in Jamaica to-day. Such will be America's in Washington to-morrow.

Such are some of the results and obligations which spring from that national decree. The work is not yet accomplished. Our brothers yet pine in prison-houses, and suffer unto death on the bloody field. The foe is yet stiff-necked and rebellious. It may be long ere the high lands of perpetual peace are reached. We may see days as dark as any which have covered us. Yet the end is sure. The grand uprising assures its coming. Does it also that higher, that diviner end to which the whole creation moves? Will the nation, will the Church, will every Christian, every minister, every man gird himself for this greater task? If so, that higher glory will speedily dawn. The sun will rise that knows no setting. The kingdom of Christ will be established. The whole earth, one family, will dwell in him, knit together in love, in labor, in faith, in joy; while over it all will bend the cloud of witnesses, with celestial faces, the martyred and sainted dead of every age and clime, not the least in honor and happiness those of our own

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* These particular results we presume our respected contributor hails, not as desirable in themselves, but as symbols of a great progress and a just reparation. We coincide with him so far as to hold that all *legal* disabilities precluding such results should cease to exist. Suffrage irrespective of complexion, but conditioned upon a degree of education, is both just in itself and essential to the well-being of our republic. A pariah caste in our free North will ever be a danger and a calamity; of which education and suffrage are the sole Christian, republican, and politic remedy. At the extreme south the ballot in the hands of the Afric-American is the best and most peaceful possible insurance of loyalty to the government. It is little less than practical treason to the perpetuity of the Union to place the disfranchised colored loyalty of the cotton states beneath an oppressive disloyal superstratum.—Ed.

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age and clime, reliving happiest lives in their more saintly children, the inheritors of their sacrifices, their grace, their renown.

> "For all they thought and loved and did,
> And hoped and suffered is but seed
> Of what in these is flower and fruit."

ART. VI.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

THE POPE'S BULL AGAINST MODERN CIVILIZATION—PARTIES WITHIN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—The Encyclical or apostolic letter addressed under date of December 8, 1864, by Pope Pius IX. to all Roman Catholic bishops, is one of the most remarkable documents which in modern times has emanated from the Papal See. The pope reminds the prelates that his predecessors have never failed to state and condemn the errors against the fundamental principles of religion spread throughout society, and in particular against the Roman Catholic Church. He adds that from the commencement of his pontificate he has invariably rebuked these errors in his allocutions delivered at the Consistories, and in his frequent Encyclical letters to the bishops. Seeing, therefore, that errors and false opinions are constantly upon the increase in religious and lay society, the pope declares that he addressed himself to the bishops upon the present occasion to excite their zeal to confute error, and to arrest the evil which false ideas of religion, philosophy, and politics inflict upon the modern world.

The Encyclical letter then proceeds to enunciate the gravest errors which must first be confuted. These are stated as the opinions of those who say, that civil progress requires society to be governed without reference to religion, or without any difference being made between the true faith and heresy; that liberty of conscience and of public worship are essential in a well-organized government; that the will of the people, as displayed by public opinion, or by other means, constitutes a supreme law and a true right, and that accomplished facts in political affairs are to be regarded as rightly in force; that religious orders are not entitled to exist, and ought. consequently, to be suppressed; that family society is dependent solely upon civil law, so that the government has the exclusive right of regulating the relations between parents and children, and of directing instruction and education; that the clergy should not be permitted to take part in public instruction, because they are opposed to progress. The pope further condemns the opinions of those who hold that the laws of the Church cannot have binding force unless they are promulgated by the civil authority; that excommunications pronounced against usurpers of the rights and property of the Church are an abuse; that the Church has not the right of punishing those who violate her laws; that the ecclesiastical power is not by divine right distinct from or independent of the civil power; that obedience may be conscientiously refused to those decrees and decisions of the Holy See which do not affect points of faith. All these opinions and several others are rebuked, proscribed, and condemned in the Encyclical letter, and the pope prohibits their being in future entertained by true believers.

The Apostolical letter is accompanied by an appendix ("syllabus") of eighty propositions, containing the principal modern errors inveighed against by the pope. Seven refer to Pantheism, naturalism, and absolute rationalism; seven to moderate rationalism, four to religious indifference, twenty to errors against the Church and her rights, seventeen to

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errors current in civil society and their relations to the Church, nine to errors of philosophy, ten to errors connected with Christian marriage, and six to modern liberty and the temporal sovereignty of the pope.

The following are among the most important condemned errors:

15. Every man is free to embrace and profess the religion he shall believe true, guided by the light of reason.

17. At least the eternal salvation may be hoped for of all who have never been in the true Church of Christ.

23. The Church has not the power of availing herself of force, or any direct or indirect temporal power.

24. The Roman pontiffs and œcumenical councils have exceeded the limits of their power, have usurped the rights of princes, and have even committed errors in defining matters relating to dogma and morals.

32. The personal immunity exonerating the clergy from military law may be abrogated without violation either of natural right or of equity. This abrogation is called for by civil progress, especially in a society modeled upon principles of liberal government.

39. The state of a republic, as being the origin and source of all rights, imposes itself by its rights, which is not circumscribed by any limit.

47. The most advantageous conditions of civil society require that popular schools open without distinction to all children of the people, and public establishments destined to teach young people letters and good discipline, and to impart to them education, should be freed from all ecclesiastical authority and interference, and should be fully subjected to the civil and political power for the teaching of masters and opinions common to the times.

55. The Church must be separated from the State and the State from the Church.

77. In the present day it is no longer necessary that the Catholic religion shall be held as the only religion of the state, to the exclusion of all other modes of worship.

78. Whence it has been wisely provided by law, in some countries called Catholic, that emigrants shall enjoy the free exercise of their own worship.

79. But it is false that the civil liberty of every mode of worship and the full power given to all of overtly and publicly displaying their opinions and their thoughts, conduce more easily to corrupt the morals and minds of the people and to the propagation of the evil of indifference.

80. The Roman pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself to and agree with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization.

The Encyclical has not ceased since its publication to be a prominent topic of discussion for the entire press of the civilized world. The Catholic press are unanimous in accepting it. By Catholic press we understand solely those papers, whether ecclesiastical or political, which profess an unconditional attachment to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, and to the authority of the pope as its head. The number of these papers has considerably increased since 1848, and every country of Europe has now its Catholic organs, though their number, in comparison with the Protestant and liberal press, is everywhere insignificantly small. There were hitherto among the professedly Catholic papers two different parties as regards the relation of the Church to modern civilization, and, in particular, to that modern theory of society which demands the recognition of the separation of Church and State, the broadest religious toleration, control of public education by the state, abolition of all political privileges of the clergy, and other similar doctrines among the fundamental laws of every state. One party, the rigorous ultramontanists, reject this theory absolutely and uncompromisingly as false and contrary to true religion. The *Civilta Cattolica*, the organ of the Jesuits at Rome, and the *Monde* of Paris, are the boldest and most gifted champions of this theory. Another party regards these views as one-sided and fanatical. It recognizes many good features in modern civilization, advocates a reconciliation and union between it and the Church, and demands in particular the enjoyment of equal political rights by members of different religious denominations. The ablest organ of this party is the *Correspondant* of Paris, among the editors of which are, or were, Count Montalembert, the late Father Lacordaire, Father Gratry, M. de Falloux, Augustin Cochin, and many other prominent Catholics of France. Montalembert and Lacordaire have frequently and severely criticised the fanaticism of *Le Monde*, and other ultramontane sheets; and Montalembert, at the Catholic congress of Belgium, in 1863, went further than any of his friends in the bold defense of the principle of religious toleration. The majority of the Catholic papers of the world have not directly taken

part in the controversy. The *Monde*, of Paris, is, on the whole, the chief and the favorite source from which the Catholic press of the entire world derives its information; yet occasionally the large majority of Catholic periodicals have expressed the same views on religious toleration and modern society as the *Correspondant.*

By the *Monde*, the *Civilta Cattolica* and their partisans, the Encyclical was of course received as a great triumph. Henceforth, exclaimed the *Monde*, a liberal Catholicism will no longer be possible. Rome has expressly condemned, not only the false liberalism, but liberalism in general, and all good Catholics will now respect this decision of the Holy See. The editors of the *Correspondant* seem to have at first been doubtful as to what course to pursue. It was rumored that they would discontinue their organ, but this proves to have been unfounded. The *Correspondant* has at length published the Encyclical, but with the remarkable reservation that it accepts it in the sense of those bishops who do not regard it as conflicting with modern civilization. Many Catholic papers undoubtedly entertain the same sentiments as the *Correspondant;* but, as far as we know, not one avowedly Catholic paper of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, or any other country of Europe, has uttered an open word of dissent.

The same may be said of the bishops. Some of the recently appointed bishops of France, especially the Archbishop of Paris, are generally supposed to be Gallicans, and not to share all the views of the pope, yet all of them observe a respectful silence.

It is, therefore, all the more remarkable, that a cardinal should be found openly to disapprove the language of the Encyclical. Yet such is the fact. Cardinal d'Andrea has had the more than ordinary courage to declare himself opposed to the views of the pope, and it is reported that six other cardinals agree with him.

A point of great practical importance is the question whether Catholic citizens of states which have liberal constitutions can reconcile a sincere submission to the pope's Encyclical with a sincere loyalty to their state constitutions. Belgium, France, Italy, Austria, Bavaria, are states predominantly Catholic, but the constitutions of which recognize the equal civil rights of members of non-Catholic religions. Thousands of Catholics, including priests, bishops, and cardinals, are every year taking the oath of respecting, maintaining, defending these constitutions. Will they deem it compatible with their duty as Catholics to remain loyally devoted to the liberal constitutions of their states?

The most liberal among the Catholic countries of Europe is Belgium, whose constitution guarantees to every citizen personal freedom and liberty of conscience. Hitherto the "Catholic" party of that country has professed an equal attachment to the constitution as the Liberal party. The *Monde*, of Paris, has always represented the fundamental principles of the Belgian constitution as irreconcilably opposed to the spirit of the Catholic Church. The "Catholic" party of Belgium have generally avoided a discussion of the principles of their constitution, but regarding it as an accomplished fact, professed a determination to adhere to it. Most of them, in accepting the Encyclical, contend that it does not in the least alter their relation to their constitution. Thus, according to "*La Paix*," of Brussels, one of the leading Catholic papers of Belgium, the pope only declares that truth is solely to be found in the Catholic Church, that error cannot claim the same rights as truth, nor vice the same rights as virtue. In this sense it fully adopts the bull, and maintains that dogmatically the pope must be intolerant. But the Catholic legislators, it further argues, are not challenged by the bull to punish the abuses of liberty of the press any more than they are commanded to punish blasphemers or other offenders against the precepts of the catechism. Other Catholic papers of Belgium apologize for their constitution by remarking, that at the time of the adoption of the constitution Belgium was not a purely Catholic country, and had to make concessions to the anticatholic liberalism. All these arguments admit, that in the opinion of Roman Catholics the doctrines condemned by the Encyclical are not desirable in themselves, and ought only to be conceded when the Catholics find themselves in a minority. On the other hand, however, the conduct of the Catholics of Belgium, and most of the other countries, clearly indicates that they lack the courage to carry the pope's view into execution. In our own country the

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Archbishop of Baltimore has made the singular discovery, that the papal anathemas are not at all intended against constitutions like that of the United States, but merely against the infidels of Europe. Such an assertion is not at all creditable to the candor and the intellect of the American prelate, but it shows that the representatives of the pope in this country do not dare to make a practical application of the views of Rome to our institutions.

The papal party itself, as we have seen, acknowledges but timidly the papal manifesto, and refuses to carry it out. But the papal party is now in a minority in probably every country of Europe. In Paris there are only four daily papers, which claim to be regarded as Catholic papers, against more than a dozen which respect neither the ecclesiastical nor the temporal authority of the pope. In Vienna, a single Catholic daily is with difficulty sustained by the high aristocracy; and in Austria, in general, more than five sixths of all the political papers are decidedly anticatholic. The same is the case with the press of Turin, Florence, Milan, Madrid, Lisbon, Cologne, and the other large Catholic cities of Europe. Everywhere one or two Catholic papers are with difficulty sustained, while all the leading papers are decidedly liberal. Of the Catholic governments of Europe there is not a single one which has expressed its concurrence with the views of the pope. Italy and Austria have allowed its publication, but expressly reserved the rights of the state, and carefully guarded against indorsing it. France and Spain have prohibited its official promulgation by the bishops, and new conflicts between Church and State seem to be the inevitable consequence.

Thus Europe has repelled the last attack of the papacy upon the progressive spirit of the age; and according to all signs of the times, Rome will now have enough to do to keep herself on the defensive.

THE GREEK CHURCH.

RUSSIA.

Intercommunion between the Russian and the Anglican Churches—Russian Missions—The *Bible* in Russia.—The movement toward establishing intercommunion between the Anglican and the Oriental Churches, is beginning to enlist considerable interest among the Russians. An interesting account of the disposition of the heads of the Russian Church with regard to this subject was published last year by the Rev. Mr. Young, the secretary of the Russo-Greek Committee, appointed by the last General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of this country, who in the first months of the year had visited Russia, and conversed with some of the prominent men of the Church. In St. Petersburgh he had an interview with the Procureur General and the Vice-Procureur General, who are the emperor's representatives in the Holy Synod. They referred him to the Metropolitan of Moscow, Philaret. Mr. Young had two interviews with the Metropolitan Philaret of some three hours each, the Vicars of the Metropolitan, (Bishop Labas and Bishop Leonide,) together with the rector of the Spiritual Academy of Moscow, two interpreters being present on each occasion. The conversation consisted chiefly in the asking and answering of questions as to the doctrines and ecclesiastical position of the Anglican and the Russian Churches. It was arranged that the chief portions of the Anglican prayer-book should be translated into the Russian language. The Metropolitan expressed his gratification at the interview, and at the prospects of more friendly and intimate relations of the two communions. The Russians are especially beginning to acquaint themselves better with the literature of the Anglican Churches. An association of ladies has been formed for the dissemination of theological and general reading matter. The association has been in operation about a year, and has its depository at Moscow. The books kept at the depository and destined for circulation are:

1. Church books, (all the books indispensable for the service of the Church,) Bibles, Testaments, Prayer-books, etc.
2. The writings of the fathers of the Church, popular sermons, explanations of the Bible, and in general, books relating to the history, doctrine, and the rites of the Church.
3. Books concerning the history and geography of Russia, travels, descriptions of the country, biographies, popular songs, and standard works of our most eminent writers.
4. Juvenile literature, books for instruction, and entertaining books for children, carefully selected.

6. Books on various subjects, but particularly adapted for popular reading, tales, stories, descriptions of foreign countries, engravings, etc.

This society, through the Rev. Mr. Young, expressed a desire to the Church Book Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church of New York for material to help on their work, and in compliance with this request, the Book Society, on June 13, 1864, passed a resolution authorizing Mr. Young to forward to the Russian association, at his discretion, copies of any of the publications of the society, or of any books on its approved list, and to convey to the association assurances of fraternal and cordial sympathies, bidding them most heartily "God speed" in their labors of love.

An important report on the progress of the union movement was made February 15, 1865, to the convocation of Canterbury, by Chancellor Massingberd, in the name of the committee appointed by the convocation in 1863, in order "to communicate with the committee appointed at a recent synod of the bishops and clergy of the United States of America, as to intercommunion with the Russo-Greek Church, and to communicate the result to convocation at a future session." After having referred to their communication with the American committee, the report continues:

> It is an instance of the increasing interest that is taken in this question at home that your committee are enabled to state to the house that there has been formed in England an association called "The Eastern Church Association," which already numbers among its patrons the Most Rev. the Archbishop of Belgrade, the Most Rev. the Archbishop of Dublin, with several more of our English bishops, the principal objects of which are to inform the English public as to the state of the Eastern Churches, and to make known the doctrines and principles of the Anglican Church to the Christians of the East. Your committee have been favored, at their last meeting, with the presence of the Very Rev. Archpriests Popoff and Wassilieff, chaplains to the Imperial Embassies of Russia at London and Paris, from both of whom they have received the most cordial assurances of personal co-operation. It would be premature to lay down any principles or conditions on which it may seem to your committee that such intercommunion as is contemplated may be brought about, further than this: to establish such relations between the two communions as shall enable the laity and clergy of either to join in the sacraments and offices of the other without forfeiting the communion of their own Church; that any overtures toward such an object should be made, if possible, in co-operation with those Churches with which the Church of England is in communion; and that such overtures, whenever made, should be extended to the other Eastern Patriarchates, and not confined to the Russo-Greek Church. With this view your committee ask leave to sit again, and suggest that, if the Convocation of York should think fit to delegate any of its members to sit with them, they should be authorized to confer with them, and also to co-operate with any committees of other branches of the Anglican Communion. Your committee, citing the words of the Venerable Patriarch and Synod of Constantinople, that "the Orthodox Church of the East has never ceased to offer with tears fervent prayers to her God and Saviour, who maketh of two one, breaking down the middle wall of separation between them, that he may bring all Churches into one unity, giving them sameness of faith and communion of the Holy Ghost," conclude with the words of the prayer familiar to us all, "That as there is but one body and one spirit and one hope of our calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, so we may henceforth be all of one heart and one soul, united in one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity, and may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The interest taken in Russia in the progress of the union movement led to the sending of a Russian priest, Father Agapius, to New York, to organize the resident members of the Greek communion into a regular Church. Father Agapius was received by the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church with great cordiality. The rector of Trinity Church, and the bishop of the diocese, being asked for the use of one of the chapels of Trinity Church for the provisional celebration of the Greek service, not only gave unhesitatingly their consent, but expressed a profound interest in the success of the mission, and an ardent hope that it might promote the union movement between the two communions. As the Greek Church holds to transubstantiation, it would seem that this service was essentially a performance of Mass. In that case it is rather singular that the performance should have been admitted into an American Protestant Church.

In a former number of the Method-

ist Quarterly Review we gave an account of the missions of the Russian Church in Asia. Outside of Russia, the Church had hitherto sustained only one mission, in Pekin, China, which was established in the reign of Peter the Great, more than one hundred and fifty years ago. Its objects were strictly limited to the welfare of a colony of Russian subjects who had been captured on the Amoor, and planted near Pekin. A treaty between China and Russia authorized the Russian Government to keep six Russian missionaries at Pekin, being changed once in ten years, with the right of having a few students to learn the Chinese and Manchoo language, with a knowledge of Chinese affairs. Hitherto the character and the fruits of this mission have not been well spoken of by the Protestant missionaries in China. But we now find, in the "Missionary Herald" for February, 1865, a letter from Mr. Blodgett, missionary of the American Board at Pekin, who writes, September 8, 1864, that "the Russian missionaries in Pekin now labor directly for the Chinese" in the country, as well as in the city. And he adds in behalf of the Russians this testimony:

> It is an interesting fact, and one which marks a difference between them and the Roman Catholics, that they translate and use the sacred Scriptures. Their version of the New Testament into Chinese is now in print in this city. They have obtained, also, from the English missionaries, the version of the Bible by Messrs. Swan and Stallybrass, and published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, for the use of their ministers to the Mongolians, and the version of the New Testament, published by the same society, for the use of their missions in Russian Manchuria. It is hopeful to see this regard for the Word of God. Their terms and usages coincide mostly with those of the Roman Catholics.

Other interesting statements on the missionary work going on in the Russian Church we derive from the report of the Rev. J. Long, an English clergyman, who recently spent several months in traveling in Russia, for the special purpose of studying the religious and social condition of the country. Mr. Long was informed by the Bishop of Viborg, who is at the head of the academy of St. Petersburgh, for training priests, that the Russian Church has about a hundred missionaries and missionary agents at work in Siberia and the adjacent districts. A Russian noble, who is one of the emperor's chamberlains, and favorable to missions, gave him much information on what the Russian Church is doing for the missionary cause: they have missionaries located in the Altai Mountains, at Kamtschatka and the Caucasus, near Lake Baikal, and have also a number who labor among the Bariats, who are Buddhists. The Russians intend shortly to found a missionary seminary, to be located either at Kasan or Irkutsk, as St. Petersburgh is unsuited for it, and they wish to have it in a place where the Oriental languages can be taught to the students. Another nobleman, member of the council of state, much interested in missions, wished to introduce Mr. Long to the emperor's physician, who is a pious man, and for this purpose took him to the palace of Tsarko Celo, twenty miles from Petersburgh, when the physician promised to speak to the emperor in favor of the proposal to form a general Russian missionary society to remove obstacles and secure the support of the imperial family. He afterward spent several days at the monastery of Troitza, near Moscow, in company with a Greek monk, who is going out as a missionary to the Caucasus, where the Russian Church is prosecuting its missions vigorously in Siberia and Eastern Asia. The principal of the Russian Academy, at Moscow, gave him an interesting work on the "*History of the Missions of the Russian Church.*" Mr. Long speaks of Mr. Yususoff as warmly in favor of missions. Also of Bishop Leontides as one who speaks English, and is the only bishop of the Russian Church who has not been brought up a monk, having formerly served as an officer in the Russian navy. He is a man of enlightened views, anxious for a reform, as is also Philaret, the Archbishop of Moscow.

The same Mr. Long also makes some interesting statements on the circulation of the Bible in Russia. The holy synod of the Greek Russian Church has itself put in circulation a new and improved version of the Gospel in Russ. The Russian clergy have never made, like the Council of Trent, a decree against Bible circulation among the people. Mr. Long was told by Kasim Beg, a professor of Persian at the University of St. Petersburgh, that he had translated the New Testament into the Tartar language,

at the express request and with the aid of the Archbishop of Kasan, whom he described as a man ready for every good word and work. Russian friends at St. Petersburgh resolved, last year, to send a colporteur to the fair of Nijnii Novgorod for the sale of Bibles; but before he got half way, there was such a demand that he sold all his stock, and had to write back to St. Petersburgh to get a fresh supply for the fair. The increase of schools among the peasantry is also rapidly increasing the circulation of the Bible. When Mr. Long was in Russia the Holy Synod was publishing a new edition of eighty thousand copies of the Testament, which will be sold at fifteen copeks a copy, or about sixpence.

ART. VII.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

We have already noticed the appearance of a work on the reunion of the Roman and the Oriental Church, (*Geschichte der Kirchlichen Trennung Zwischen dem Orient und Occident von den ersten Anfängen bis Zur yüngsten Gegenwurt.* Vol. i, Munich, 1864,) by Dr. Pichler, lecturer (Privatdocent) of Catholic Theology at the University of Munich. The work is highly recommended by the Protestant, still more than the Roman Catholic press, for the author belongs to that class of Catholic writers who seek to distinguish themselves more by the thoroughness of their learning than by the use of violent language against other religious denominations. The "Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung," of Berlin, the leading Church paper of the evangelical party of Protestant Germany, gives on the occasion of the publication of this work an interesting article on the recent literature concerning the reunion of the Roman and the Oriental Churches, from which we give a few extracts. The author had already made himself advantageously known by two other works on the relation of the Greek to other Christian Churches, one on the Patriarch Cyril Lukaris and his Times, (*Der Patriarch Lukaris und seine Zeit*, Munich, 1862,) and the other on "The Present Stage of the Oriental Church Question," (*Die Orientalische Kirchenfrage nach ihrem Gegenwärtigen Stande*, Munich, 1862,) in both of which he displays thorough scholarship, as well as a candor rarely to be found in Roman Catholic authors. Already in these two smaller works he had indicated what he more fully develops in his larger work, that in his opinion both the Eastern Church and the papacy had an about equal share in the perpetuation of the schism. In the introduction and concluding paragraphs of his larger work, Dr. Pichler gives a very copious collection of the opinions of prominent men in both Churches respecting their reunion. From this it appears that the representatives of Rome generally demand the submission of the Greeks to the supremacy of the pope as the first condition of such a reunion, while the Greeks and Russians regard the papal supremacy as the greatest obstacle, and favor a federative co-existence and mutual recognition of the two Churches.

Among the chief representatives of the Roman view the author quotes Bishop Dupanloup, of Orleans, who made a brilliant speech on the subject at the great assembly of Roman Catholic bishops, held at Rome on June 3, 1862. Dupanloup regards as the sole course of the origin and perpetuation of the schism the arrogance of the patriarchs of Constantinople, who intended to rob the pope of the primacy. A similar opinion is expressed by an Austrian statesman, Baron J. A. Von Helfert, in an article on "Russia and the Catholic Church of Poland," published in the Vienna "Review," in 1864. Helfert says that the Greeks themselves do not deny that they had recognized the primacy of the pope long ago, and that, therefore, the schism is only due to their arrogance and pride. A Russian Catholic, Kirejewski, published in 1859 a pamphlet at Paris entitled, "*La Russie est-elle Schismatique,*" ("Is Russia Schismatic,") in which he makes the paradox assertion, that since the council of Florence the Church of

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Russia was *de facto* and *de jure* united with the Church of Rome; a boldness for which he was punished by the Russian Government with exile. This view of a reunion is advocated with special zeal and ardor by the Russian Jesuit, Prince Gagarin, who in his work *L'Avenir de l'Eglise Grecque unie*, regards as the best means to lead the Greeks over to Rome the establishment of a central seminary of the united Greeks of all nations, at Constantinople, which is to educate the missionaries for the "conversion" of the Greeks. "The heads and teachers of this seminary, he thinks, ought to be monks of Latin orders, who, however, should adopt and adhere to the Greek rite, as the Latin rite would always remain in the eyes of the Orientals something foreign, which could only produce distrust."

Those representatives of the Greek Church who are not altogether averse to the idea of a reunion make Rome responsible for the schism, and demand from her a return to the true form of Christianity, which, they say, the Oriental Church has preserved much more pure than the Church of Rome. Abbé Guettée, a learned priest of the Catholic Church of France, who has been excommunicated by the bishops and the pope on account of his strongly expressed antipapal opinions, declares in his work, *La Papauté Schismatique*, ("The Papacy Schismatic," Paris, 1863:) "Not the Orientals are schismatic, but the popes, who used the misfortunes of the East to arrogate to themselves, under the title of successors of Peter, a universal power in the Church." The Russian Privy Councillor, Yutchef, in a memorial concerning the union question which was presented to the Emperor Nicholas in 1850, made the admission that "the Christian principle had never entirely disappeared in the Roman Church; yea, that it was yet stronger than error and passion, and would once triumph over all its enemies;" but this triumph, he thought, would be obtained when Rome "on that day of the great union shall restore to the Orthodox Church inviolate the deposit of a Christian guidance of the western Church." The Byzantine theologian, Elias Tantalides, (in his review of De Maistre's work *du Pape*, and of Abbé Jager's History of Photius, Constantinople, 1847,) expresses the hope that "the time will yet come when the pope will also hear the voice of the good shepherd, and following the lead of the ancient holy popes, will be honored as the father of all Christian nations, and as the highest although not infallible head of orthodoxy." Another Greek writer, in an article on the Orthodox Anatolian Church compared with the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Church, (in the religious journal, *Εὐαγγελικὸς Κῆρυξ* — Evangelical Herald — Athens, 1861, January number,) does not show the same readiness to concede to the pope an honorary primacy, in case he should be converted to the Orthodox Church, but he utters very tolerant views on the relation of the Greek to the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches, and hopes that all the differences will some day be amicably adjusted. He believes that both Churches have fallen into serious errors: Protestantism, by proclaiming the principle of free investigation; and the papal Church by adding new perverse doctrines, as that of the primacy of the pope, and of the immaculate conception to the old fundamental doctrines of revelation. But the members of both Churches, he says, can be saved if they overcome the dangers and obstacles of their way, and live in accordance with the doctrines of the orthodox Anatolian Church. Another writer in the same Athenian journal (February, 1861) says that men will be saved in every Church which believes that Jesus is the Son of God, God-man and Saviour. The Russian Turgeneff (*Les Russes et la Russie*, 1847) thinks that the educated classes of his country lean more toward Protestantism than toward Roman Catholicism, and expects that when religious liberty shall be proclaimed in Russia, Protestantism will receive from the Greek Church a great many members. The Greek Pitzipios, who was formerly one of the chief advocates of a union with Rome, (in his work *L'Eglise Orientale*, 3 vols., 1855,) and organized at Rome a "central committee of the Christian Oriental Society," has, since 1860, fallen out with Rome, and professed views which more approach Protestantism. In a work on Romanism, (*Le Romanisme*,) published at Paris in 1860, he declares that the substance of the Romish system is a despotism which employs every means of fraud and violence for attaining its purposes; that Christian Rome has inherited the domineering spirit of Pagan Rome; that the popes, as blind

tools of Romanism, have done violence to the doctrines and ceremonies of the Church; that the temporal power of the popes and their claim to infallibility are the two great obstacles to a removal of those discrepancies which now exist between the Eastern and Western Churches. Dr. Pichler regards the argumentation of Pitzipios as in many respects eccentric, paradoxical, and adventurous, yet he himself repeatedly declares, either directly or indirectly, against the papal claim to infallibility, and he also declares that "the union will not be effected until it will be seen that great real difficulties, especially *on our side*, prevent *it*, and until we unitedly labor for removing them." He recommends to the members of his own (the Roman Catholic) Church a more thorough study of the doctrine, the life, and the constitution of the Oriental Church than has hitherto been found among them. As far as the Orientals are concerned he expects much from the increase of civilization, especially among the lower classes of the population, from the growing influence of the light of science, from a thorough reform of the clergy, whose fanatical intolerance, spiritual degradation, hierarchical arrogance and avarice constitute the greatest obstacle to union on that side.

Rome is still very far from encouraging, or even tolerating, such views as those expressed by Dr. Pichler; still it pays a great deal of attention to the study of the history of the Greek Church. The propaganda has recently published, in order to promote the union movement among the Greeks, two works: a History of the Council of Florence, by a Benedictine monk, ('Η *ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἐν Φλορεντία σύνοδος*,) and a History of the Greek Church Law, by Cardinal Pitra, (Juris Ecclesiastici Græcorum Historia et Monumenta, jussu Pii IX., Pont. Max., curanti J. B. Pitra, S. R. E. Card. One vol. in fol., Greek and Latin.)

The "Life of Mahomet," by Dr. Sprenger, (*Das Leben und die Lehre Mahomets*, Berlin, 1865,) has just been completed by the publication of the third volume. The work is highly prized by scholars, and especially by Orientalists, on account of the vast erudition and the profound research of the author. His views on religion, however, in general, and on the Christian religion in particular, are a feature which greatly diminishes the interest of Christian readers in his work. The introduction to the work embraces a comprehensive survey of everything pertinent to the origin of Mahometanism.

FRANCE.

A resuscitation of Saint Simonism as a theological system is attempted by Emile Barrault, (*Le Christ.*) The author distinguishes three phases in the progress of Saint Simonism. The first disciples of the school, and the master himself, did not go beyond the limits of metaphysical speculation; then came those who gave to their theories the form and character of a religious system; finally, the present adepts indorsing in all its consequences the doctrine of Saint Simon, and thoroughly understanding his thought, claim to be the successful apostles of transformed Christianity.

A new work in favor of the belief in a transmigration of souls has been published by André Pezzani, (*Pluralité des Existences de l'Ame.*) The author undertakes to show that the notion of immutability, either in reward or in punishment, is absurd; while, on the contrary, the opinion which admits of our final purification and beatitude after a series of probational existences is absolutely certain, both historically and dogmatically. In support of this view, M. Pezzani invokes the testimony of, 1. Profane Antiquity, (book i.) 2. Sacred Antiquity, including the Jewish and Christian theologies, the Kabbala, etc., (book ii.) 3. Cotemporary writers, (book iii.) The fourth book gives us the author's own conclusions.

A Jewish writer, J. Cohen, has undertaken to defend his race from the charge of being "deicides," (*Les "Deicides,"* Paris, 1865.) His argumentation is, that Christ neither said nor did anything to convince the Jews of his times of his divinity; that consequently, if the Jews were mistaken, they erred in good faith, believing only to have a man before them when they put him to death according to their laws.

An interesting contribution to the history of the papacy is the "Diplomatic History of the Conclaves," (Histoire Diplomatique des Conclaves, 2 vols., Paris, 1865,) by Petruciello della Gattina, a prominent member of the Italian

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Parliament. The author is a decided opponent of the spiritual as well as the temporal power of the popes, and attacks popery without mercy. He could hardly have selected a fitter subject for his work, for the Conclaves are prominent among those events in the history of the Church of Rome, which appear even to the eyes of her devoted partisans as anything but edifying.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1865. (Gettysburgh, Penn.) 1. The Reformation, the Work of God. 2. Darwin on the Origin of Species. 3. Lutheran Hymnology. 4. Exemplary Piety in the Ministry. 5. Condition of the Jews in the Days of Christ. 6. The Name Jehovah. 7. Pennsylvania College. 8. Repose as an Element of Christian Character. 9. The Israelites Borrowing from the Egyptians.

FREEWILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY, January, 1865. (Dover, Mass.)—1. Rénan's Life of Jesus. 2. Missions and the Schools. 3. The Presidential Election. 4. The Ground of Reward in Heaven. 5. Webster's New Dictionary.

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN AND THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, January, 1865. (New York.)—1. Christian Miracles and Physical Science. 2. Delivery in Preaching. 3. Origin of Homer's Purer Religious Ideas. 4. John Foster on Future Punishment. 5. Gibbon and Colenso. 6. Christianity and Civilization. 7. The Covenanters and the Stuarts. 8. Whedon on the Will.

Of the three extended opposing reviews of "Whedon on the Will," in the Princeton, the Danville, and the American Presbyterian, the last, by the editor, Dr. Smith, is undoubtedly the ablest, and we, therefore, select it for full reply. By subjecting the work to an unsparing hostile scrutiny, the Review has done it the invaluable service of really attesting the final validity of its argument and the indestructible truth of its great doctrine. After retrenching a large area of generalities and one-sided blank assertions, we have a residuum of manly attempts at severe logic, skillfully aimed at important positions; logic which it is a pleasure for us to meet and to demolish. We stand upon this singular vantage ground with Dr. Smith, that his every argument, so far as there is regular argument, has already been within our own mind, more clearly than in his pages, deliberately weighed and amply provided for. So that by an unfortunate (to him) anachronism, his argument was mostly refuted before it was written; like an infant reprobate, damned before it was born. In a large number of instances we may be obliged simply to refer him to the unanswered answers to his reasoning in the volume itself, and decline giving him any further

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reply until he has dealt with what we have furnished. In this Synopsis we shall notice a few of his collaterals and incidentals, and, as we hope, place on record our answer to his main argument by a full article in a coming Quarterly. It is our earnest prayer and our joyous trust that the cause of truth will be advanced; and that a true, liberal, evangelical, compact, and symmetrical theodicy, based upon accurate views of human freedom, and furnishing exalted views of God's righteousness, will be increasingly established.

1. Dr. Smith opens, or rather prefaces the discussion by saying of the author of the work reviewed:

> He brings all Calvinists, old school and new school, in New England and in all branches of the Presbyterian Church, under the same condemnation. It is rather amusing to see Princeton and Andover, Bangor and New Haven, swept into the same drag-net; all classed as "necessarians." . . . He will not admit them into the full Arminian fellowship unless they are prepared to say, that the "power to the contrary" has actually been exercised, or, that they do sometimes choose from the weaker inducement.—P. 125.

If we sweep them into the same "drag-net," it is precisely where they "sweep" themselves. With all their subordinate variances they all claim to be Calvinists; proclaiming Edwards their common standard, and ready for a brave and compact onset upon us frank, prompt, and exultant Arminians. Why should we "admit them into the full Arminian fellowship," when none of them ask admission? For one or two centuries their pulpits have resounded with demonstrations against something they called "Arminianism." Let them send Edwards's fatalism, with a *facilis descensus*, to its own place, and adopt the free, God-honoring theology of James Arminius, and, all protestant as we are, no Pope ever welcomed a returning heretic to his fold more heartily than we will "admit into the full Arminian fellowship" these unfortunate but wise refugees from the inharmonious "drag-net."

2. Dr. Smith (p.* 127) imputes to us the "assumption," not the assertion, mark, "that Calvinism as a system stands or falls with the doctrine of 'philosophical necessity' as expounded by Edwards." We assumed this, we reply, just as much—and no more—as did both the Edwardses themselves assume it; and just as much as Dr. Smith himself assumes it in every paragraph but the one containing this unnecessary denial. The "elaborate essay" of Dr. Cunningham, so instructively quoted by our reviewer in disproof of our so-called "assumption," was quoted and discussed by us in our Quarterly at the time of its publication; and one of the series

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* The p. refers to the pages of the Review, the P., capital, to those of the work reviewed.

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to which that "elaborate essay" belonged is quoted in our volume (P. 420). That philosophical necessity formed a part of the Calvinism of Calvin himself we have shown on P. 421. As to the relations of the philosophy to the theology we apprehend we needed no instructions from either Dr. Cunningham or Dr. Smith. Whether Calvinian predestination requires necessity from strongest motive force or not, our work (P. 268–276) furnishes ample proof, *as yet unanswered*, that it contradicts the freedom of the human will.

3. Dr. Smith (p. 129) criticizes our definition of Will: "The power of the soul by which it is the conscious author of an intentional act." It will forestall most of his criticisms (all, in fact, but a retort of Edwards's logic upon himself) for us to say that it is necessary to a successful definition, not that it should specify *all* the attributes of the subject defined, but such attributes as will individualize and mark it off from any other actual or conceivable thing. The possibility of any other thing being included under the definition vitiates it; the possibility of there being specific attributes not included in the definition does not. The definition of a straight line as "the shortest distance between two points," omits its very main quality of straightness, and specifies a result of the straightness, namely, its maximum of brevity, as the isolating element. When, therefore, Dr. S. asks whether there is "no unconscious act of the Will;" and whether there are not "immanent preferences," or "permanent states," and "choices;" and whether the "Will is all act;" he leaves the validity of our definition untouched. Will and Will alone, of all actual or conceivable things, is still "the power of the soul by which it is the conscious author of an intentional act." What other attributes it possesses, of what other predicates it is the true subject, are matters that subsequent analysis must decide; and the development of any number of such, unless contradicting its statement or vitiating its exclusiveness, leaves the definition unharmed.

When Dr. Smith asks, "Is the Will all act?" we reply No, it is no *act* at all, but only faculty or power for an *act*. And when Dr. S. seems to imagine that we are caught napping in this omission of something besides *act*, will he please note that we had just given (P. 15) a previous definition in which was added to the word *act* the phrase *or state of being*. Dr. Smith, then, sees that this exclusion of everything additional to *act* was conscious and purposed. Cannot Dr. S. imagine why? Then we will tell him. The *state* is but a remoter consequence of the *act;* the position of mind brought about by it; and so is too remote for inclusion

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in the definition. Or if it be an *immediate* product of Will, then it is properly a continuous or permanent act, or acting, or action; and so is nothing at last but *act.* When a man *sits down*, his subsequent sitting posture is either a state or an act. If a *state*, it is a consequent of the act; if an act, it is a continuous *act* of sitting. So far as its immediate product therefore is concerned, in Dr. Smith's sense of the words, the *Will is all act.*

4. Dr. Smith says that to distinguish *volitional* from *voluntary* is "*arbitrary*" and "to multiply vain distinctions." Now an "arbitrary" or "vain distinction" is a distinction founded in mere caprice and not in the nature of things. But will Dr. S. deny that the *will* and the *arm* that obeys the *will* are in nature two different things, and their acts two different acts, and that two different acts need to be distinguished by two different terms? The distinction between the volitional and the voluntary is valid unless Dr. S. can show that a mental faculty and a muscle are one and the same thing.

5. Dr. Smith, as a retort for the difficulties in which his side is graveled in their endeavors to rid themselves of the term necessity, etc., endeavors to be sarcastic on our disuse of the word *self-determine;* pretending that (contrary to our plain showing, P. 121) the disuse arises from the exposure by Edwards of its illogical character. The "pluripotential cause," he assures us, is nothing but the old self-determining power over again. Now this identity we not only admit but positively affirm. "Pluripotential power," "contrary power," are essentially what Samuel Clarke, Whitby, and Fletcher meant by "self-determining power." We fault the term not because it expresses the same thought, but because it expresses it with too little precision. And this *power* of diverse choice is just the very thing that Edwards professes to demonstrate to be impossible to exist or conceive, as involving the infinite series. So far from obscuring this fact, we wish to emphasize and bring it out into bold prominence. It, then, makes conspicuous the fact, shutting off all contrary pretense, that Edwards proves that the *power* of otherwise choosing in the given case *does not exist;* not, that *it exists but is never used.* That is, he demonstrates the non-existence, not the non-usance of contrary power; he annihilates all mere invariable sequence; he holds no certainty which differs from necessity; no necessity which differs from fatalism. Our disuse of the term self-determination arose (as Dr. S. knows, but ignores that we fully stated) from lexical, not from logical reason. In answering Edwards's logic based upon the term *we used the term.* We

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declined any logical advantage by laying it aside, and faced his sophisms down in the full use of the term itself.

6. Edwards's definition of Necessity is this: "The full and fixed connection between the thing signified by the subject and predicate of a proposition which affirms something to be true." In this definition we said (P. 61) "Edwards does not say what he means." He really means, we said, that the necessity lies *in* the connection; that it is a necessary connection; not that the connection is necessity itself. And we may here add, by the way, that even if any one should imagine the necessity to be the connec*tive*, still the connec*tive* is not the connec*tion*. Against all this Dr. Smith maintains that Edwards nevertheless "does say just what he means;" namely, that the *necessity* and the *connection* are literally identical. The necessity does not "lie in" the connection; but *it is* the connection.

If Dr. Smith were here, what he is not, correct, if Edwards did really mean that the *necessity* and the *connection* were absolutely one and the same thing, it were so much the worse for Edwards; for what we indulgently supposed to be an error in expression then becomes an absurdity in thought. A connection is a *co-relation*, coherence, inherence, or some kind of junction between two or more things; and whether that junction, etc., be necessary or not, that is, whether the quality of *necessity* lies in it or not, becomes a further question. So that the *junction* and its *necessity* are two things. Thus taking Edwards's and Smith's example, "God is infinite;" we have here the connection of quality, "infinite," with its subject, "God." The *connection* is simply *inherence;* for the quality *inheres* to the subject. Whether this is a necessary "connection," is a matter of further analysis. But the connection and the necessity are two things. If we find the connection absolutely indissoluble, then we call it necessary. That is, it is a "full and fixed" connection because it has necessity in it. The connection is one thing; its necessity is another.

That Edwards simply made a *verbal* mistake, is clear from the fact that he, in a later paragraph, uses the very language we say he ought to use. Thus speaking of *consequential necessity* as existing between logical propositions, following consequently upon each other, he says: "This necessity lies *in* . . . the connection of two or more propositions one with another." That is, the necessity is not the connection itself, but "lies in" the connection of the two necessarily connected propositions. But if the *necessity* is the *connection* itself, then the "necessity lies in" the necessity. It is both quality and subject.

7. Dr. Smith shows, what is true, that Edwards framed this definition to secure the chance of playing between necessity and certainty; and he imputes habitual misrepresentation to us for attributing to Edwards the necessity he "repudiates." This imputation is itself a misrepresentation. Over and over we admit, in our work, that Edwards occasionally "repudiates" *necessity* and professes *certainty;* and over and over we show the logical untruth of both the repudiation and the profession. First, argument by argument, we show (and Dr. Smith furnishes no answer to the *showing*) that Edwards's each and every argument demonstrates not *certainty* but *necessity;* and we concentrated a summary of these *showings* upon P. 221 and sequents, with references to our pages upon which the various *showings* appear. To all this Dr. Smith's only answer is the dogged repetition of the cry of "misrepresentation." In this same logical falsification of his own profession, Dr. Smith is himself inextricably involved. He repudiates the *power of different choice* as being the old impossible and unthinkable *self-determining power.* But, surely if a *different choice* is an impossibility, a self-contradiction, and a causeless effect, *then the direct choice is not merely certain but* NECESSARY. For that whose opposite or different cannot be *must be*, and is necessary with an absolute necessity. When Dr. Smith then professes to believe only in the certainty of the direct choice as distinct from necessity, he ought to see that he utters a self-contradicted profession.

8. Our reviewer represents us (p. 139) as maintaining that a given Will in order to being free "must not only have, but *exercise* the power of contrary choice;" that (p. 141) "it is not and cannot be free unless it *sometimes exercises* a power to the contrary;" that "it is under the law of natural necessity if it *always chooses* what on the whole seems most desirable." Now these are not our positions. We have not affirmed that if an agent should, through his whole life, obey the so-called strongest motives, he might not do it freely. We say expressly, upon the very ground of the Will's freedom, (P. 164,) "If the Will can choose either way it can choose in a uniform way," etc. Our firm and broad position (P. 231 and sequent) is this: *The absolute law, as founded in the nature of things that* ALL WILL, *as Will, actual or possible, obeys the so-called strongest motive, merges into necessity.* This does not deny that a given Will may for an indefinite length of time obey a particular class of motives; or that one Will, the infinite, (P. 224–316,) may forever freely prefer a given class of motives.

9. To show what a monster our free-will is, Dr. Smith concen-

trates all its absurd features into a single paragraph, (p. 141); and on the other hand, to show how his picture is a caricature, and how not a real absurdity exists, we now proceed, sentence by sentence, to give it analysis.

(1.) "It brings forth ALL its acts out of nothing by its own uncaused and motiveless efficiency." On the contrary we say that the Will's acts, normally, are not "motiveless," but conditioned upon motives; and that the motive condition "*enables* but does not secure result." That we affirm *all* the Will's actions to be performed by "motiveless efficiency" is, therefore, a palpable inaccuracy. With equal inaccuracy are we charged with holding an "efficiency" that is "uncaused;" for we maintain that all finite "efficiency" even of "alternative Will" is derived and caused by a superior Power.*

(2.) "It can at times act without motive, and even without emotion or feeling." That the Will is without "emotion" we suppose that even the followers of Edwards will grant at the present day. And that the Will can in the proper conditions act without motive we do promptly affirm; and Dr. Smith is welcome to all the advantage he can gain from it.

(3.) "It is able to make, by its bare power, the weaker motive strong and the stronger motive weak." Our position is (P. 129–131) that motives, being properly so called from their relation to Will, are not, antecedently to Will, properly, weak or strong, as motives. So that there is no strong for the Will to make weak, or weak for it to make strong. It is true that we have, in compliance with necessitarian nomenclature, often under protest, called the *most probably successful* previous motive *the strongest motive;* but then all the absurdity amounts to this: The Will by its own power often chooses contrary to the greatest apparent previous probability; and Dr. S. is welcome to that much.

(4.) "It is not and cannot be free unless it sometimes exercises a power to the contrary, without any sufficient inducement." We have about sufficiently refuted this in a former paragraph. But exercising "a power to the contrary *without sufficient inducement*" is our reviewer's own gratuitous absurdity. If the "power to the contrary" is "exerted" then the "inducement" is sufficient.

(5.) "It is under the law of natural necessity if it always

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* Dr. Smith again and again uses the term "uncaused cause" in quotation-marks. We wish he had told us exactly whence quoted.

chooses what on the whole seems most desirable." Of this, too, the inaccuracy has already been exposed.

(6.) "While it *determines everything* it is itself determined by nothing, and cannot be determined by anything without annulling its very nature." The Will "determines everything"? What have we ever said to justify that random language? "*Determine*" is indeed a word we seldom use. But inasmuch as Edwards defines "determining the Will" to be "causing that the choice should be thus and not otherwise," so we say that the Will in its proper conditions is a complete and adequate cause to "cause the choice to be thus and not otherwise." And if so, then it needs nothing to *determine* it; and then all Dr. Smith's outcry about it being "determined by nothing," etc., is a grandiloquent nothing.

(7.) "By its bare willfulness it can make any reason or motive to be "the last." Strike out the ad captandum phrase, "by its bare willfulness," (the "willfulness" of the Will is rather poor phraseology,) and insert "in its proper conditions;" and change "any" into "either present;" and then, what is the absurdity? It then amounts to this: The Will in its proper conditions can choose consequently upon or in accordance with either motive or alternative before it.

Dr. Smith, seeming conscious of having failed thus far of showing any absurdity, proceeds to make a last desperate effort at success by mere verbiage, which we could afford to leave unanswered. Thus,

(8.) "And, in fine, in view of any chance impulse afloat in consciousness, it can 'project itself' in the twinkling of an eye right athwart our habitual mental and moral states, and so change us, by its arbitrary 'alternativity,' that we become the opposite of what we are or wish to be, with no power to let or hinder." Doubtless that *is* absurd! It *is* exquisitely absurd for Dr. S., *first*, to impute to us (whose very doctrine is the power of contrary choice) his own necessitarian dogma that a given choice should be "with no power to let or hinder;" and *second*, that he should represent us as making the Will tyrannize over the man when our very doctrine is that the Will is the man himself volitionating.* But how does our theory of Will even as thus caricatured and reversed compare with a necessitarian's Will; which has a "natural ability," "in the twinkling" of a

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* The same imputing of necessity to freedomists is exposed in our work. P. 119, 120.

fire-fly; to exercise a self-determining power which shuts itself out of the world; to put forth a causeless effect; and even to exert a volition as impossible as the non-existence of God; and which is always damned, if damned, for not so exerting such natural ability as to perform these prodigies?

10. Dr. Smith declares that an agent possessed of such a Will as he has thus described "is safe only while shut up" "in metaphysical treatises," and in real life would be sent to the lunatic asylum. All that is answered before written; damned before born. (See Will, P. 161, 162.) Should an agent act in all the absurdest ways possible to his freedom, he would no doubt out-do most lunatics. But does the fact that freedom is susceptible of irrational exercise prove that freedom does not exist? Would a necessitated agent never be a lunatic? Does not Dr. Smith maintain that necessitated agents act with a total depravity? Nay, does he not maintain that the very lunacy, wickedness, and depravity themselves are necessary? The difference between us is this, that Dr. Smith's theory deprives the wicked lunatic agent of all power of contrary choice and then damns him for his real choice; *damns him for not exercising the power of which it deprives him;* while ours shows that his lunatic absurdity and wickedness were avoidable and responsible, and therefore divine penalty is just.

11. Dr. Smith makes profuse charges of contradiction; sometimes with proof, which we are ready to answer; but oftener with blank assertions, which are worth so much blank paper. He has condensed a catalogue of our contradictions into a single paragraph, (p. 149,) and the validity of his proofs of those contradictions, which we now proceed to examine, will show the value of his assertions without proof:

(1.) "He asserts the certainty of events, and recognizes no ground of certainty." If by *ground of certainty* Dr. Smith means a fixing or necessitation of the so-called certain event in the future, we do deny that there is or is needed any such *ground;* and we do affirm that such *ground* causes the certainty to be necessity. We do assert the certainty of events; and that such certainty is simply the will-be of the event, needing no present securement of its future existence. And when Dr. Smith furnishes any showing of contradiction in that we are ready to consider it.

(2.) "Sometimes the Will is represented as the sole adequate cause of volition; and yet he concedes (P. 158) 'that without motives there is no adequate power for the volition to be!'" We not only "sometimes," but *always* represent that Will is the "sole adequate cause of volition;" and in strict harmony with this it is

that we say that without the motive as condition there would, normally, be no power in the Will to be such "sole adequate cause of volition." The motive condition we say "*enables* but does not secure the result." Does Dr. Smith deny that a "sole adequate cause" may derive from something else the power to be "sole adequate cause?" Do not all finite adequate causes receive power to be adequate?

(3.) "He contends strongly against the 'non-usance' of the power of contrary choice, and yet he says (P. 175) that, 'while there is power that each should not be, yet each and all will be, in its own one way and not another instead!'" Now so far from contending "against the non-usance of contrary choice" we highly recommend the non-usance of every contrary choice that is wicked or injurious. What, however, Dr. S., in order to be accurate here, should say, is this: he denies the dogma that *all Will, actual or possible*, is *under absolute law of non-usance of power of contrary choice*, contrary, that is, to the necessitarian's so-called strongest motive. And in full harmony with this our denial, we also affirm of each and every volition which a free agent will hereafter actually put forth, that "while there is a power that each should not be, yet each and all will be, in its own one way, and not another instead." For certainly that volition which a free agent *will put forth*, even though he possess power to not put forth, *will be*. And if it *will be*, then it will be *in its own one way;* for it cannot be at once both ways, and it will not be some other way instead. And how all this contradicts our denial of invariable non-usance of power to reject the necessitarian's so-called highest motive, let Dr. S. show.

(4.) "Freedom is declared (P. 38) to be contradicted by the law of invariability, while it is also conceded that God is free, though invariably holy; and that men are free in sinning, though they invariably sin." Why does Dr. S. ignore our complete solution (P. 224) of this imaginary contradiction? So far as "God" is herein concerned, we deny *that* invariability which axiomatically binds all Will, actual or possible; not that which is freely accepted by his single Will. So far as "men" are concerned, when Dr. S. shows where we have said that men "invariably sin," and never the "contrary," we engage to solve that imaginary contradiction.

(5.) "At one time it is asserted (P. 216) that to be 'able to predict which way a person will choose from knowing him *perfectly* is more than any one is able to affirm;' and contrarywise (P. 272) it is argued, that 'God is certainly to be conceived as able to know just what acts the creature will put forth,' because he 'perfectly

knows the capacities of free agents.'" Dr. Smith here inadvertently strikes the true subject "we" from the verb "to predict," and so by mutilated quotation *makes* a contradiction. Our perfectly consistent antithesis was this: WE are not able to predict from perfectly knowing the agent, even though GOD may; for *we* must depend on reasoning from cause to effect, whereas God needs no such deductive process in order to the absolute perfection of his knowledge.

(6.) "The fact of the divine government of free agents is granted, and yet it is broadly laid down (P. 184) that 'government, just so far as it goes, implies limitation . . . non-existence of power, but to a fixation.'" None of the words here quoted are found upon P. 184. The words nearest like those professedly quoted, so far as we can recollect, are found on P. 118, and are these: "Government is limitation; and exactly so far as it extends is the exclusion of freedom."* Just so, and if it extends so far as absolutely to fix *which* volition is projected, then freedom is excluded. And so that is a thing the divine government normally does not do. The free agent in that respect is not "governed" by the force of omnipotence; and yet the free agent is governed (in another respect) even in his freest action; namely, by being held (or limited) to a responsibility therefor. "The fact of a divine government of free agents" is, therefore, fully "granted;" that government is granted to be limitation; and it is granted that such governmental limitation extends completely to the minutest free act. But it is not granted that the government there limits the agent to the particular act, but limits the act to the responsibility.

(7.) "To insure the certainty of a free act is absurd, because contradictory, (P. 227;) and per contra, powerful temptation often insures that, sooner or later, the sin will be freely accepted." Dr. Smith is entitled to no solution of this imaginary contradiction until he deals with its elaborate solution given with an almost mathematical exactness and completeness upon P. 339 and sequent. But for our present readers we may say: Previously to insure a future *particular event* is one thing; to insure that *some one of a sort* will take place is another thing. The former peremptorily necessitates that particular event, and so is absolute necessity; the latter leaves an alternativity between the various particularities in the sort, and so involves only certainty. Yet inasmuch as the

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* Dr. Smith's last clause, "non-existence of power but to a fixation," is not visible on the same page.

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territory of this certainty is remotely circumscribed by a distant boundary line of necessity; circumscribed, namely, within that *sort;* our reasoning in the place quoted adjusts with a beautiful precision the responsibility to the limits of necessity and certainty, so that our maxim of responsibility is with exquisite exactness preserved.

Such are the contradictions Dr. Smith imputes, and such the proofs, when he furnishes proof. We have not culled and picked such as were easiest of answer; we have driven our indiscriminate plowshare through his densest, most compact, concentration of them. The result is that a charge of contradiction from Dr. Smith's pen is good just so far as he furnishes the logic to demonstrate it. It is not in the range of Dr. Smith's capacity to *show* a single contradiction in our volume, for the simple reason that there is not a single contradiction to show.

12. Dr. Smith not only scatters the terms "contradictions" and "absurdity" with tropical luxuriance, and without proof, through his article, but talks much (p. 154) of the "opposite schools" and doctors from whom our "snatches of opinion" are borrowed. He seems to hold it an inconsistency to agree with a theologian or a theology in one point and not in all points; as if we must wholly coincide where we touch at all. Yet he very well knows, and as a historian of doctrines he ought to recognize, that if full agreement with some great doctor, or some school, be a merit or a requisite for doctrinal symmetry, the theology of the author of the book reviewed is very uniformly of the type of James Arminius, of John Wesley, of Richard Watson, of Wilbur Fisk, and their entire school. Dr. Smith's style on this subject may, perhaps, be made more intelligible to himself if he will suppose some writer to describe the conglomerate character of his own theology in the following parody: Dr. Smith comes so near to Methodism in some respects that we have been "tempted to think that he has an ironic, as well as polemic, intent." His scraps of opinion are taken from the most opposite schools, and patched together rather than reconciled with each other. With Hobbes, he holds firmly to philosophical necessity; but with Whitby he holds that wickedness of Will justly incurs eternal damnation. With Edwards, he denounces the power of contrary choice; and yet "he sometimes reminds us of the subtle speculations of" Hume touching "invariable sequence." He claims to be "Augustinian" on original sin, and yet rejects Augustine's doctrine that original sin consists in sexual concupiscence. He agrees with Toplady in the total depravity of man by the fall, and yet like Wesley he holds a

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"gracious ability." He declares with Arminius that freedom of the Will is requisite to responsibility, and yet if he does not hold that infants and idiots, and men without power to accept salvation, are damned, he does hold that they justly may be. So that while he agrees with Hosea Ballou in being a Universalist, yet he differs in this, that while Hosea held to a universal salvation, Dr. S. holds to the rightfulness of universal damnation. We need not point out the gross contradictions between these different "snatches of opinion." All his methods of reconciliation are total failures. Such a catalogue of mutually repelling dogmas certainly cannot be called a theology; and we doubt whether even that barbarian, Dr. Whedon, can invent a word crooked enough to express its heterogeneous character.

13. Dr. Smith in a closing paragraph intended doubtless to be benevolent, but quite too patronizing to be acceptable, assures the Methodist Episcopal Church that when they learn Calvinism better, and state their own theology more consistently, there will be a greater mutual approximation. Condescension! Perhaps we may even be admitted into that celebrated "drag-net," where every man so "consistently" contradicts himself, and all so unanimously contradict each other that it is perfectly "amusing" to see even an outsider "sweep" them into one classification. If the production of a rich polyglottal theological Babel be the object of theological doctorship, we must concede Dr. Smith's grandiloquent boast that the leaders of New England Calvinism are far superior to any "that have as yet arisen in the ranks of Arminian divines." Now as Dr. Smith is a young man of not only large acquirements, but of large room for acquiring a great deal more, we suggest to him that he may, in his future life, experience many agreeable surprises at the much to be learned from very unexpected quarters. Even from so humble a quarter as Methodism, and from the following suggestions by our humble self, he may draw hints of instruction which may greatly aid to increase his amount of knowledge and improve his style of modesty.

Courteously invited by Dr. Park, the writer of these lines a year or two ago furnished a statement of the doctrines of Methodism filling nearly forty pages of the Bibliotheca Sacra. In penning that article the writer had no misgivings that every line of it, which he himself would claim to be catholic Methodism, would be indorsed as such by every thoughtful Methodist minister or layman in the United States, Canada, England or Australia, without a respectable or audible minority. The article in full was published in nearly all our seven Church papers with hearty and

unbroken concurrence, and nothing but a threat of legal proceedings from the original publisher prevented its republication and broadcast diffusion through our Church, as a perfectly unchallenged statement of our theological system. Will Dr. S. please tell us how many articles in the Bibliotheca Sacra it took to state the various shades, and isms, and schools of Calvinism? Will he please consider the problem how it is that the self-contradictory, obscurely stated, mass of mere "snatches of opinion" called Methodism needs but one full statement in behalf of its unanimous universal Church; while the clear, precise, harmonious system of Calvinism, expounded by greater doctors than Arminianism ever produced, has to be put forth in contradictory statements, accepted and condemned by fragments and parties of professed believers?

Again, the same writer has now written a work on the Will, containing many argumentations which he would not claim to be part of universally recognized Methodism; but as to the parts which he would claim to be such, we do not suppose a division of opinion could be raised in the entire ranks of world-wide Methodism. With this tacit understanding the work has passed through several rapid editions, noticed with unbroken approval by the entire Methodist press. Will Dr. Smith, who holds Methodism to be a mass of contradictory "snatches of opinion," please explain the problem of this unanimity? And will he specially expound how it is that scientific, harmonious, systematic Calvinism cannot be stated in any form without raising loud and discordant shouts of dissent from its own ranks?

14. Dr. S. warns our Church not to allow her theology to be "shaped" by that work on the Will. "Shaped?" Will it never enter into the opaque perceptions of these gentlemen that our theology was "shaped" some centuries before they were born? Neither that nor any other production of the present day can "shape" our theology, any more than it can shape the substance of the moon. The book is shaped by the theology, not the theology by the book. And if its shape be so amorphous as those gentlemen imagine, how happens this freedom throughout the world from all opposing isms and schisms? Why have we no old schools and new schools; no highs and lows; no Fiskisms, and Bangsisms, and Olinisms; no Middletown theology, and Concord theology, and Evanston theology?

And the unanimity that now is universal among us has always been. Our *quod ubique* is a *quod semper*. A theodicic schism, or even general variance of opinion, is, so far as we know, entirely unknown in the entire history of universal Arminian Methodism.

Quarrels, and strifes, and separations we have had in plenty; but never one on a point of theodicic theology. There are divisions about slavery, episcopacy, lay delegation; differences in organization, measures, and religious temperament; but no jar or varying utterances in our Arminianism. English Methodism has her Old and New Connection, and her Primitives; and these differ fiercely, but never upon a point of theodicy. Organically they are divided; theologically they are one. How will our young Œdipus unriddle this Sphinx?

If he attempts to solve the singular problem on the assumption of our defective culture, leaving us incapable of raising or discussing questions so high and subtle, we would reply modestly to so modest an elucidation. We would suggest that in England, in Wesley's day, it was in the midst of a violent theological discussion that our Methodist theology took its Arminian type; that from the beginning, both there and here, books, tracts, and periodicals have been poured forth with most stupendous profusion. Systems of theology, hymn books, commentaries, have from the first been the order of the day. And yet these all, upon the characteristic points, speak a harmonious language. All claim to understand our distinctive theology, all assert it firmly and ardently, all profess to see it alike! Please, Dr. Smith, explain this more than papal unanimity with nothing of papal oppression.

We will now venture, gently and diffidently, to whisper into Dr. Smith's ear a private solution of our own, which, however, we suspect to be the last in the world he will incline to adopt. Contradiction in a doctrine does not beget harmony among its followers; consistency in a doctrine does not divide and distract its believers. We venture, therefore, to suggest to Dr. Smith, that the cause of the discords and "digladiations" in the Calvinistic ranks is the contradictions in the Calvinistic creed; and that the reason of our Arminian unanimity is that our Arminianism so harmonizes with itself, with the spirit and language of the word of God, and with our own common sense and spiritual intuitions and emotions, that when once appreciated it brings the believer to a state of conscious satisfaction and the whole body to peace and unity.

15. We can hardly agree with Dr. Smith that by "a more thorough study of Calvinistic theology" and a learning "to understand" its "doctrines more clearly," "we shall doubtless come nearer together." On the contrary, the more explicitly Calvinism unfolds itself, or rather its various antagonistic *selves*, the more decisive will be our rejection. That rejection is not because we do not

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know it, but because we know it so well. In England our Methodism revolted from the Calvinism of Whitefield and Toplady because we thoroughly understood it. In New England, Methodism was largely a secession from the Calvinistic ranks to escape the pressure of its well-understood terrible dogmas. It is not our ignorance but our knowledge that produces the revolt. Our "traditional horror of Calvinism" arises from the same feeling as induced Calvin himself to confess his *decretum* to be *horribile*. No, Dr. Smith, the only mode of restoring doctrinal unity is the expulsion of that fatalistic heresy, the predestination of Augustine and Calvin, from Christian theology, and a return to the simpler theodicy of the primitive age.

Biblical Repository and Princeton Review. January, 1865. (Philadelphia.)—1. Are James the son of Alphæus and James the Brother of the Lord Identical? 2. A Plea and a Plan for Presbyterian Unity. 3. The Nature and Ends of Prayer. 4. Mason and Dixon's Line. 5. Nature of Man. 6. What's the Use of Breathing?

We omitted to note in our last Quarterly that the Princeton devotes some fifteen pages of an article to "Whedon on the Will." It is in the general courteous; and for an opponent, even complimentary in its tone; although near its close the writer suddenly seems to recollect that some strokes of vituperation will be demandingly expected of him by his audience, and so does violence to a generous nature by giving them. We should answer it in full but that a refutation of Dr. Smith's article is quite enough to meet the wishes and, perhaps, exhaust the patience of our readers. We will note but one point.

The maxim of responsibility lying at the bottom of a Free Will or Arminian Theodicy (as we stated it in our article on that subject in the Bibliotheca Sacra) is this: *Inability to an act or state, not self-superinduced, excludes responsibility.* This maxim, both in its affirmative force and in its included negative clause, we lay down in our volume as fundamental, and fully elucidate (part iii, chapter v) at great length, devoting an entire chapter to its explication as a basal "maxim." And then pages 328–330 are expended upon the negative clause, which we there expand into "the broad maxim, *The superinduction by the sinner's own free act, or course of action, of necessity upon himself to sin, destroys the excuse from that necessity.* And having established this maxim, we state in various passages, cases and classes of necessity which is necessity of the strictest kind, and yet responsible, because coming under this maxim of self-superinduction; the responsibility of that self-superinduced necessity being entirely consistent with the

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maxim otherwise universal that necessity and responsibility are incompatible.

And now what does our Princeton reviewer do? Entirely withholding from his readers all reference to this maxim of responsible self-superinduced necessity, he quotes those passages in which such necessity is described and pronounced responsible, and parades them at great length, as contradictions of our doctrine of the incompatibility of necessity and responsibility! We must leave it with our reader to judge whether on the whole a discussion conducted in so careless a manner would be likely to afford any just satisfaction to either side.

DANVILLE REVIEW, December, 1864. (Danville, Ky.)—1. A Christian College—Its Instruction and Government. 2. Whedon on the Will. 3. Slavery in the Church Courts. 4. Enormities and Barbarities of the Rebellion. 5. Abraham's Position in Sacred History. 6. Card respecting the Temporary Suspension of Publication.

The author of the second article, Dr. Junkin, was, we believe, prosecutor of Albert Barnes for heresy; and he was lately favorably noticed in our Quarterly as having abdicated a Virginia college presidency rather than share in Virginia treason. He has a propensity rather than a power for metaphysical and theological speculation. His article is rather a model of looseness of style, inconsequence of logic, wholesale assumption, and arrogant feebleness. What is worse, there are one or two personal implications like the following: "I may say with truth that these authors" (Tappan and Bledsoe) "contain most of the matter of this book before us, and it strikes me the acknowledgments are not quite as full and candid as they might be." When the Boston Review made the impersonal remark that the work contained little "particularly new," we returned a respectful and, we think, successful refutation of the statement. But when Dr. Junkin makes this kind of false personal insinuation, he places himself without the pale of courteous Christian debate. We rejoice that the thoroughness of this discussion requires no further allusion to Dr. Junkin.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1865. (London.) —1. St. Birgitta and the Northern Church. 2. Antichrist. 3. Twenty Years of the Free Church of Scotland. 4. Unexhausted Resources of Christian Evidence. 5. The Dogmatic Element in Ullmann's "Sinlessness of Jesus." 6. Recent German Discussions on the Atonement. 7. Pagan Rites and Romish Ceremonies. 8. Man's Mental Instincts. 9. The Works of John Knox. 10. Memorials of the Rev. William Bull. 11. The Rev. James D. Burns.

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CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, January, 1865. (London.)—1. The Book of Daniel. 2. Rome of the Future. 3. Harford's Recollections of Wilberforce. 4. Female Liberalism—Miss Aikin and Miss Cobbe. 5. Fallacies on Progress; or, Sketches of the Early Church. 6. Sanders and Burnet. 7. Public Schools Commission. 8. Recent Researches in Palestine and Syria. 9. Church Politics and Church Prospects.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, January, 1865. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Sir F. Palgrave's History of England and Normandy. 2. Dictionaries of the Bible, (Smith and Kitto.) 3. Life of Sir William Napier. 4. Criminal Law Reform. 5. Lord Derby's Translation of the Iliad. 6. Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Crown. 7. The British American Federation. 8. Gairdner's Memorials of King Henry VII. 9. Seven per Cent. 10. The Last Campaign in America.

JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE AND BIBLICAL RECORDER, January, 1865. (London.) 1. Of the Nature and Extent of Divine Inspiration: Illustrated by Extracts from Various Authors. 2. Tyndale's Translation of the New Testament, etc., and Mr. Fry's Facsimiles. 3. Capital Punishment and Genesis ix, 6. 4. Popular Infidelity in the Metropolis: an Unwritten Chapter in Cotemporary History. 5. Exegesis of Difficult Texts. 6. Metaphysical Schools among the Arabs. 7. The Revelation of the Blessed Apostle Paul. 8. The Metonic Cycle and Calippic Period. 9. The Departure of my Lady Mary from this World: in Syriac Text.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, (Wesleyan.) January, 1865. (London.)—1. The Congresses of the late Season. 2. The Cotton Famine. 3. Moral Aspects of the British Army. 4. Worms. 5. Lady Eastlake's History of our Lord in Art. 6. Abeokuta and Dahome. 7. Benjamin Franklin. 8. St. Mark's Contributions to the Gospel.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1865. (New York: Reprint.) 1. The Life of William Blake. 2. Aristotle's History of Animals. 3. Forster's Biography of Sir John Eliot. 4. Homer's Iliad. 5. Memoirs of Sir Robert Wilson. 6. Syriac Manuscripts. 7. Servia. 8. Epigrams. 9. The United States as an Example.

The closing article, as the very title shows, is an elaborate and libelous effort, written in behalf of the English aristocracy, to neutralize the effect of American example in behalf of republican government. As our national Union becomes completely re-established and our national greatness towers into a still loftier historic grandeur, demonstrating the power of a great republic to assert its unity and supremacy, such libels will become more and more necessary as well as more and more contemptible both in their substance and effect. In its entire character of falsehood blended with truth for falsehood's sake, it strongly reminds us of the style in which the cause of our Southern oligarchy has heretofore been maintained in the field of argument. The fact that both oligarchies, the English and our Southern, are sustained in a style so similar, strongly suggests the idea that their cases are generally like; that the destiny, so terrible and sudden of one, is but the type of the destiny of the other. No American war with England will be necessary to

hasten that destiny. We will proceed in our mission of reunion, peace, industry, and prosperity. And, sure as move the rolling years, the downfall of the English oligarch, gradual or sudden, will be the logical sequent of the destruction of his American brother.

British Quarterly Review, January, 1865. (London.)—1. The Sepoy War, and what led to it. 2. Marie Antoinette. 3. Churchmen and the Church. 4. Passages from a Philosopher's Life—Babbage. 5. The Natural and Supernatural. 6. The Source of the Nile. 7. New Pharaonic Tablets of Memphis and Abydos. 8. Nonconformist Biography. 9. Italy Within and Without.

In the eighth article there is a train of thought singularly applicable to Methodism in our own country. We copy the closing paragraphs, and ask the attention of our ministry to their points. In the place of the terms "dissent" and "non-conformity" insert Methodism, with some corresponding changes.

> There are many who think that our power as a denomination will be best advanced by the abnegation of our distinctive principles. Preach the Gospel in its simplicity, seek only the salvation of souls, care nothing for sects and parties, and be especially tender in the utterance of dissenting opinions, is the cry of many. The experience of Liverpool certainly does not show the wisdom of such a course. The result has certainly not been an extraordinary growth of dissent; and we do not well see how it could be, in the face of earnest evangelical preachers in the pulpits of the establishment. The *prestige* of rank and fashion is all on the side of the state Church; and if people can hear the Gospel faithfully proclaimed by its preachers, we cannot see how they are to become dissenters, unless they are convinced that with us there is some great principle for which it is right even to make sacrifices. Let us never surrender our Christianity for the sake of our dissent; but let us never suffer it to be supposed that we have not deep and settled convictions on behalf of which we are bound to utter our testimony. If the reasons which make us nonconformists are such as should have that influence upon us, then they are such as should be openly avowed.
>
> Nonconformity has taken no mean part in the religious life of the passing generation. This age has its own special needs; and we rejoice, in looking at our ministers, to believe that they are fully conscious of the responsibilities resting upon them, and earnestly seeking to discharge them. May they, in the increase of learning, and the richer cultivation of intellectual strength, lose nothing of that simple evangelical earnestness which was the glory of their fathers!—P. 219.

Westminster Review, January, 1865. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Taine's History of English Literature: Cotemporary Writers. 2. The Science of Language. 3. Hamlet. 4. The Intellectual Development of Europe. 5. Peace in Poland. 6. Circumstantial Evidence. 7. "Whatever is, is Right." 8. Railway Reform.

Of Bledsoe's Theodicy, which has just been republished in England by Saunders and Otley, we find the following notice in the Westminster Review.

> One of the ablest treatises we have ever met with on the side of Free Will in the necessitarian controversy is that of Dr. Bledsoe. His argument is well built up and lucidly expressed; and his solution of the great problem of the existence of evil only halts when he feels himself constrained, apparently for dogmatic reasons, to maintain the eternity of future punishment as consistent with the goodness of God; for it is inconceivable, if men are to retain reason and will in a life to come, that they should not, in some new condition for which there is room enough in the

sequence of ages, recover that spring which has here been depressed by the circumstances of the present life. Otherwise the consequences would follow, against which the author all along contends, that God keeps some of his creatures in conditions wherein their faculty for good is overmatched.—P. 127.

It is not specially indicative of liberal enterprise in the English Methodist publishing Concern, that a work on Arminian Theology like Bledsoe's, first issued from our American Methodist press, should, in England, go to an outside house for a publisher, and to a skeptical Review for its first notice.

German Reviews.

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Essays and Reviews. First Number, 1865.)—1. RIEHM, Messianic Prophecies and their Fulfillment. 2. BECK, Review of the Life of Jesus, by Strauss. 3. PIPER, Representation of Revelation in Christian Art. 4. HOLLENBERK, Remarks on Christian Dogmatics, with special reference to Dr. Schenkel's work.

Second Number.—1. BEYSCHLAG, The Christ Party at Corinth. 2. WEISS, on Schenkel's Life of Jesus. 3. GURLITT, Remark on the Book of Koheleth. 4. The Imposition of Hands. 5. DRESSEL, The Vatican Correction of the Vulgate.

The prefatory remarks to the second number of the Studien und Kritiken apprise us of the death of Dr. Carl Ullmann, which took place on January 12, 1865. Dr. Ullmann is well known throughout the Protestant world as one of the greatest theologians of the evangelical Church of the nineteenth century. Among his works, that on the "Sinlessness of Christ," (*Die Sündlosigkeit Jesu,*) which has recently appeared in Germany in a seventh edition, and which has also been translated into English, is especially prized. Dr. Ullmann established the Studien und Kritiken in 1829, together with his friend Dr. Umbreit, who died five years ago. Though a number of other quarterly periodicals have since been established, the Studien have always maintained their prominent position as the leading representative of the theological periodical press in Germany. Dr. Ullmann, at the time when he established the review, was professor of theology at the University of Heidelberg, from which place he was called to Carlsruhe as "Prelate," or the head of the evangelical State Church of the Grand Duchy of Baden. This place he resigned a few years ago, as in the violent controversies which sprung up in Baden, between the rationalistic and the evangelical parties, the grand duke yielded to influences with which Dr. Ullman did not agree. The "Studien und Kritiken" will now be edited by Dr. Hundeshagen and Dr. Riehm, both professors of theology at the University of Heidelberg, and favorably known to the theological world by a number

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of able works. Among the chief contributors the title-page mentions the venerable Dr. Nitzsch of Berlin, Dr. Julius Müller, and Dr. Beyschlag of Halle.

DORPATER ZEITSCHRIFT FUR THEOLOGIE UND KIRCHE. (Dorpat Journal of Theology and Church. Fourth Number, 1864.)—1. **HAHN**, Remarks on Matthew vii, 15–23. 2. **DR. CARLBLOM**, The Position of the Church in our Times. 3. **DR. KURTZ**, Theology of the Psalms. 4. **ANDREAE**, Church Chandeliers. 5. The Thirtieth Provincial Synod of Livonia, held in 1864. 6. **HANSEN**, Proceedings of the Sixteenth General Assembly of the Catholic Associations of Germany.

From this periodical, which is published in the German language by the theological professors of the University of Dorpat, in Russia, we obtain occasionally, but by no means so often as we would wish, information on the condition of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Russian empire. The last number contains an account of the last annual synods of the Lutheran Church in one of the three Baltic provinces, Livonia. The proceedings are not of general interest. The reader feels that the proceedings took place and the account of it was printed under a strict censorship on the part of the police. The Synod occupied itself with the introduction of the lay element into their Church constitution, with the proposal of holding a "Baltic Church Diet," after the model of the German and Scandinavian Church Diets and the English Church Congresses, and with the state of the foreign and home missionary cause.

We also learn, from the same number of the Dorpat Journal, that a Lutheran pastor in Warsaw has established a Lutheran Church gazette in the Polish language, entitled, *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny*, (Evangelical Messenger.) This is the first attempt to establish a Protestant Slavic periodical in the Russian empire. In Prussia two Protestant papers had previously been established, but the one was soon discontinued, and the other is threatened with the same fate.

As the number of periodicals in Russia, secular as well as ecclesiastical, is rapidly increasing, the establishment of a Protestant Church gazette in a Slavic language is an item of some importance.

JAHRBUCHER DER DEUTSCHER THEOLOGIE. (Year-books of German Theology. Fourth Number, 1864.) 1. **BAUMGARTEN**, The National Jewish Background of the New Testament History, according to Flavius Josephus. 2. **YEEP**, Tertullian as Apologist. 3. **ZÖCKLER**, The Doctrine of Creation.

Professor Zöckler has deservedly won for himself the reputation of being one of the ablest opponents of the new materialistic school of German natural philosophers. He has already contributed

several articles of great merit to the "Year-books of German theology," and the article in the above number can only add to his reputation. It is a thorough review of the deep theories which the materialists, the pantheists, and the deists have developed to explain the origin of the universe. Zöckler shows an intimate acquaintance with the entire recent literature on natural sciences, and ably refutes the arguments of the materialists, pantheists, and deists. In conclusion he briefly gives an outline of a theory which, he thinks, the Christian philosophy of our times ought to develop more fully.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal of Historical Theology. First Number, 1865.)—1. YESS, Hegesippus, and His Importance for Church History. 2. KINS, The Stipendiaries of Wittenberg and Jena in the Sixteenth Century. 3. HERZOG, The Age of the Nobla Leyazon, A Reply to Dr. Ebrard.

Second Number.—1. HOCHHUTH, History and Development of the Philadelphian Congregations. Jane Leade and the Philadelphians in England. 2. A Church Visitation in 1525. 3. The Catechisms of the Sixteenth Century.

The article on the Philadelphians and Jane Leade bids fair to become the most complete work on this mystical sect. The author gives at the head of his article a complete list of the writings of Jane Leade, of Dr. Pordage, and of Thomas Bromley, all of which were translated into German soon after their publication in England. The author was also enabled to use important manuscripts on the sect, which to former historians had remained unknown.

French Reviews.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.—*November* 15.—1. AMEDEE THIERRY, Jerome, Pope Damasus, and the Convent of Mount Aventinus. 5. JAMIN, Spontaneous Generation.

December 1.—1. EMILE BURNOUF, The Science of the Religions, its Method and its Limits. 3. LEGEAN, Theodore II. and the New Empire of Abyssinia. 6. JULES SIMON, Moral Statistics. 8. RECLUS, Man and Nature, Human Action and Physical Geography.

December 15.—1. LANGEL, The Presidential Election in 1864. 2. TAINE, Italy and Italian Reminiscences. 3. BLERZY, Australia, its Physical History and its Colonization. (Fourth article.) 4. REMUSAT, Human Sadness. 6. REYBAUD, The Chairs of Political Economy in France. 7. EMILE BURNOUF, The Science of the Religions. (Second article.)

January 1, 1865.—5. TAINE, Italy and Italian Life. (Second article.)

January 15.—1. TAINE, Italy and Italian Life. (Third article.) 2. DORA D'ISTRIA, The Servian Nationality according to its Popular Chants. 3. The Last Days of Pagan Theology—Proclus and his God.

February 1.—1. DUPONT WHITE, The Positivism, on occasion of a Book of Littré. 6. MAZADE, The Biblical Reveries of Michelet. 7. JULES SIMON, Moral Statistics.

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REVUE CHRETIENNE, *November* 15, 1864.—1. ROSSEEUW ST. HILAIRE, The Battle of Lepanto. 2. GERMOND, Sainte-Beuve's "Nouveaux Lundis," (New Mondays.) 3. DELMAS, Character in France.

December 15, 1864.—1. PRESSENSE, To the Readers of the Revue Chretienne. 2. WADDINGTON, Mignet's Eloges Historiques, (Historical Eulogies.) 3. RUPPET, Pietro Paolo Vergerio. 4. ARBONSSE BASTIDE, The National Synods of the Reformed Church of France, according to the new work of M. de Felice.

January 5, 1865.—1. KUHN, The New Critical School. 2. J. DE SEGNES, Cotemporaneous Materialism. 3. COVARDA, Letter on Italy.

The letter on Italy in the January number of the *Revue Chretienne* gives a very clear and comprehensive view of the religious parties now existing among the Italian people. The author distinguishes four such parties: 1. *The Clerical or Papal Party*, the most numerous and strongest, which still rules over the ignorant mass, and which owes its political power to its alliance with despotism, to the mere force of habit, to the great ability with which it has known how to stifle opposition and to identify itself in the eyes of the masses with Christianity. 2. *The National Party*, comprising the great majority of the educated men which demands, without working for it, the reformation of the Church, but a reformation purely disciplinary, and by no means essential, for which the doctrines of the Church of Rome are always sacred, eternal, unassailable, which still entertains the great fallacy of a reconciliation between Catholicism and liberty, and which from all these reasons, as well as on account of its superficiality, is justly termed, by a gifted writer on Italian affairs, the "undefinable party." 3. *The Philosophical Party*, composed of the ardent champions of democracy, of those bold and ardent intellects which, passing from one extreme to the other, reject all positive religion. 4. *The Protestant Party*, little numerous, little acquainted with the language, the customs, the wants, the needs, the prejudices of the Italians, too dependent upon foreigners, too much subject to divisions, but strong by its zeal and by its open advocacy of the principle of a separation between Church and State. Such writers as Passaglia and Liverani are included by the writer in the Clerical party, because, though rejecting the demands of the ultramontanists, they continue to adhere to the fatal doctrine of a close alliance between the state and the papacy. Altogether the author distinguishes three schools within the clerical party: the ultramontane school, which wishes the absolute fusion of the two powers, and which is represented in Italy by the *Civilta Cattolica* of Rome, the *Armonia* of Turin, and other papers; the moderate or orthodox school, comprising the majority of the Italian clergy, which distinguishes the two powers in their attributes, but unites

them on the same head; and the liberal school, separating the two governments, but on condition that they be indissolubly united by concordats. Under the head of the National party the author treats of the views and the writings of Rosmini, Gioberti, and Mamiani, whom he regards as the representative men of three different schools in this party. The chief aim of all is the unity of the Italian nation, but they differ in their views about the relation of the Church to the State. One school would subject the Church to the State; another would make the civil power the secular arm of the Church; and the third, regarding both powers as being equally of divine origin, recommends the moral union of both.

While both the clerical and the national party are in favor of a greater or lesser union between the two powers, the philosophical (ultra-liberal, democratic) and the Protestant party are in favor of separation. The Italian democrats preach an open war against the Church of Rome. One of their prominent champions, Philip de Boni, the translator of Rénan, has published a work, entitled *Italy and the Roman Church*, in which he attempts to show that the existence of the Italian nation is not possible without the destruction of Popery, and in which he, therefore, demands that one of the chief aims of the Democratic party be a combat against the ruling Church. As the Roman Church alone among the religious denominations persists in denouncing civil and religious liberty, he would refuse to it the liberty which he concedes to every other form of religion. In this opinion de Boni is, however, not supported by all the leading men of his party. Thus one of the ablest democratic statesmen of Italy, Montanelli, in his work on "the Empire, the Papacy, and Democracy in Italy," says: "Whatever may be the conduct of the pope and the court of Rome, Italian democracy ought never to abandon its old principle, the separation of the two powers. Woe to us if we should not know how to respect the principle of the liberty of conscience. A pope imprisoned or exiled, a persecuted clergy, the believers frightened, all this charm of persecution would produce a terrible reaction against the most salutary reforms."

The Protestant party is as yet the smallest and weakest; but by organizing everywhere evangelical congregations independent of the state, does more than any other party toward the actual introduction of the separation of Church and State.

Art. IX.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Life of the Lord Jesus Christ: A Complete Critical Examination of the Origin, Contents, and Connection of the Gospels. Translated from the German of J. P. Lange, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Bonn. Edited, with additional notes, by the Rev. Marcus Dods, A.M. In six volumes. 12mo. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. London: Hamilton & Co. Dublin: John Robertson & Co. 1864.

Dr. Lange, as a theological and biblical scholar, looms up into special eminence at the present time among German divines. He is a Prussian, born in 1802, finished his university course at Bonn in 1825, was appointed professor in the place of the noted Strauss in 1841, and to his present chair at Bonn in 1854. Of the great *Bibelwerk* now being published under his hand in Germany, and republished here by Dr. Schaff, we speak upon another page. The six volumes under our present notice form one of the most important works of the day. It goes over elaborately and with unlimited completeness the entire Gospel history, and so resolves all the objections of Straussian and other criticism, both destructively refuting their every utterance, and constructively demonstrating the sacred narratives to possess obligatory claims upon our most rational faith. What Neander's life of Christ proposed to do briefly, what the monographs of Tholuck and countless others proposed to aid partially, all that Dr. Lange here proposes to do exhaustively, completely, monumentally. The attacks made in a former day against Christianity upon historical grounds were met exhaustively in their day by the massy work of Lardner, of which the immortal manual of Paley was a most masterly compression. Against the philosophico-critical attacks made by the infidelity of the present day Dr. Lange opposes the great work under our notice. How complete and how conclusive it is, its readers must judge for themselves; how successful its final results, the future must show.

The following criticism from the Scottish "British and Foreign Evangelical Review," we adduce to show how others estimate the work and similar productions from German sources:

> Two extremes have been adopted in this country with regard to the theological literature of Germany. Some have denounced it as altogether bad, and have congratulated themselves on being innocent of the least acquaintance with it. Others, again, have rushed into an excess of admiration, and have shown themselves ready to swallow everything, however crude or monstrous, that came to them bearing the impress of German scholarship. But, as usual, the truth lies between these two extremes. Only ignorance or prejudice of the most hopeless character will deny that much which is permanently valuable has issued from the ever-laboring theological press of Germany. On the other hand, it is equally certain that a vast

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amount of learned rubbish has proceeded from the same source. In fact, the proportion of the vile to the precious is here exceedingly great. There is a large number of German theological writers whose works yield but the smallest percentage of what is solid, valuable, and true, and whose laborious tomes might, with no great disadvantage to the world, at once be consigned to the depths of the sea. And there is hardly one even of the best of them but mixes up some proportion of what is useless or mischievous with what is good and instructive. Mystical, speculative, capricious, prolix, and such like epithets, are largely applicable to many of their best writers; while such terms as daring, unscriptural, absurd, and even impious, may too justly be adopted as descriptive of others.

We think it of some importance that an accurate estimate of German theological literature should now begin to be diffused among us. Of the learning and research which it in general displays there can be but one opinion. But too often these qualities are unaccompanied either by soundness of judgment or soundness in the faith. We venture to say that from no department of literature could a larger amount of puerility and absurdity be gathered than from the writings of erudite German theologians. Yet there has prevailed among us for many years an almost superstitious reverence for all that came to us from this quarter. The silliest books have met with translators, and the most baseless and spurious have obtained currency and reputation, simply because they issued from the mint of some extravagant German divine. There has been such a flow of translations from the continent, that native original scholarship has been all but swamped. And our German friends themselves appear to have suffered from the idolatry which has thus been shown them. They seem very rarely to look beyond their own ranks, or to deem any theological literature which our country has produced worthy of the least consideration. "*Mehr Geld als Wissenschaft*" are the somewhat contemptuous terms in which the youth of Germany are accustomed to refer to England; and by the "voluntary humility" which we ourselves display, much is done to foster this spirit of contempt for the learning and labors of English theologians, which has in a degree altogether unmerited taken root in the minds of our continental cousins.

The work of Dr. Lange on the Life of Christ is undoubtedly a very favorable specimen of German criticism and research. Sound in all essential points of doctrine, its breadth of scholarship is also very imposing, and its discussions of most of the difficulties connected with the Gospels satisfactory and complete. But in the six volumes, and nearly three thousand pages, of which, in its English dress, the work consists, there is a sad waste of words. The *result* is small compared with the *process;* and the reader has often reason to complain of the long chase which the author leads him in pursuit of what at last proves of little value. There is much in these volumes which is totally beside the mark, and which no one but a German divine would have thought it worth while to write. Great must have been the trial to both translators and editor, in faithfully reproducing the frequently long-winded and all but resultless dissertations of the original. We think they have been needlessly punctilious in this respect, and that a well-executed condensation of the work would have been of more practical utility than the thousands of pages which they have given us.—P. 208.

There is some truth in the charge of prolixity. We object to no length necessary to the exhaustive treatment of the subject. Somewhere that fullness ought to exist. But it is unquestionably true that Dr. Lange might be profitably compressed. His whole might be said in two thirds his space, if not half. But have patience with his diffuseness, bear gently an occasional crotchet, accept a variety of novel terms, learn to glide your eye rapidly over his diffuse mysticisms, and you will on the whole find a grand comprehensive view of the Gospel history. You will feel that from its many-sided battlements the holy Record can fling defiance to its beleaguring assailants. "A strong fortress is our God."

A Critical and Grammatical Commentary of the Pauline Epistles. With a Revised Translation. By Right Rev. Charles J. Ellicott, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. 8vo., pp. 265. Andover: Warren F. Draper. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Hurd & Houghton. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard. 1865.

To Bishop Ellicott must be assigned the first rank, if not the first place in the first rank of English biblical scholarship. The series of commentaries on the Pauline Epistles are in the highest style of critical exegesis; so high, indeed, that rightly or wrongly he has felt constrained by friendly criticisms to compromise with the humble capacity of his audience, and make a more sparing use of those expressive old *technicals*, which enabled him to place his results in the most compact shape. Mr. Ellicott's genius is endowed with the most opposite qualities. His imagination and feeling are intense, yet his patience of analysis is unbounded. His exegesis is at once dry and glowing. It is microscopic; not because the critic is cold and mechanical, but because to his ardent soul the ultimate particle of sacred thought revealable by only the most perfect lens is infinitely more precious than gold. To appreciate and enjoy Cicero was with Quinctilian a test of true intellectual taste; to study, enjoy, and fully appropriate Ellicott in these commentaries is the prerogative of a true biblical scholar. And yet to the popular preacher, who wishes to preach, as far as possible, from the text exactly as the apostle wrote, and from the inspired mind exactly as the apostle thought, these exegeses are a rare aid and insurance.

To the translations which serve as the English result of Ellicott's labors and the appendix to his volume, a special attention is due. To these a large body of notes is subjoined, consisting mainly of parallel passages of translation taken from the various old English versions. These, while valuable and suggestive in themselves, evince what resources the writer possesses, with what diligence he lays them under contribution, and of what careful collation his translation is the result.

It is highly appropriate that this product of rich Christian scholarship should be issued by the Andover press. Mr. Draper has given the work with a becoming neatness of externals, a beautiful type, and, we trust, with most sacred accuracy of text. A wide circulation of these commentaries will be creditable to the sacred scholarship of our country. We may add that Mr. Draper's catalogue of publications would receive a more enlarged patronage if it were better known within the limits of our denomination. We have already noticed Ellicott's previous notes on the Epistles, his

life of Christ, and Professor Stuart's Commentary on Ecclesiastes and Proverbs, as among the valuable issues of that press.

A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with Special Reference to Ministers and Students. By JOHN PETER LANGE, D.D. In connection with a number of eminent European divines. Translated from the German, and edited, with additions original and selected, by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., in connection with American Divines of various Evangelical Denominations. Vol. I of the New Testament: containing a general introduction, and the Gospel according to St. Matthew. 8vo. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1865.

The Gospel according to Matthew, together with a General Theological and Homiletical Introduction to the New Testament, by JOHN PETER LANGE, Professor of Theology at the University of Bonn. Translated from the third German edition, with additions original and selected, by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D. 8vo., pp. 568. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1865.

This noble octavo comes with a double title, a generic and a specific. The first title announces the commencement of the publication in our United States of the greatest biblical work yet projected in our country; "the greatest literary enterprise of the kind undertaken during the present century," perhaps the most extensive entire commentary ever published in our language. It proposes to constitute "a complete exegetical *library* for constant reference." The New Testament will consist of twelve octavo volumes; the Old Testament of twice as many. It aims to be a complete standard, furnishing the main body of exegetical matter extant, calculated for the scholar, the minister, the family. The original work is in process of publication under the supervision of Dr. Lange, by whom the different books of both Testaments have been assigned to different leading German scholars. It is the joint work, therefore, of many masters. The republication is in the hands of our valued contributor, Dr. Schaff, who prepares, with valuable additions of his own, some of the volumes, and assigns others to several eminent American scholars.

Of Dr. Lange's Matthew we have in a former Quarterly had occasion to speak in favorable terms. It strikes us as excellent, though not as an unsurpassable ultimate. It is learned, clear, comprehensive, and compact. It has not, perhaps, the genial flow, the "nutritious" mellowness, which renders Dr. Nast so readable a classic. There is something of a dryness about it. Nor can we approve the "sermonical" scraps heaped in under the heading Homiletic. If in commentary we must have something that is not commentary, give us the old "Practical Remarks" of Dr. Scott, written in rich, connected, persuasive style, designed as direct pro-

motives of the personal piety of the reader, not mere crude material for professional consumption. The old "Sermon Sketches" have been nearly banished from use; but we prefer them to these miscellaneous scraps. If any body desires such matter, publish an exclusively Homiletic commentary for clerical use, and let commentary proper stand alone. Dr. Lange is a divine of the Reformed communion, and decidedly, though not offensively, Calvinistic. The preparation of the different volumes is exclusively placed in Calvinistic hands. Dr. Schaff adds occasional references to English and American commentators of different denominations, Methodist included. The volume on Mark will be prepared by Dr. Shedd; Luke by Dr. Schaff; Hebrews by Dr. Kendrick, the American editor of Olshausen. The external, material, and execution, are far inferior to those of Nast's Commentary, from our noble Western press, though sold at the same price. The use of the various types is skillfully managed.

Of the Old Testament, Genesis alone, by Dr. Lange, has as yet appeared, even in the German. Years must elapse before the complete appearance of the entire work in the English language. Meantime it is pressed forward by its many hands. The volumes may be expected to appear in seasonable succession. Each volume will be published in the order of completion by its author; and the single volume can be purchased apart from the others. With such an editor as Schaff, and such a publisher as Scribner, we may expect the work to be energetically and successfully completed. And when completed it will, doubtless, be an invaluable treasury of biblical exposition; a grand, we might say, stupendous, supply for the highest demand of our age in this department.

History of the Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigne, D.D., Author of the "History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century," etc. Vol. III. France, Switzerland, Geneva. 12mo., pp. 463. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

This volume made its appearance in France last year, just three centuries after Calvin's death. It was offered to the public by its gifted and well-known author in commemoration of that event. The series of which it forms a part is not merely a memoir of the French Reformer, but, as a history of the Reformation in his times, it necessarily includes his memoir. The work is properly a sequel to the "History of the Great Reformation in the Sixteenth Century," or as the author himself styles it, "a Second Series, of which that was the first."

As a historical work its value is undoubted. Very much of

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the material for it has been drawn from the original MSS., and has never before been presented to the public in any form. Many readers will probably demur to the high estimate here placed upon the character and teachings of Calvin, but of the general accuracy of Dr. D'Aubigné as a historian it is not necessary to speak to the American public. In style we think this an improvement on the former series; at all events it is an eminently readable book. The author seems to have accepted the hint of his revered friend, Guizot, and given us "THE DETAILS," touching, thrilling, inspiring incidents that show the Gospel of Jesus Christ the same everywhere, renovating the heart, purifying the life, sanctifying the affections.

The narrative of this volume is confined to France and Switzerland, and covers but little more than the period between 1531 and 1535. It will be perceived that much yet remains for the future volumes. We await them with impatience. C.

Counsels to Converts. By AUGUSTUS C. GEORGE, of the East Genesee Conference. 12mo., pp. 357. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1864.

Reading for the young Christian, and especially the young convert! Are not *novels* the staple reading of but too many, even of those who become probationers in our revivals? Are not *novels*, sometimes, indeed, of a religious cast, but often the reverse, the ordinary mental aliment of many professing Christians young and old? We are drowned in a deluge of fiction. And when we reflect how enervating its influence upon the mind, how destructive of the zest for historic truth and living realities, we wonder whether the lunatic asylum is not to become a terribly prevalent institution. And yet how little does the pulpit utter on the important subject of shaping the mind to elevated and vigorous character by well selected reading!

All this is not for the want of books calculated to frame the character to the true model. We have an ample library of such works too often unread, because the *taste* of our age is effeminate and truly unconverted. To this library Mr. George has here made a valuable addition. His is a book that might well be placed in the hands of every intelligent young convert. Taken as a manual, next to the Bible, its careful, prayerful study would be no ordinary aid to the formation of a true style of piety both of heart and action. Mr. George is master of a fresh and vigorous style. He leads his willing reader through noble ranges of thought. He illustrates his topic with apt instances and examples. He shows the practi-

cal pastor in adjusting his counsels to the actual realities of our day. We have not the slightest fear that his book will or can have a spread too extensive for the public good.

Meditations on the Essence of Christianity, and on the Religious Questions of the Day. By M. GUIZOT. Translated from the French under the superintendence of the Author. 12mo., pp. 356. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1865.

A book for our thoughtful laymen, by a great Christian layman. Great as is the skepticism of our times, Christianity is truth too pure, is a need of our nature too pressing, is a dispensation from God too merciful, to fail or falter. The darkness of ages may have gathered errors around her which progressive thought will disperse; but her essence is divine and indestructible. Time will show whether Guizot concedes too much. We think he does; but his defense of the main center is impregnable.

It may seem strange to some that such a work should go forth from *our* press. But few Methodist readers will go through it without smiling at the coincidence between the views of Guizot and the doctrines of Methodism. The note added by Professor Tayler Lewis, at the request of the editor, has received a very hearty commendation from various quarters. It supplies a strengthener where Guizot was most feeble.

We expect a full review of the work by an able hand.

The Earliest Churches of New York and its Vicinity. By GABRIEL P. DISOSWAY, A. M., Corresponding Member of the New York Historical Society, etc. 12mo., pp. 416. New York: James G. Gregory. 1865.

The thanks of the Christian Churches of our city and country are due to Mr. Disosway for the researches and records contained in this beautiful volume. Consisting mainly of chapters originally contributed to the *New York Observer*, its publication was demanded by the wishes of leading Christian gentlemen of different denominations. It is written in a clear style and a most catholic spirit. Mr. Disosway is by descent, birth, residence, business, and social connections a New Yorker of the New Yorkers. To trace through various records of archeological lore, and furnish to our ministry and ecclesiastical bodies their own *origines sacræ*, dry as the task might seem to outsiders, was to him a labor of love. The volume is beautiful to the eye. Its antique engravings, plentiful in number and rich in interest, disclose to many of our magnificent structures their humble origin.

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Foreign Theological Publications.

Geschichte des Rationalismus. Erste Abtheilung: Geschichte des Pietismu- und des ersten Stadiums der Aufklärung. Von DR. A. THOLUCK. 8vo., pp. 182. Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben. 1865.

At last the first installment of the long-awaited history of German Rationalism from Dr. Tholuck. A more welcome gift to the theological public has not recently appeared. The intrinsic interest of the theme, the widespread reputation of the author, the peculiar, natural, and acquired qualifications which he brings to the execution of his task, all conspire to heighten the anticipations of the reader as he takes the fresh, uncut issue in hand. At last we are to have a reliable history of the most remarkable and important theological movement of modern times.

It is widely known that Professor T. has made the study of the rationalistic movement for many years, if not during his whole academic career, a specialty. Called to Halle at a period when rationalism reigned with undisputed sway, providentially intrusted with the mission of revolutionizing the theological character of that important university, he was forced to make the personal acquaintance of the system, and to study it on every side with that concentrated attention with which an attacking general reconnoiters the positions of his foe. In later years after the recovery of the institution from the control of unbelief, he lectured upon the rise and development of the movement to crowded auditories year after year. Having formed the resolution to write the history of it, and finding this impossible without first describing the general state of theology and of the Church in Germany in the seventeenth century, he issued in 1853 the commencement of a "*Fore-history of Rationalism*," entitled "Academic Life in the Seventeenth Century," the completion of which followed in 1861 under the title, "Ecclesiastical Life in the Seventeenth Century." In the elaboration of this preliminary history our author expended an almost incredible amount of labor. Every university archive of Germany had to be ransacked, thousands of mouldy manuscripts woke in resurrection to give in their testimony, forgotten biographies, albums, journals, Church records, academical addresses, correspondence, magazines, family memorials, these were his scattered sources: his the task of collecting them, mastering their contents, classifying and arranging them. No wonder that on concluding his task at so advanced an age, the question should arise, as he tells us in the preface to this new work it did, whether having prepared the foundation he should not rather leave the erection of the superstructure to younger and fresher hands.

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In consideration, however, of the fact that the treatment of a historical development by one who has made so extensive preliminary and detail studies is always "not without value," and in consideration further that it seemed scarcely right to remand to oblivion so much material laboriously gleaned from unpublished or almost inaccessible sources, he decided, as he further informs us, to proceed to the elaboration of the main work, "though in a less extended form than the 'Fore-history' would lead one to expect."

The work is to consist of three parts. The one before us contains the history of "Pietism and the first stadium of the *Aufklärung*;"* the second is to give the continuation down to the commencement of the present century; the third the history of Rationalismus in the narrower sense from 1800 down to the reawakening of the Church, 1820–30. The part just issued falls into three sections: I. *Church* Orthodoxy in its expiration, pp. 3–9. II. *Biblical* Orthodoxy of Pietism till its extinction about the middle of the century, pp. 9–91. III. The *Aufklärung* in its first stadium from the beginning to the middle of the century, pp. 92–182. The first is very brief, and comparatively unimportant. The second contains the following chapters: 1. *Halle* Pietism treated in two periods, the first extending to 1724, the second to 1751. 2. *Wirtemberg* Pietism. 3. The Moravian Church. 4. Degeneracies of Pietism. 5. Extension and Influence of Pietism. The third treats of the "Influence from Abroad," and of "the inner Factors," to which he reckons: *a*, Thomasius; *b*, the Wolfian Philosophy; *c*, the Transitional Theologians, (Pfaff and Mosheim;) and *d*, the Ecclesiastical and Religious Life of the Time.

To many the section on the history of Pietism will prove the most interesting in the whole work. It is well known that the most opposite verdicts are passed by different parties in Germany upon the character and influence of this historical phenomenon. Some hold it accountable in no small measure for the rise and rapid extension of neology, because it had laid less stress on strict orthodoxy than the old divines had done; others think that the recent reawakening of the German Church is directly traceable to the good seed sown by Pietism a century ago and carefully guarded in the bosom of the "*Brüdergemeinde*" and other associations of humble Christians through the drear winter of rationalistic ascend-

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* This untranslatable word has become the classical denomination among Germans for that grand "*clearing* up" which commenced about a hundred and fifty years ago in the whole intellectual atmosphere of Europe, and of which German Rationalism was only a particular manifestation, namely, its manifestation in the sphere of theology.

ency. Many regard it as the highest bloom to which the Lutheran Church has ever attained; *Klieforth*, on the other hand, pronounces it "an exotic growth." *Hossbach* writes up Spener, and *Engelhardt* Loescher; *Gass* treats the period from a Union point of view, *Heinrich Schmid* from a stiffly Lutheran one. Perhaps none of them are as well qualified to pronounce an impartial judgment in the case as Tholuck. His acquaintance with it from its first rise to the present hour is most intimate. His own spiritual birth is almost directly traceable to its influence, his life has been spent in its birthplace and stronghold, his years have been devoted to studies of the period of its rise and development, its most voluminous archives have stood open before him, and have been faithfully used. An ardent lover of the Church, yet an equally ardent lover of genuine and vital religion wherever found; an eclectic in theology and a sage in experience; surely if any man is capable of impartially estimating the merits and the demerits, the excellences and the defects of Pietism, he would seem to be the one. And in point of fact, a more calm and just historic judgment has never been pronounced upon it than is found in this book. Many of its pages are full of solemn significance for our own branch of Zion, and should be thoughtfully perused on the one hand by those who dream that religion can dispense with learning, on the other by any who would limit the divine call of our Church to any class or condition of men. For both the phenomena of declining Pietism have lessons of sad and warning import.

The only thing in the book to which we take exception is our author's occasional incorrect and catachrestic use of the terms "Methodistic" and "Methodism," as, for instance, pp. 21, 26, 34, etc. No doubt it is wholly unintentional on his part, and in accordance with the *usus loquendi* of German theologians; but against all such unintentional falsifications of history, perversions of fact, and tacit defamations of a whole communion of Christian people, we must mildly but most firmly protest. May the honored professor live to substitute other and more suitable terms in a coming edition!

Die Lutherische Dogmatik historich-genetisch dargestellt. Von DR. KARL FRIED. AUG. KAHNIS. Bd. I, 1861; bd. II, 1864.

Within the past ten years several Lutheran works upon systematic theology have appeared which deserve the attention of all theological students. They are as follows: *H. Schmid*, Die Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche dargestellt und aus den Quellen belegt. 5te Aufl. 1863. *F. A. Philippi*, Kirchliche Glaubenslehre.

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1 Theil, 1854, not yet complete. *G. Thomasius*, Christi Person und Werk; Darstellung der evang.-lutherischen Dogmatik vom Mittelpunkte der Christologie aus. 3 Bde., 1852–64. To the same class belongs the above-named work, by Dr. Kahnis. Schmid's work is a very convenient Repertorium for such as have not the old Lutheran divines at hand, consisting as it does of a skeleton of Lutheran doctrine supported under every head by numerous quotations from such old theologians as *Gerhard*, *Calov*, *Hutter*, *Quenstedt*, etc. *Philippi* is a pupil of Hengstenberg, a convert from Judaism, the Coryphæus of the "old Lutherans," stricter in his orthodoxy than Hengstenberg himself. In the department of systematic theology he stands alone. Will any one peruse an exposition of genuine old Lutheran theology, as incorporated in the *Formulæ Concordiæ*, let him get Philippi. Five parts have appeared, and the completion of the work may soon be expected. (By the way, it is high time that *Knapp* should cease to be regarded in America as standard exponent of Lutheran doctrine. He is as far from being such as Horace Bushnell is from being a fair representative of strict old fashioned Calvinism.) Thomasius of Erlangen is a strong man of the New Lutheran party, ardent in his attachment to the Lutheran Church, yet not insensible to the formal and material defects of the old orthodox theology of the seventeenth century. The method of his work would be intolerable to any but a Lutheran, but it is so profoundly learned, and yet at the same time so modest and candid, that its study is a treat. Despite all his qualifications on the point of the relation of grace to nature or to the will, before, during, and after conversion, he in fact abandons the Lutheran view and adopts the Methodistic, though, of course, without "giving credit." In the doctrine of the sacraments, however, he is still essentially Lutheran. *Kahnis* belongs to a somewhat younger generation. A brilliant disciple of Tholuck, he soon rose to notice as a spirited combatant of rationalism, and distinguished himself by a mighty zeal for Lutheran orthodoxy by the pen, on platform and cathedra. The Lutherans set great hopes upon him. It was about this time that he wrote the work by which he is chiefly known among English readers, "Inner Development of German Theology," etc. Even this was found a little too liberal for many of his party, but the grand breach between him and the strict confessionalists came in 1861, on the publication of the first volume of the work mentioned at the head of this notice. In it he gives up portions of the canon as uninspired, abandons the orthodox form of the doctrine of the Trinity, and finds much fault with traditional Lutheranism.

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Diekhoff, *Delitzsch*, and *Hengstenberg* published jeremiads of moving pathos, and solemnly excommunicated him from the ranks of their party. By virtue of his original method the two volumes now published contain properly nothing but *Prolegomena;* the renovated Kahnis-Lutheran system is to be presented in the next and concluding volume. A critical notice of it may be expected as soon as it shall appear.

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Das höhere Schulwesen in Preussen. Historisch-statistische Darstellung im Auftrage des Ministers der geistlichen, Unterrichts und Medicinal-Angelegenheiten herausgegeben. Von Dr. L. Wiese. Berlin. 1864.

We briefly notice this work for the benefit of American educators. The Prussian system of national education has for thirty years been the study of all civilized nations. And with good reason. Taken all in all it has no rival either in the Old or New World. The primary schools of New England and of some emulating western states may equal in effectiveness those of Prussia, individual institutions of a higher grade in France and England may accomplish as much as any similar German ones, but as a system for the education of the whole nation the Prussian is far ahead of all others. The elaborate reports of C. E. Stowe, A. D. Bache, Horace Mann, Joseph Kay, Henry Barnard, Cousin, and others, have done much to diffuse in our country accurate information touching the organization and working of its primary schools, while the letters of tourists and American students have rendered most readers more familiar with the German universities than they are with the English. Between these two grades of schools, however, lies another class of institutions answering to our colleges, and as yet comparatively little studied. It is with this class, embracing the *Gymnasium*, the *Progymnasium*, the *Realschule*, the higher *Bürgerschule*, and the *Alumnat*, that the above work has to do. It gives us in its first part (pp. 1–16) a full account of the administration of these institutions, their connection with the provincial and national government, and the present administrating *personnel.* Part II explains the different kinds of high schools and wherein they are distinguished, closing with a complete classified list of all, illustrated by a map showing the location of each. Part III contains a short description and history of each arranged according to provinces. This fills pp. 50–410, very closely printed. Part IV gives the statistics of attendance as far back as could be easily ascertained: pp. 410–476. Part V gives a sketch of the laws and regulations in force at different times touching the final examination and dismissal: pp. 478–524. Part VI is an exceed-

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ingly interesting and instructive account of the teachers' preparation, appointment, duties, and rights: pp. 525–597. Four Appendices follow, the first exhibiting the expenses incurred in supporting these schools, the second the present regulations touching tuition, etc., the third the privileges of graduates, the fourth a very rich and extensive selection from the laws, ordinances, and instructions by which the Prussian system has been brought to its present state of perfection. This alone fills pp. 622–744. It would seem as if nothing which an educator would care to know about these schools had been omitted. You will find even the formula employed in dismissing a director, how long a teacher is allowed to be absent from his post in term-time, what he has to do before he can be allowed to marry, etc., etc. One might spend a year in the personal inspection of the schools here treated of without being able to collect half the information here offered. The charm of it is that it comes fresh from the State Department of Instruction at Berlin, and is, therefore, absolutely reliable. It also contains the very latest statistics, rules, etc., coming down to the close of 1864. Every college president should have the work.

History, Biography, and Topography.

History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles. By Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated from the German, by J. E. Ryland. Translation revised and corrected, according to the fourth German edition, by E. G. Robinson, D.D., Professor in the Rochester Seminary. 8vo., pp. 539. New York: Sheldon & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1865.

The general voice of the scholarly world seems to have placed Neander at the head of Church history in his day, and we suppose that the work before us would be placed at the head of his productions in that department. There is a rare blending of a lax gentleness with an iron independence in Neander. As Strauss and his fellows approach our Gospels from the stand-point of Pantheism, and so work like destructive giants to reduce the whole evangelic structure within the bounds of the ordinary and the natural, so with quiet firmness Neander, from an *à priori* Christian stand-point, Christian even in coming to Christ, animated by anticipation with the "theologia pectoris," simply examines the sacred documents in the light of their best cotemporaneous history, and in the true spirit of the best modern thought finds what is rationally to be held as the true character of the events, the actors, and the doctrines of that divine movement. The question he answers is: What can a true philosopher pronounce upon the pentecost,

the pentecostal Church, the apostolic college, the apostolic institutes, the establishment of the Churches, the character of individual founders, the distinctive views of the different New Testament writers, etc.?

The mild intrepidity with which Neander withstood the worst assaults of the great German apostasy, together with the negligent apostolic simplicity of his style of mind, has rendered our American orthodoxy tolerant of his individualisms. His lax views of inspiration, conceding secular mistake in the sacred documents; his rejection of any founded order of ministry under the assumption that all Christians are equally priests; his rejection of all proof of infant baptism in the sacred text, and acceptance of the institution as simply a want of the Church; his conclusion that Paul was rather probably a restorationist, and his exclusion of the Apocalypse from the sacred canon, are among the points in which he maintains, without any emphatic assertion of independence, a quiet peculiarity.

As commentary and as history, the present volume will as a whole be an acceptable present to our American Church. The Edinburgh translation of the work was one of the earliest issues of the Clarkes. In a nobler form, under an able revising hand, it has attained a "better resurrection."

Physical Geography of the Holy Land. By Edward Robinson, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. A Supplement to the Author's late Biblical Researches in the Holy Land. 8vo., pp. 399. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1865.

We had occasion to say in our notice of the last edition of Dr. Robinson's Biblical Researches, that his purpose was to have shaped the whole into a scientific form as a Geography of the Holy Land. Such a work from his hand would have constituted a new period in sacred geography; but the author did not live to complete the task. According to the division which the modern science of geography adopts, its three parts would have embraced physical, topical, and historical geography. The present volume embraces the first of these parts, including only the Holy Land lying between the Mediterranean and the Jordan. The Trans-Jordanic region, had he lived, he would have included in his work. As it is, for the ground it covers, it is complete. It is not, happily, a mere fragment. It is a subordinate whole; the work worthy the hand of a great master.

The volume opens with an introduction, tracing the history of sacred geography. This sketch will possess some interest for the

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sacred scholar. The divisions of the work are: Chapter i: The surface in its general features; embracing under three sections, The Mountains and Hills, The Valleys and The Plains. Chapter ii: The Waters; embracing under four sections, The Rivers and Minor Streams, The Lakes, The Fountains, The Wells, Cisterns, Reservoirs, and Aqueducts. Chapter iii: Climate; embracing Seasons, Temperature, Winds, Atmosphere. Chapter iv: Geological Features. An appendix is added, embracing the Physical Geography of the Syrian coast.

The work is done in handsome external style, printed at the Andover press, by W. F. Draper.

Educational.

A Hebrew Chrestomathy; or, Lessons in Reading and Writing Hebrew. By WILLIAM HENRY GREEN, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. 8vo., pp. 261. New York: John Wiley. 1864.

In addition to his Hebrew Grammar, Professor Green here furnishes a Chrestomathy, the second gate to the treasures of the sacred tongue. Of the value in detail of such a work the practical professor engaged in teaching is experimentally the best judge. But Professor Green's plan seems to us excellent. Fifty-five pages are devoted to graduated reading lessons, suited to the capacity of the advancing scholar, constituting by its choice of passages an attractive anthology, in a type delightful for the eye to look upon. The remainder is devoted to notes, performing the part, first, of a genial teacher; afterward, as occasion offers, of an entertaining illustrator, or an instructive commentator. The pupil is thus led through a difficult yet interesting path. Such a work is well calculated both to guide the way, and to awaken the holy ambition of the scholar and the candidate for the ministry to master the riches of the oracles of God as given to ancient Israel. We recommend the volume to the attention of our Hebrew professors, and our ministers generally.

Science for the School and Family. Part III. Mineralogy and Geology. By WORTHINGTON HOOKER, M. D., Professor in Yale College. Illustrated by nearly two hundred engravings. 12mo., pp. 325. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865.

An excellent successor to Dr. Hooker's Physiology and other works. His books are not science in play, but science in grave earnest, expressed with as truly a popular simplicity of style as the subject admits. This is well aided by the abundance and clearness of the graphic illustrations. Schools and families will hardly find books better adjusted to their caliber.

Belles-Lettres, Classical and Philological.

Essays, Historical and Biographical, Political, Social, Literary, and Scientific. By HUGH MILLER. Edited, with a preface, by PETER BAYNE, author of "The Christian Life," etc. 12mo., pp. 501. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1865.

These are choice selections from Mr. Miller's productions as editor of the Witness. They are not the least valuable, and are among the most fascinating, of the productions of that remarkable man.

Miscellaneous.

Autobiography, Correspondence, etc., of Lyman Beecher, D. D. Vol. II. 12mo., pp. 587. Harper & Brothers. 1865.

The Cedar Christian, and other Practical Papers and Personal Sketches. By THEODORE L. CUYLER, Pastor of the Lafayette Avenue Church, Brooklyn. 12mo., pp. 215. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1864.

Tony Butler. A novel. 8vo., pp. 257. New York. 1865.

Studies for Stories. By JEAN INGELOW. 12mo., pp. 404. Boston: Roberts & Brothers. 1865.

Vanity Fair. A Novel without a Hero. By WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY. With Illustrations by the Author. 3 vols. New York. 1865.

A very beautiful edition, in green and gilt, on tinted pages, with colored letters.

The Observing Faculties in the Family and in the School. By WARREN BURTON. 12mo., pp. 171. Harper & Brothers. 1865.

Lessons on the Subject of Right and Wrong. For use in Families and Schools. 12mo., pp. 88. Boston: Crosby & Ainsworth. New York: Oliver S. Felt. 1865.

O Mother Dear, Jerusalem. The Old Hymn, its Origin and Genealogy. Edited by WILLIAM C. PRIME. 12mo., pp. 92. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph. 1865.

A beautiful little volume, tracing the sources of the delightful hymn, "Jerusalem, my happy home."

Pamphlets.

State Rights: A Photograph from the Ruins of Ancient Greece, with appended Dissertations on the Ideas of Nationality, of Sovereignty, and the Right of Revolution. By Prof. TAYLER LEWIS, Union College. 8vo., pp. 97. Albany: Weed, Parsons, & Co. 1865.

This is an enlargement of a previous pamphlet from the same hand, in which monitory lessons are adduced from the past to guide our

country through the dangers of the present. The ruin of ancient Greece was the prevalence of the doctrine of State Rights over the sentiment of nationality. The cry of the demagogue, appealing to the local and the sectional, drowned the calm voice of the statesman and patriot pleading for Union. Hence arose secessions, convulsions, anarchies, destruction. Terrible and monitory, indeed, is the picture history draws of the universal chaos of passion and blood into which the most civilized spot on the globe was plunged by the fire-eaters and destructives of that day. Such an anarchy did the secessionists of 1860 anticipate when they drew upon our maps their programme of the various republics into which we were to break. The correspondent purpose of our northern Copperheads (for no epithet is too bad for such a "generation of vipers") is well illustrated by the Mayor's message of Fernando Wood, proposing that the city of New York should secede and declare herself independent.

Few minds in our country are able to bring the lessons of the classic ages and of Platonic philosophy to bear upon the practical affairs of our day with a subtler skill or profounder wisdom than Dr. Lewis. Mr. Greeley has said that his genius will be better appreciated by the future than by his cotemporaries. But we have cause to know that both in England and America there is an increasing number who realize the originality of his thought and the beauty of his style. We cannot, however, agree with him in naming Daniel Webster as the type of a true conservatism.

ARTICLES DECLINED.—We are obliged to say that our editorial drawer contains nearly thrice as many articles as our pages can accommodate. Many must therefore be, to our regret, excluded, not from their own unfitness, but from an arithmetical impossibility of finding room. Writers must not, therefore, consider exclusion as synonymous with condemnation; nor must impatience be indulged by others at *delay* of insertion. The only remedy for the difficulty is the enlarging our Quarterly to *double its present size*, which we promise shall be done as soon as our subscription list can be doubled. The way to accomplish this is for its friends at the coming Annual Conferences to take measures for obtaining twice as many subscribers as each conference now affords. Shall it be done?

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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1865.

Art. I.—THE GREEK CHURCH, CONSIDERED PARTICULARLY IN ITS RELATION TO THE LATIN.

[ARTICLE FIRST.]

Protestantism, as the name indicates, was necessitated by the assumptions and corruptions of Romanism. Its existence began with a protest. During the intervening centuries it has earnestly maintained the same attitude. In consequence it has been excommunicated by the Roman Church, branded as schismatic, and persecuted. In this close and constant antagonism the Roman Church has held such prominence as to absorb the view of the West, so that Protestants have scarcely recognized the existence of the Eastern or Greek Church, and have by no means appreciated the importance of this Eastern ally, equally determined in its antagonism toward the Roman hierarchy. But now, if not hitherto, the Greek Church has reached a position that commands recognition. Retaining her ancient faith and forms, her numbers have increased, and her territory has enlarged; and she has the leadership of one of the mightiest nations in the earth. Russia is the protector and champion of the Greek Church, just at the time that another European nation, through its emperor, Louis Napoleon, has proposed to lead the Latin race in its development westward across the ocean to Mexico, and eastward into Syria and Asia, and Africa if possible, and so, with the spread of empire, propagate the Roman religion. This phrase, "Latin race," is

intended simply to designate "those nations whose languages are derived from the Latin, and who profess the Catholic faith."

In proof of this Napoleonic proposition we have the emperor's letter of July 3, 1862, to General Forey, commander-in-chief of the French army in Mexico. And in illustration of its significance, the Vienna *Presse* contains a curious article on the Mexican movement, from which we make the following extracts:

> The Mexican monarchy is intended not only to react against the Anglo-Saxon race and the democratic ideas of Northern America, but also against American Protestantism. Hence the immense enthusiasm with which the clerical party of both hemispheres has welcomed the advent of Maximilian I. By the erection of this throne Napoleon III. has rendered an immense service to the Church, and this service is so highly appreciated by the Court of Rome that important concessions have been made therefor to the French government. . . .
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> [Among these] the Abbé Lucien Bonaparte, long a resident of Rome, and the *cameriere* of the pope, is to be elevated to the rank of cardinal. The Prince Lucien would then be eligible to the papacy, and upon the death of Pius IX. the conclave assembles under the protection of French bayonets. How can he help standing a very good chance for election? Pius IX. can thus await the end of his days in peace. If a Bonaparte mounts the pontifical throne, the papacy and its temporal possessions are safe.

Now Russia competes with France in power and policy, and so the Greek Church confronts the Latin with renewed vigor, and with an advantage which she has never before possessed. If the Greek Church has been believed to be effete and despoiled of influence, it is time to understand, on the contrary, that it is one of the great religious powers of the world, possessing a membership of nearly 100,000,000, surpassing in extent of territory the Protestant Churches combined, and rivaling even Rome itself, spreading over a large portion of Europe, and into Asia, and Africa, and North America, and the islands of the Eastern Seas, extending from the frozen regions to the tropics, from Kamschatka to Abyssinia, and from the Adriatic Gulf to Southern India.

If it has been supposed to be identical with the papacy it is time to correct the error, for with the intensity of its whole life it discards popery. And while Protestantism is threatened by the tide of Romanism setting westward, from the east there is a mighty counter tide breaking against the barriers of Rome.

This great Eastern Church, claiming orthodoxy, possessing points of sympathy with Protestantism, awaking as it is from its past lethargy, "can hardly fail," as has been well said by a careful observer, "to occupy a very large portion of the territory of Asia, and to become the predominant Church in all Northern and Western, and perhaps the larger portion of Central Asia."

As late even as 1863 the northern and the southern powers of Europe were contending in Greece for this specific prize, ecclesiastical control, the success of the Western or the Eastern Church, the Latin or the Greek. And in the war of the Crimea Russia and France were especial champions of the Church, never losing sight of ecclesiastical interest, as hostile in their religious as their political policy, fighting not so much for Turkey or the Crimea as for the command of the Holy Sepulcher and its related influences. This incident, or rather ground of the contest, though often misunderstood, is full of importance. But to this point we may refer hereafter.

The recent war in Poland turned upon this very issue. It was only the revival of the long contest between Catholic Poland and Orthodox Russia. In this instance the Roman hierarchy, by a shrewd but unusual policy, arrayed itself with the people against the Russian government. From the earliest defeat of Poland the priests have encouraged the hopes of a final restoration of a Catholic Poland, and urged secession from heretical Russia, and fanned the embers of revolt. Poland, as is well known, was converted to Christianity by a Roman mission, while Russia was the convert of the Greek Church. Poland, pushed on by aggressive Catholicism, strove to subdue Russia, and well nigh succeeded. And ever since her grand idea has been, "Restoration to her ancient limits; a great swaying Catholic Poland."

The antagonism of the Eastern Church unflinchingly resisted the ambitious encroachment of the West, and Russia was rescued from the grasp of the papacy. It was a crisis in the life of the Christian Church, and the providence is one of the most marked in history. Had Rome gained Russia Romanism would have overspread the world. If, then, the papal assumption of God's vicegerency is antichrist—an assumption against which we protest and contend—then we owe a debt to the Eastern Church

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which we have been slow to appreciate or even acknowledge. The Eastern Church has rendered another important service. It refutes the papal assumption that "the Roman is the true and only apostolic Church." Hitherto, before the Eastern had become distinctively Greek and the Western Church Roman, the East and the West were united in one communion. The councils, although Eastern and occasioned by Eastern heresies, were general. Their decisions were received in the West as readily as in the East. The antiquity of the Eastern Church is more than venerable; it is really and unquestionably apostolic. Made the depositary of the Gospel which the apostles wrote, not in Latin, but in Greek, which was the language of Christendom; in the midst of the very Churches which they had founded, the Eastern Church transmitted the light from Asia to Europe. "The early Roman Church was but a colony of Christian or Grecised Jews." The very birthplace, growth. and history of Christianity furnish a perpetual witness that the Western is the offspring rather than the parent Church. Armies of martyrs and noble confessors from the Eastern Church had consecrated their lives to planting the Gospel in Egypt, and Syria, and Asia Minor, and along the Levantine Sea, and westward in Europe, and building up the Church of Christ east and west as true apostolic successors; yet nowhere had any portion of the Church east or west arrogated to itself the claim of exclusive apostolic succession. Indeed the claim of Rome was only an afterthought. Jerusalem and not Rome was the parent Church. James and not Peter ministered to this mother of the Churches. If Rome ever enjoyed the presence of Peter, which is extremely doubtful, Jerusalem, Antioch, and other Churches enjoyed the presence of all the apostles. Even when John the Faster, Patriarch of Constantinople in the sixth century, assumed the title of universal bishop, the first Gregory, Bishop of Rome, utterly condemned the arrogance in another and disclaimed it for himself. When Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, in his letter to Gregory, declared that he had refused to address the Patriarch of Constantinople by the title of universal bishop, adding, "as you ordered me," Gregory thus wrote in return: "I pray you to use the term *ordered* no more. I know who I am and who you are, my brother in position, my father in character. I ordered nothing,

I only advised; and even that advice you have not strictly followed. I requested you to give that title neither to the See of Constantinople nor to any one else, and you have applied it to myself. Away with all terms which excite vanity and wound charity."

For centuries the Bishops of Rome "were citizens as well as their brethren, and subject like them to the edicts and laws of the Emperors. All religious causes of extraordinary importance were examined and determined either by judges appointed by the emperors, or in councils assembled for that purpose; while those of inferior moment were decided in each district by its respective bishop. The ecclesiastical laws were enacted either by the emperor or by councils. None of the bishops acknowledged that they derived their authority from the permission and appointment of the Bishop of Rome, or that they were created bishops by the favor of the Apostolic See. On the contrary, all maintained that they were the embassadors and ministers of Christ, and that their authority was derived from above."*

The Bishop of Alexandria held the title of Ecumenical or Universal Judge; the Bishop of Constantinople, that of Ecumenical or Universal Bishop until the time of the execrable tyrant Phocas the Emperor, who opposed the pretensions of the Eastern Church, and granted the pre-eminence to the Church of Rome. Thus was the papal supremacy first introduced. And near the close of this century, when Constantine Pogonatus the Emperor abated the ordination money paid by the Bishop of Rome to the Emperor, he resumed the power of confirming the election of the Pope, which his predecessors had invested in the exarchs of Ravenna, so that the bishop elect was not to be ordained till his election was notified to the Court of Constantinople, and the imperial decree confirming it was received by the electors at Rome.†

From all this it is evident that the Roman claims and authority are contrary to the primitive order of the Church—the slow and difficult growth of centuries. Against these usurpations the Eastern Church has maintained its ceaseless protest, and now, after the lapse of eighteen hundred years, with its hundred million voices, unites with the more recent but no less

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* Mosheim, 5th century, part ii. Gibbon, chap. xlv.

† Anastasius, de Vitis Pontificum.

earnest protest of the evangelical West against the great swelling words of the papal antichrist. The whole history of the Eastern Church, bearing us back by undisputed succession to the times of the Apostles, is a standing refutation of the papal claim that "the Roman is the true and only Apostolic Church." The issue here is fundamental. On this common ground Protestants of the East and of the West unite. If the Roman hierarchy disparage the protest of the Reformation as a pretentious novelty, it is silenced by the primitive and persistent protest of the Eastern Church.

The Eastern or Greek Church has rendered important service by its earlier union with the Western or Roman Church for centuries; but a service still more important ha~~s been~~ rendered by its later separation. This will appear as we advance. (And here we should remark that we use the terms Eastern or Greek, and Western or Roman interchangeably.) By the earlier union the Roman Church is compelled to admit the orthodoxy of the Eastern Church. The Scriptures for the West were furnished by the East, and in the language of the East. The seven Church councils in the East had a representation from the West, and were acknowledged by Rome as ecumenical and authoritative. The Apostles' Creed, which tradition accredited to the East, was accepted by the West. The Nicene Creed was immediately received by the West without controversy, and remained entirely unchanged for centuries. As the formula developed with succeeding councils at Constantinople and Ephesus and Chalcedon, asserting the co-essential Divinity of the Son with the Father; the equal Deity of the Holy Ghost; the single personality of Christ, thus excluding Nestorius; his twofold nature, thus condemning the Monophysite and Monothelite heresy; the Roman Church by its acquiescence and approval not only admitted the orthodoxy of the Eastern Church, but at the same time acknowledged the heresy it had condemned. Indeed the orthodoxy of the Eastern Church cannot well be questioned by the Western Church without convicting itself.

The separation occurred in the eleventh century. Its causes we shall consider hereafter. Its benefits properly belong here, and they are too important to pass unnoticed. It immediately and forever nullified the claim which the Roman Church, in-

deed which either Church might ever set up to exclusive apostolic origin or universal authority. Primitive Church history was common to both, and pointed to the same origin; and the very existence of the two communities demonstrated that the authority of the other was at most only partial. Besides, it saved the Christian world from the resistless control of a single central supreme hierarchy. The result of the separation was a counterpoise between the ecclesiastical rule of the East and of the West. It secured for the people an alternative in case of need. The very existence of each served also to restrain and moderate the pretension and power of the other. Unlimited power and boundless jurisdiction are dangerous possessions in any government, and nowhere more dangerous than in the Church. Even now, thus held in check, the Roman hierarchy claims for itself infallibility, supremacy, and universality. With the co-operation of these hundred millions of Greek Christians in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Russian possessions of North America—equivalent when consolidated to an addition of two hundred millions, more than her entire membership at present—what would not the Roman Church claim and attempt in the exercise of authority? We need but recall the early history of the Protestant Church, to remind ourselves that it is not the force of opinion but of numbers that restrains the Roman Church from persecution. It was the Papal doctrine then, that it is right to crush a heretic. Rome exults in her motto "always and everywhere the same." This doctrine reduced to practice directed the power of Catholic Spain against the feeble Protestants in the Netherlands, and incited the Papists in France to perpetrate the massacre of St. Bartholomew. But the increasing strength of Protestantism in the West has rendered this Papal rule nugatory here; so the strength of the Greek Church in Russia and the East has rendered Roman persecution inexpedient there.

But further, the separation refutes the Roman plea of infallibility. The Roman Catholic argues that the Papal Church is infallible, since there can be but one infallible Church, and this for the higher reason that he cannot conceive of one council in doctrine contradicting another. But the Eastern and the Western Churches were for centuries in union and communion, and constituted the one Christian Church. Yet

the Council of 754 contradicted the Council of 787: the one condemning the veneration of pictures, the other approving. The Council of Toledo, 589, contradicts the Nicene Council of 325: the one asserting the double procession of the Holy Ghost, the other asserting the single procession. The Council of Ephesus prohibited any new creed, and new creeds or articles of faith are enacted at Chalcedon by the next general council, by the Council of Toledo, by the second and third of Constantinople, and the second Council of Nice. The excommunication of the one contradicts the excommunication of the other. And since the separation, the councils of the East have contradicted the councils of the West in respect to government, faith, and practice.

The Eastern Church, then, both by its union and disunion, destroys the Roman argument in its major premise, that it is inconceivable that one council should contradict another; and in its minor premise, that there is one infallible Church; and in its conclusion, that therefore the Roman is the infallible Church.

Another advantage of the union was the easier transmission of light, religious and intellectual, throughout the whole Church. Communication between the East and the West was comparatively difficult. Books were scarce; learning was confined chiefly to the monks and ecclesiastics. In this state of things the utility of general councils is especially evident. The leading minds of the East and the West came together. Questions of general concern demanded their attention, requiring frequently philosophic, theologic, and historic research; questions which profoundly interest christendom at the present day and must for all time; questions which they answered by formularies whose correctness and utility are acknowledged after the lapse of almost a score of centuries; questions of inspiration, settling the canon of the Scriptures; questions of theology, in regard to the Trinity and the incarnation; and questions of practice, such as the observance of Easter, etc. Such intercourse, though occurring at intervals remote, could not fail to awaken the dormant mind of the Church, furnish material for reflection, and diffuse the combined light of the East and the West throughout the entire Church. If this was true of questions upon which they agreed, it was especially so in regard to

questions which they discussed during the period of their union. It was important that the Latins understand the language of the Greeks, and desirable that the Greeks know something of the Latins. Mosheim has remarked that although the general intelligence was low, yet the Eastern and the Western ecclesiastic each found it necessary to acquaint himself with the language and writings of the other in order to discuss the controverted topics successfully. The formal separation occurred in the eleventh century. The dark ages were settling down upon the world. The necessity, as just shown, for at least some light in the opposing sections of the Church, prevented the darkness from becoming total. The motive certainly was not the most exalted, but that it existed and exerted an influence is too evident to be denied, and too effective to be disregarded. We accept the facts of history as they stand, and while we might wish them better, we can readily discern an overruling Providence that did not permit them to be worse. If, with this stimulus, the Church and the world sank into darkness, without the stimulus how long and fearful would have been the medieval night!

The suspicion with which the East has looked upon the West, has been a great means of preserving the Greek Church from the later errors of Romanism. At the same time the rivalry between the East and the West has kept alive in both parties the anxiety to extend their respective territories by missionary efforts, such as they were, among the surrounding heathen. During that troublous period when the East and the West were in the throes of final separation, each was vigorously pushing its missionary work. Doubtless these efforts were often prompted by private and political interest. Yet, as Paul rejoiced that while "some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife, and some also of good will, notwithstanding every way, whether in pretense or in truth, Christ is preached;" so in this case may we rejoice that the bounds of christendom were extended and the knowledge of the Gospel widely diffused. By the Western Church the Christian religion was published in Poland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; and these nations were converted to the Christian faith. The Eastern Church was instrumental in the conversion of Servia and Bulgaria, and above all, Russia, destined to become the representative nation of the Greek

Church. The countless millions of Russia thus received their Christian enlightenment from the "Orthodox" Church of the East. Vladimir the Great had been approached by Jewish, Mohammedan, and Roman missionaries. Listening to all and canvassing the arguments of each, he deliberately adopted the creed of the Greek Church, and "twice has the 'orthodox' faith preserved the national existence of Russia;" once against Mohammedan and once against Catholic aggression. The close of the eleventh century saw indeed the separation of the Eastern and Western Church actually effected, so that there has been no successful reunion since. But it also saw Bulgaria and Hungary, Bohemia and Saxony, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland and Russia, converted to the faith of Christ, and numbered among the nations of christendom. As Gibbon finely remarks, "the triumphs of apostolic zeal were repeated in the iron age of Christianity." However nominal or real the conversion, it is certain that temporal benefits of no little importance were secured. Europe was thus delivered from the depredations by land and sea of the fierce nations of the North, who learned to spare their brethren and cultivate their possessions. "The establishment of law and order was promoted by the influence of the clergy, and the rudiments of art and science were introduced into the savage countries of the globe." (Gibbon, ch. lv.) So that Adam of Bremen, (*de situ Daniæ*,) A.D. 1080, exclaims with exultation: "Ecce populus piraticus. . . . Suis nunc finitus contentus est. . . . Ecce patria horribilis semper inaccessa propter cultum idolorum. . . . Prædicatores veritatis ubique certatim admittit," etc.

But it is time to consider the causes of the separation between the Greek Church and the Roman. It has been already shown that the separation was beneficial rather than injurious. It might have been otherwise had the entire Church remained one in the spirit of the Master, zealous for his glory, loving one another as he directed, and so manifesting their discipleship. And so it should have been. But it is evident to any observer of history that the tendency to centralization was rapidly and dangerously developing in the West; and that this lust of power was looking greedily toward the East, ambitious to gain universal control. No true Protestant will for a moment question that with this condition the separation from the West was

desirable for the Church and for humanity; desirable ecclesiastically and politically. The mission of the united Church had been achieved, and more: Paganism had been subdued, the empire converted, the canon of Sacred Scriptures settled, the central principles of a common faith well defined in formulas that christendom has received for fifteen hundred years; and by these very definitions heresies had been pointed out and eliminated. But these results had been accomplished; and now it was being demonstrated before the world that it was not designed nor desirable to have one ubiquitous Church swayed by a central, universal, despotic hierarchy. Rather than this, separation by far. The experiment had been proceeding under the divine supervision. The result of the experiment had become most evident. The demonstration was for all time. Protestants, at least, clearly see that it needs no repetition. Separation was desirable; Providence, which moves slowly in securing great issues, was preparing for it by the training of centuries. Both parties, East and West, struggled against it now and then, but never in the spirit which might have prevented it and for the purpose which would have rendered it unnecessary: the spirit of love, and the purpose of glorifying God. Hence these efforts proved unavailing. Ecclesiastical ambition, by being too grasping, frustrated its own design, and co-operated with other causes to effect the final separation. What these causes are may not be so easy to determine. The fact that historians are apt to specify some single one as the chief cause, and yet differ widely in their specifications, proves that the causes are various and none of them unimportant.

One historian declares: "We know with certainty that it was the extravagant attachment of Rome to image worship that chiefly occasioned the separation of the Italian provinces from the Grecian empire."

Another historian asserts: "The question of the double procession rent asunder the East and the West."

Another affirms that the Western disaffection was produced and justified by the iconoclasm of the East, while "the immediate cause of the separation of the Greeks may be traced in the emulation of the leading prelates, who maintained on the one hand the supremacy of the old metropolis (Rome) superior

to all, and on the other hand of the reigning capital (Constantinople) inferior to none in the Christian world."

One writer says that the contest for ecclesiastical superiority between Gregory I. of Rome, and John the Faster, patriarch of Constantinople, laid the foundation of schism between the Latin and Greek Churches.

Another mentions the strife for Episcopal pre-eminence.

And another affirms, "the real conflict between the Churches was always the great one of jurisdiction."

Again, the cause is said to be geographical; for example, the Roman provinces east of the Adriatic were transferred to Constantinople: Bulgaria, converted, was absorbed by the Greek Church against the protest of the Latin.

The difference between the races is specified. The attempt of the Emperor Zeno to conciliate the Monophysites, and for which purpose he published "the Henoticon," to which the Western Church took immediate and determined exception; the elevation of Photius, the learned Primate of the East, to the patriarchate of Constantinople against the wish of Nicholas of Rome, occasioning the blast and counterblast of the bishops, and ending in mutual anathema. And finally, the pride of Rome, which would not brook the independence of Michael Cerularius, and impelled the papal legates to deposit on the altar of St. Sophia, A.D. 1054, the bull of excommunication. And perpetuating the separation and barring all reunion, the enormous crime of the fourth crusade, when the Latin Christians besieged the Eastern capital and ravaged Constantinople with fire and sword.

This mosaic of antagonism and separation may not be pleasant to contemplate; but it is such as history furnishes, and in it is presented on the one hand the free and responsible workings of human agency, and on the other hand the providential control of the Omniscient God "from seeming evil still educing good."

From the first era of Christianity the Roman Empire embraced the East and the West, having subdued to itself the world which Alexander had conquered. But Christianity began in the East, and diffusing itself spread westward. When a Christian Church grew up in Rome it did not, like the empire, control the East and the West. Antioch and Jerusalem and

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Alexandria already had their churches, which were apostolic, which had grown up to great influence and were venerable throughout the Christian world. When from the primitive simplicity of the clergy an advance was surreptitiously made toward a hierarchy, before the close of the third century there arose three patriarchs, one at Antioch, one at Alexandria, and one at Rome. The Roman patriarch, located at the capital of the empire, gradually acquired a metropolitan importance, which the difference in external circumstances denied to the others. But in the beginning of the fourth century the empire became Christian. Constantine abandoned Rome and transferred the seat of the empire to the Thracian Bosphorus. There he founded his new capital on "the seven hills," more beautiful and commanding than those of Rome, rising up beside the classic Hellespont and the Golden Horn, which like friendly arms adorn and defend the city on the east and the west—the most favored situation for the fairest capital which the world had ever seen, commanding at one view the two continents of Europe and Asia. Under the fostering care of his imperial favor and genius New Rome soon outstripped the Old, and the eyes of christendom were turned admiringly from the setting to this rising sun. Scarcely had Constantine completed his superb capital when he convoked a general council of the Christian Church, the first general council known in Christian history. This council, which all the Christian world to-day reveres, was convened not in the West but in the East; the West sent her quota of delegates, but the East had in this first council the superior representation. "Of the three hundred and eighteen bishops whose subscriptions were affixed to its decrees, only eight at most came from the West." This proportion, to say the least, is significant as to where the real strength of the Church centered. A few years passed by and the second general council of the Church was summoned, not to Rome, but to Constantinople. And this council established a new patriarchate for the new capital of the Roman empire, which by the imperial favor at once took precedence of Antioch and Alexandria. Several provinces, hitherto under the jurisdiction of Rome, from the Adriatic eastward, were transferred to Constantinople. Immediate exception was taken, and the conflict for jurisdiction opened never to terminate.

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By the middle of the fifth century two other general councils had been summoned. These also were assembled in the East, almost within sight of the new capital. These councils likewise were acknowledged by the West, which sent a full delegation to each. The latter council constituted another patriarchate, that of Jerusalem, and also recognized the patriarchate of Constantinople as equal with that of Rome. Armed with such authority the Greek patriarch denied the supremacy of the Latin, and advised the Henoticon of the Emperor Zeno as a basis of union between the Orthodox and the Monophysites of the East. The Roman bishop seized upon this as a pretext, and by the agency of a sectional council of Italian bishops, haughtily and hastily excommunicated the patriarch of Constantinople, and was in turn defiantly excommunicated by him. This bold course of the Eastern bishop was approved by the emperor and by the Eastern Church, and even by the Roman vicar Andreas, on the specific ground that the Western Church had usurped authority, and by consequence had made its action illegal. A schism of twenty-five years between the East and the West was the result.

Again, the East and the West were reconciled. A fifth, sixth, and seventh general council was convoked at Constantinople. The West did not fail to be represented nor to acknowledge the councils; but so far removed was she from the imperial presence, called so far to the general councils, and rivaling the East in her pretensions, she sought to establish her own independent jurisdiction by withdrawing herself from the empire and the Church when she could not rule it. Occasionally a title was wrested from the East by bribery or fraud; as when Boniface III. induced the tyrant Phocas to transfer the title of Ecumenical or Universal Bishop from the Bishop of Constantinople to the Bishop of Rome, thus introducing the papal supremacy. (Mosheim, 7th century, part ii.)

Disaffected parties in the East looked not to Constantinople but to Rome for sympathy, and were sure to receive it, and thus the Romish pretensions were encouraged.

In the sixth century the Spanish Council of Toledo interpolated into the Nicene Creed the famous "Filioque." The Western Church, though claiming to be "semper eadem," adopted the interpolation. On the contrary, the Eastern Church, which without claiming immutability is really less

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changeable, venerating her ancient symbols which she had employed for well nigh three centuries, rejected the innovation of the West with scorn and indignation. It is without doubt attaching too much importance to this act of the Council of Toledo, or at least underrating other causes, to say that "the rupture between the East and the West began with the insertion of the Filioque." The masses did not comprehend this new distinction concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost. Perhaps few of the Church dignitaries fairly comprehended it; yet all could very readily understand that the creed had been tampered with and changed by the Spanish bishops, and the innovation was promptly repudiated, and the integrity of the time-honored symbol of the Church earnestly maintained. So that when Photius, the most learned of the ninth century, was rejected as patriarch of Constantinople by the Roman pontiff, he made this the climax of his defiant charge against the West, that the Roman Church had "adulterated the symbol or creed of Constantinople by adding to it the word Filioque."

But while this dispute was growing into importance a new controversy arose between the East and the West. Indeed as the Roman pretensions advanced, the scope of the antagonism became more comprehensive. The new controversy involved the question of image worship. The subject was, however, by no means recent, although the dispute was new. For a century and more, images had received attention in the Church. East and West, the question was regarded differently, and more than once did the Latin and the Greek Churches exchange sides. Before the end of the sixth century images "made without hands" (*ἀχειροποίητος*) were introduced into the camp and cities of the Eastern Empire. Their worship had insinuated itself into the Church by insensible degrees until it became general, and peculiarly dear to the weaker and more superstitious. With various motives the clergy had gratified the popular desire, and the gayety of the capital had cherished the devotional display. But the eighth century beheld a stranger borne by a strange fortune to the throne of the Cæsars. A peasant boy from the mountains of Isauria, yet possessed of genius and indomitable perseverance, he became the emperor of the East, Leo III. It was well. The folly of the times demanded a sovereign of clear head, honest purpose, and strong nerve. Even the daunt-

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less Isaurian for a while hesitated before the immense difficulties. But his own earnest convictions, and the taunts of the pagans everywhere, directed against the idolatry of the Christian Church, decided him; and he broke in upon the idolatrous worship with the intrepid zeal of a Cromwell. By imperial decree he prohibited the use of religious pictures. With rapid blows he demolished the images that thronged the churches. He purged the capital. He cleansed the provinces from idolatry. And then to convert this imperial condemnation into an ecclesiastical canon or law, a general council was summoned at Constantinople, recognized by the Greek Church as the seventh general council. After a serious deliberation of six months, this council of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops decreed unanimously that "image worship is a corruption of Christianity and a renewal of paganism, and that all such monuments of idolatry should be broken or erased." (Gibbon, chap. xlix.) It was one of the boldest movements in the history of the Church, and one of its noblest triumphs. It was a reformation which struck at a cherished superstition. All could understand it, even the most illiterate. It was not an abstraction, but something tangible. The people were sensitive and dissatisfied. But the Isaurian princes were not to be trifled with, and the reform was completed. Just then Rome was intent upon her own safety and aggrandizement; on the one hand to escape the Lombard invasion, on the other to gain the temporal dominion of Ravenna. By the aid of the Frank monarch (so steadily then and now the champion of the Roman Church) she secured both objects, and in A.D. 755 the Bishop of Rome was raised to the rank of a temporal prince. Free from danger, and elated by success, the Roman hierarchy turned its attention to the East. An ecclesiastical storm arose; the wildest that had ever swept over the face of christendom. For one hundred and twenty years it raged with unaccustomed fury. Council condemned council; the thunders of the East were answered by the thunders of the West. With varying fortunes the controversy was prosecuted, till the East finally discarded and the West retained the worship of images.

The iconoclasm of the East has been styled disparagingly "a sudden ebullition of feeling, a puritanical fanaticism in the breast of a single emperor." History on the contrary affirms

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that it was supported by the authority and zeal of no less than six emperors. Even apologists of image worship have been compelled to admit that, after the temporary reaction under the perfidious Irene, "the spirit of Leo so far revived in the Eastern Church, that although pictures are still retained, statues are rigidly excluded."

The effects of this controversy have been denominated slight and transient, while in truth they were so important and abiding, that even the decision of a second Nicene Council of western bishops, convoked by the regicide Empress Irene, could not annul or reverse them, although it decreed the worship of images, and "denounced severe penalties against such as maintained that God is the only object of religious adoration." Even the Latins of the most distant West, the Britons, the Gauls, and Germans, dissented from the decision of the papal Council of Nice, 787 A. D., and Charlemagne, with the unanimous concurrence of a council of three hundred bishops assembled at Frankfort, condemned the worship of images. So potent were the effects, that according to one historian they chiefly occasioned the separation of the Italian provinces from the Grecian empire; while another historian affirms that the rebellion in Italy, in the eighth century, was produced and justified by the heresy of the iconoclasts.

In the mean time the Roman Church was intently prosecuting its long-cherished plan of independence from the empire. Charlemagne in this century consolidated the Teutonic tribes, and became the champion of the West. Favored with the support of the Franks, the Roman Church was on the alert for occasions of controversy with the Greeks, and these conveniently multiplied. Missionaries from Constantinople were successful in converting the Sclavonic tribes of Bulgaria and Moravia. Nicholas had coveted these, and commissioned Roman bishops to draw them away from the Greeks, but they were finally added to the Eastern Church. Five provinces on the eastern border of the Adriatic, together with Sicily, had been transferred from the Roman to the Greek Church. It was clear that Italy was slipping from the grasp of the emperor, and that its retention was no real source of power. He therefore could not tolerate the possession of jurisdiction within his immediate empire by a prelate who would soon cease to be his

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vassal. He removed the districts in question from the patriarchate of Rome to that of Constantinople, and he confiscated divers estates belonging to the Roman see. The restoration of this property and jurisdiction was demanded up to the time of the final schism. Photius, who had been the chief agent in securing this acquisition to the Eastern Church, had been recently elevated from the civil primacy to the patriarchate. In the light of such recent events his consecration seemed to the Roman pontiff a glaring outrage. Had Photius restored the Calabrian estates, and the Illyrian diocese, and the Bulgarian province, Nicholas might not have discovered the irregularity of his election. But with the loss of these it was clear that he was most unlawfully elected, and Nicholas I. excommunicated Photius from the patriarchate. The intelligent and intrepid Photius referred the case to the Eastern bishops as "the public and momentous cause of the Church." Fresh charges were preferred in council against the Romish Church: that it had changed the time of fasting; had imposed celibacy on the clergy; had interfered with the rite of baptism; had adulterated the Nicene Creed by an interpolation, and had tampered with the observance of Lent. The sum of this was heresy, and the council declared Nicholas deposed and excommunicated. This provoked retaliation from the West. But the proffer of Bulgaria wrought a sudden change of moral judgment, and Pope John VIII. "acknowledged Photius as his brother in Christ." (Mosheim, 9th century, part ii.)

The promise, however, was not redeemed. The dissatisfaction returned. The West demanded not only the condemnation of Photius, but the degradation of all the priests and bishops whom he had ordained. The East was shocked by such arrogance. "New controversies were added to the old," and the final separation hastened. Poland was converted and gained by the West. Russia was converted and secured by the East. The Seljukian Turks were threatening the Greek empire. It was a fortunate moment for the aspiring Bishop of Rome, who employed every stratagem to reduce the Eastern Church to his imperious sway. Against this papal arrogance the Greek patriarch earnestly contended, even amid the tumult and trouble of a sinking country. New charges were preferred against the West, but of so trifling a nature as both to reveal

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the deplorable state of religion in the East as well as in the West, and to prove that the ever-during, all-pervading element of strife was the conflict of jurisdiction, the Western claim of supremacy. The issue long anticipated was realized when the Roman legates deposited the final anathema on the grand altar of St. Sophia, and departed "shaking the dust from their feet."

By secession from the empire, and secession from the Greek Church, papal Rome exchanged its connection with the East for alliance with the young and vigorous Frank power of the West, signalizing the transition by loftier ecclesiastical pretensions. The title of "Pope" or Universal Father was assumed. The right to control the State as well as the Church was assumed. And from Leo IX. to Gregory VII. these claims were pressed with untiring diligence and zeal, and with commensurate success, till Western Europe was subjected to the Roman hierarchy. Papal ambition looked longingly toward the East, and plied every artifice. But the Greek Church had been trained by the experience of six centuries of conflict, and had learned at least two important lessons, devotion to orthodoxy and hatred of the papacy, and she could not be compelled or cajoled into submission. Her spiritual life may have been weak and her religious practice defective. But Christian charity will admit that the darkness of the age was spiritually enervating, and the character of the times sadly corrupting. But the two principles just named she maintained, notwithstanding the failing fortunes of the empire and the ambition of the Roman hierarchy. Four hundred years of trial were endured by the Greek Church such as history seldom records. Artful negotiations were again and again proposed by the sovereign pontiff. Emoluments civil and ecclesiastic were promised, and military assistance offered when the empire, well nigh wrecked, was struggling for existence. The emperor was deceived and won. A reunion was announced at Florence, in 1439 A. D., between the East and the West; but the consent of the Greek Church was withheld. Rome waived every condition but her supremacy. The consent of the Greek Church was still withheld. She saw the empire tottering to its final fall, and the Saracen invaders enter in fierce triumph, and yet withheld her consent, choosing compulsory servitude to the Turks rather than a voluntary submission to the papacy.

The separation of the eleventh century, thus confirmed in the fifteenth, has been maintained complete to the nineteenth century; and to-day the attempt to reconcile the Greek Church to the Roman antichristian claim of supremacy seems as hopeless, as to induce the Protestant Church to forget its protest and submit to antichrist.

This principle of antagonism between the Greek Church and the Roman is one in which Protestants must ever feel a lively interest; while to the Greek Church it is a central antagonism, which gathers around itself and crystallizes every other point of difference, and makes the Eastern a great counterpoise to the Western Church. Destroy this, and the others would dissolve away. This remaining, all the others, great and small, related with it, have significance and force.

Art. II.—THE SUPERANNUATED, AND HOW THEY ARE CARED FOR.

We propose to discuss the "theory and practice" of the Methodist Church for the temporal relief of its worn-out ministers, and of the widows and children of deceased ministers. In the Discipline adopted at the organization of the Church in 1784 there is found the question, "How can we provide for superannuated preachers, and the widows of preachers?" The Wesleyan Conference, in England, had asked in substance the same question more than twenty years before. With some modifications in language, but the same in spirit, it has been repeated to this day by every General and Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The financial economy of the Methodist Church differs very materially from nearly all other Churches. In no features of that economy is the difference more marked than in its method of raising the means for the support of its ministers, and in the way it decides how much they shall be paid: for the former, depending on the voluntary contributions of the people; and determining the latter without dissent or agreement on the part of the minister. It requires, however, that those who

attend his preaching should have the ability, as well as a liberal disposition in order to furnish the Methodist itinerant a comfortable living. The low *money status* of a large part of them, in the early period of the Church, made his compensation very small. Nothing less than the persuasion, "Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel," could have induced any man, with such insignificant pay, to dare and to do what he accomplished.

The assistants of Wesley in England, and of Asbury in America, took little thought "what they should eat, or what they should drink, or wherewithal they should be clothed." Moved by an impulse that they believed divine to declare a free salvation to every man that would hear it, their chief solicitude was, first, for an opportunity to utter their message, and then, if the work of the sower promised a spiritual harvest, that they might gather and preserve it in the Church garner. If successful in these, their desires and prayers were fulfilled. If, in addition, they received the welcome of hospitality, and the small contribution, mostly in kind, necessary to supply the scanty wants of a family, and to keep their plain wardrobe in decent repair, they were content. Lest they might be suspected of seeking the fleece rather than the flock, they adopted the minimum of living, rather than the maximum of getting. It is difficult to conceive how they made their expenses subordinate to the small amount they received; and if they could barely live on their scanty allowance when able to work, they had a sorry prospect when age or sickness disqualified them for effective duty. Many, in fear of the "dark day," located, to make to themselves "friends of the mammon of unrighteousness."

The newness of the Church, and the comparative youthfulness of its ministers, would place but few of these in the class of the worn-out for some years after its organization. But there was great "wear and tear" in the excessive labor they performed, and in the privations to which they were exposed; and when the question was introduced into the Discipline in 1784, there were already some so disabled as to make it a practical one, requiring an immediate answer.

It was natural that the child in America should adopt the financial policy of the parent in England. The first provisions of the Church here, to meet the wants of its disabled men,

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were almost an exact counterpart of those employed more than twenty years before by the Wesleyans there. It will enable us to better appreciate the American history in this matter if we trace briefly what the English have done. In 1763 they formed an association of the members of the conference, on the principle of mutual assistance, called "The Preachers' Fund." Its conditions were that each preacher should pay into the treasury a guinea a year, and when he became superannuated he should receive annually as many guineas as he had performed years of effective service. The widows, if they needed it, were each to receive ten pounds a year. This "fund" was the chief, if not the only, provision for the worn-out preachers among the Wesleyans until about the year 1800. At that time it was modified in its conditions, requiring that every new member should pay ten pounds initiation, and three pounds annually thereafter, and also making provision for much larger distribution to its beneficiaries. The contributions of the people were then asked, for the first time, to increase the funds of this association. The inadequacy of the relief given to the "disabled," and probably the increase of pecuniary ability in the laity, led, the same year, to an organization among the laymen of London of the "Preachers' Friend Society," the design of which was to give "casual" aid to preachers that were destitute. It raised quite a respectable amount, discriminating in the recipients of its bounty. No new measures were introduced by the Wesleyan body until the year 1838, the centenary year of Methodism. In that year an "auxiliary fund" was created, from the memorial offerings of the people, and forty-five thousand dollars were invested, and subscriptions and legacies were invited to increase the funded amount. An annual collection was also ordered of sixpence from each member of the societies. The receipts from the "auxiliary fund" have steadily increased. In 1859 its income amounted to over sixty-two thousand dollars, and was disbursed to two hundred preachers and two hundred and sixty-nine widows; an average of about one hundred and thirty-three dollars to each.

The ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1784, adopted the mutual assistance policy. Their organization and name, with the amount required from each one on joining con-

ference, and annually, and the sum proposed to be given each year to the superannuated and to the widows and orphans, were nearly the same as the one existing in England. From the regulations published in the Discipline of that year, it is probable that much relief was expected from this fund, for there were appointed *three* treasurers, *three* clerks, and *three* inspectors, who should form a joint board for the direction of its affairs! As there are no reports in the minutes of the conference, except for two or three years, of the receipts or disbursements by this mutual arrangement, it is impossible to determine how far it was successful in giving aid to the disabled or the bereaved. From the efforts that were made in a few years, and in another way, to obtain funds for the same object, it is quite certain that it failed to meet all the requisitions made upon its treasury.

In reading the records of the earlier conferences, one cannot fail to be arrested by the large number who left the itinerant ministry, and became what is technically called located. The traditions of those times tell us that this arose chiefly from the insufficient support that they received, and the *dark look* before them, when, without health, they would be unable to provide for the necessities of their families. This habit of locating from necessity, and also the pressing wants of others who continued itinerant, created great solicitude in the General Conference of 1796, and led to the next attempt to answer the question, "What shall be done for the worn-out and the widows?" It was resolved, at this conference, to create a new fund. It has since been known as the "Chartered Fund." It was simply an incorporation of nine trustees, laymen, who should receive and hold in trust such donations and legacies as would be paid them, and who should pay over the income thereof in equal sums to each Annual Conference. Earnest appeals were made to the Church in behalf of this fund, and liberal contributions were given in response to these appeals. To many it seemed the dawn of the golden age to disabled ministers. It proved, however, only a northern light, not the true aurora of the day. It will be seen that this fund differed from the old one for mutual relief, in that it brought aid to the minister from the generosity and love of the people, and not from a timely laying-by of his own funds against the rainy day. It also adopted

the questionable policy—a policy at that day more popular than at present—of *funding a charity*, and disbursing only its annual proceeds. It originated in the noble purpose to make comfortable the latter years of a class of men and women as worthy as any that have ever lived. But it never succeeded in meeting a tithe of the demand upon its treasury. From 1833, the year when its dividends first appear in the minutes, down to the present time, it has paid *less than two per cent. a year* of the amount of each claimant, allowing that none but the worn-out and widows were the recipients. How much less than this it must have been, as those who had not received their allowance as effective men had also a proportionate share from its funds!

About the same time there began to be small dividends from the profits of book publishing, that had been commenced under the direction of the General Conference a few years before. These dividends were distributed to the same beneficiaries as received from the Chartered Fund. Although, for some years after its commencement, the "Book Concern" was the "day of small things," it soon began to assume importance, and its dividends continually increased. For twenty years after 1832 its annual distribution to the conferences averaged over *sixteen thousand dollars*, and about *eighteen dollars* to each claimant. This method of obtaining relief for the necessitous differs from both the preceding ones. It was not a charity, like the Chartered Fund, for the purchaser of books who contributed to it received an equivalent for his money. It differed from the mutual relief fund, in that the seller of the books, the minister, had a primary and avowed design to circulate religious literature for the benefit of the purchaser, and not for ultimate profit to himself. It had something of the "funded" principle, but depending on the success of trade for dividends. It was a kind of contingent second percentage that the minister might receive if he should be brought into a certain class as a claimant.

The failure of many societies to pay the small disciplinary salary of their ministers required that some provision be made to meet this failure. For this, the General Conference of 1800 ordered that an annual collection should be made "where the people would be willing to contribute," "to make up the

allowance of the preachers." This was then called and is now known as the "Fifth Collection." A portion of it came to the relief of the superannuated and widows, but the greater part of it was required to meet the "deficiency" of effective men. As the financial condition of the societies improved, and more liberal and punctual habits obtained for the payment of their ministers, their claims for deficiency greatly decreased, and in later years the avails of the fifth collection have been mostly appropriated for the benefit of the worn-out and widows. In 1863 it amounted to *nearly fifty thousand dollars.*

Notwithstanding the means before devised for their comfort, many of the superannuated were still in "distressed" condition, and the General Conference of 1812 resolved, "That each Annual Conference, if they think proper, should raise a fund, subject to their own direction, for the aid of such." This doubtful expedient of conferring conference sovereignty in the matter, resulted in a variety of measures to meet the end proposed. In some of the conferences it led to taking a special collection for "necessitous cases;" in a few, to the organization of "Mite Societies" in the Churches. In others it took the form of a "ten-cent collection" from each member of the classes. Three or four others organized a "Preachers' Aid Society," taking collections in the congregations, and intrusting the avails to a board of clerical and lay managers for distribution. And others, perhaps in addition to one of the plans already named, formed "A Mutual Assistance Society" of the members of the conference, depending for funds on the annual dues of its members, and contributions and legacies that might fall to it from others, and making dividends only to the needy of the society. These various *conference* schemes were each, for a while, instrumental in raising respectable sums for the objects of their creation. A few of them continue to the present, but the most of them have *expired.*

The General Conference of 1832 made it "the duty of each Annual Conference to raise moneys in every circuit and station within its bounds for the necessitous superannuated ministers, widows, and orphans." This *order* was a quickening and making general the taking of the "fifth collection." Until this time it had been taken in only a few of the charges. The

order brightened, henceforth, the pathway of the needy ones. It gave efficiency to a plan, simple in its machinery, abundant in its resources, and natural in its application.

The memorial services of the centenary of Methodism, in 1839, were made the proper occasion for the hundreds of thousands who had been benefited by this branch of the general Church to show their gratitude by some substantial offerings. Large contributions were made, and the several conferences in which they were made directed the different objects to which they should be appropriated. In most of them the wants of the superannuated received a generous share. The money was usually committed to trustees and funded, and the dividends from it annually distributed. The amount of these dividends varies in different conferences, from *less than fifty* to *over four hundred dollars.*

From this narrative account of the means that the Methodist Church has employed to raise the funds needed for worn-out ministers, let us turn and inquire respecting their efficiency and their relative merits. To do this properly, it is necessary to determine which produces the greatest revenue; which is most practicable in use; which is most consistent with the end proposed; and, what is of great importance, which has the best moral influence on the parties concerned.

Of the "Preachers' Fund," the first attempt and similar in its organization to others now existing in a few of the conferences, but little need be said. It had nothing of the nature of a beneficiary institution. It asked nothing from any who might not receive its benefits. It was simply a *mutual assurance,* and by its conditions was very limited in its practical results. It was the same as most life or health insurance companies, with the peculiarity that it was confined to Methodist ministers, and in this had no more merit than if organized by cordwainers or physicians. It was a company of ministers annually depositing a bonus with their brethren for the guarantee, that in case of failing health, or death, they or their widows should receive it back again and perhaps more.

The "Chartered Fund" took a step forward. From mutually helping each other the ministry turned to look for help from the Church. They sought aid from those whom they had served. So far it adopted the right policy. But it also adopted the

plan of a *funded charity.* This was the source of its weakness and ultimate inefficiency. This mode of dispensing the dividends of gifts for ecclesiastical purposes was much more popular, in the time of the institution of this fund, than it is at the present. Sanctioned by the example of the Established Church in the mother country, it had been quite extensively adopted in this, and many local Churches were thought to be permanent and prosperous by their funded endowments. The day had not fully come for disbursing the gifts of the people as fast as received, or as fast as they were needed. For institutions that depend on the munificence of a few individuals, as colleges or hospitals, the funding of gifts for their support is still, and perhaps may be the only way to enable them to meet the end of their creation. But it is a system, now in disfavor, where appeals for help are made directly to the people, and where their duty and their sympathy may be constantly invoked. It is repudiated by the great benevolent enterprises of the day. One of the evils of this policy, of the past, is the over-estimate that is generally made of the amount of its avails. This has been true in respect to the Chartered Fund. The Church, by some indefinite belief, supposed it was doing much more than it ever has done. But few, indeed, thought it was only paying about *two per cent. to every claimant.* Akin to this evil, and partly growing out of it, the funding principle causes a lack of personal responsibility, and a consequent inactivity, in the people, in behalf of the objects to be benefited, because they suppose the work is already done by others. It is a notorious fact, that in Churches or associations relying on their invested funds for support there is usually but little enterprise or enthusiasm, and those connected with them come to possess narrow views of duty and a chronic illiberality. The divine order is that each generation shall do the work properly belonging to it, and educate the next for even greater activity and liberality. No man can have a like interest in an enterprise to which he contributes nothing, as he will have for one to which his mind, and heart, and purse have been tributary. Funded charities, so far as they remove from the people the duty of giving for their objects, destroy the near and healthy relations that should exist between them. The limited resources of the Chartered Fund has doubtless saved the Church

from any of the calamities that we have named. Dr. Bangs says of it: "It may be questioned whether, by inducing a false dependence in the public mind, this fund has not defeated the objects of its institution and disappointed the expectations of its benevolent founders and patrons." The same objections that apply to it may be urged with equal force to the centenary and other invested funds for the relief of worn-out ministers.

It was just like John Wesley to make the press turn preacher; in his own words, "to enter every open door" to preach Christ. It was just like his followers in America to do the same thing. Not because they were simple imitators, but they saw it was an effectual way to do their work to spread scriptural holiness over the land. Almost immediately after the organization of the Church they initiated a plan for printing and circulating books. The connectional economy of the Church gave it great facilities for making this plan successful. By it a literature has been given the country that has essentially aided in educating the people in the doctrines of Methodism, and making the Church homogeneous in creed and government. That it was proposed, at so early a day as history shows, to appropriate the profits of the "Book Concern" to assist the worn-out preachers, is more an evidence of the necessity for helping them, than it is of the wisdom in using these profits for such a purpose. The aid it gave was needed, but it is doubtful whether it were wise to make the appropriation. It was a doubtful expediency that made the ministers, who were the conductors of the book publishing establishment, liable to the suspicion that their zeal in the circulation of books was in any degree attributable to the "profits" they were to receive from it. It is true, in fact, that these profits were only incidental, and their chief motive was the dissemination of the truth; nevertheless, the specified use that should be made of them gave to their work, in the eyes of the world, a selfish aspect, and so far it detracted from and lowered the evangelical mission of the Book Concern. The real, as well as professed, design of the establishment is to circulate the words of truth in their most attractive and useful form, and to the greatest possible extent. Nothing should be allowed in any way to interfere with this design. The best talent the world

can furnish, the most thorough art that enterprise can develop, the widest distribution that energy and facility can give, and the most favorable terms that the purchaser can receive, should all be made tributary to render efficient and further the great design of the "Concern." Its work is not even incidentally to make profits, but attractive and valuable literature; and its issues should be the demand of every household in the land. It is not to support the ministry, but to enlighten and save the people. Every cent that may be spared from its permanent and needed capital should be employed in improving the quality, and giving wider diffusion to its issues. Every cent diverted from such employment impinges the usefulness and efficiency of the institution. Let it have one object and only one, and to that give its undivided, liberal, and energetic efforts; let the Church directly provide for the support of all its ministers. There are other objections to taking the profits of the Book Concern for the relief of superannuated men, the same as there are to depending on the dividends of the Chartered Fund. The sums thus furnished will be inconsiderable to the amount required, and relying on them for this object will diminish the liberality of the people.

The "fifth collection" is the chief support of the disabled ministers of the Methodist Church. More than *three fourths* of all the moneys now received for them is through this collection. Because it is so generally taken in the Churches, and may be ultimately their only supply, it is proper to consider some of the reasons that commend it to our confidence.

Not the least of these reasons is, that it is a good way for the Church to meet its *obligations* to care for these men. With many, perhaps with the most who contribute, the impulse to give arises from sympathy for their needy state, increased by respect for their integrity, and a remembrance of their labors and life of self-denial. In some cases this sympathy may be intensified from personal good received from their past ministrations. To such the work is chiefly one of charity. But the recipients have generally held relations to the givers that make the giving a duty. There has, indeed, been no literal *promise to pay*, to constitute an acknowledged debt, but there have been services rendered under circumstances that make the duty to pay an obligation in equity. In other Churches there

is but little, if any, special provision made in behalf of their worn-out ministers. This does not, probably, arise from any want of love or care for these men, but because they are already provided for in the compensation given them while in active service. There are reasons why the Methodist Church, more than any others, should make such provision. In other Churches the minister and the people are each a party to a contract, in which he engages to render them ministerial service for a stipulated amount. He may collect it by legal process if necessary. Now it is a recognized principle, in regard to the proper compensation for labor, that the amount paid should be sufficient to enable the workman to support himself while employed, and have a surplus beyond the demands of the economy of the present for the emergencies of sickness and old age. The presumption is that ministers of other Churches, like any other employés, adopt this principle, and their terms have respect to the wants of the future. They provide for themselves; and the people, by meeting their terms, place themselves beyond any obligations to provide for them.

The Methodist minister performs his work without stipulations for pay. How much he shall receive is left wholly with the people. If, in deciding this, the "party of the other part" were required to make the amount correspond to the value of services received, or to provide for the event of future disability, the minister would have less need for any other provision; but they are only required, by the Discipline, to make an estimate for his "support," "*to give him a comfortable living.*" We do not say that this standard for the estimate is unwise; there are reasons why it is the best; but if the doctrine is true, as we have stated, of what is due to labor, there will usually be, beyond his receipts, an amount to which in equity he is entitled, a residuary, that shall provide for him in his disability. *This residuary is the fifth collection.* By it the Church meets its *obligations* to provide for her superannuated ministers.

Besides the equity of this collection, there is in the manner of taking it somewhat the nature of a charity. It is unpledged, the amount given is left to the generosity of the giver, and it is made in behalf of the needy. It is well that its beneficiary character should be acknowledged and appreciated, because of the good influence it will thereby exert on both giver and

receiver. There will be a virtuous influence, with this view of it, in keeping alive the love of the people for their ministers after the day of their active duty has ceased. It will call to mind, and render fresh again, the esteem in which they were held in former days. The condition of a worn-out minister would be truly pitiable if, after having been for many years respected and honored in the Church, he must be set aside and forgotten when the time of infirmity comes. But the tendency of human nature is to honor the active rather than the passive virtues, and any means that will counteract this tendency, and keep him with due appreciation in the minds and hearts of the people, will confer on him a blessing not less precious than the material aid it can bring. It is scriptural philosophy, that those who receive our help secure our love. This is the true exposition of the Saviour's words: "It is more blessed to give than to receive." The giver is the greater lover. The fifth collection, by giving the people an opportunity annually to contribute to its funds, will, at the same time, preserve their love for the men whose lives have been given to serve them.

This collection has the merits of economy and expediency, as well as moral. It is very simple in its workings. It is unexpensive in its application. It has the advantage of taking directly from the people for the object for which it is designed. Its history proves it to be acceptable to them from its increase and general popularity. And, most valuable of all, it is capable of expansion, so that it may be extended to any degree that the necessity of the case requires.

Success in obtaining funds, for whatever object, will much depend on the manner of disbursing them. It is so, especially, when they are to be used for charitable or beneficiary purposes. And the amount hereafter to be received for worn-out ministers will be increased or diminished as it shall be wisely and equitably given to the claimants. This paper would be incomplete without a review of the manner the Church has disposed of the moneys committed to her care in behalf of these claimants.

Respecting the moneys obtained by the "Preachers' Fund" and other similar *mutual assurance* organizations, the presumption is that they were paid according to contract, or as their funds were sufficient to meet the bond. The special collec-

tions taken by any conference, as the "ten-cent" or "Mite Society" collections, were for specific objects, and were disbursed accordingly. These proved, however, in most cases, only temporary and local expedients, and not general through the Church. We are more interested in the inquiry how the proceeds of the Chartered Fund, of the Book Concern, the fifth collection, and of the centenary fund were dispensed. These are common to the Church, and, with the exception of the last, under the direction of the General Conference. To the year 1852 the avails from these were disbursed *pro rata.* That is, each claimant received the same percentage of his claim, according to the amount to be distributed. There was no discrimination from the necessities of the recipient. If he were very destitute, he could receive no more; and however affluent his circumstances, he had a right to demand his full share. This opinion of the meaning of the law, unwritten law indeed, but made authoritative by common practice, is confirmed by the action of the General Conference of that year. A superannuated minister appealed to that body from the action of his conference in withholding from him his claim on its funds. His appeal was sustained, and his conference ordered to pay his claim with interest. The discussion that arose on this case, however, led to the adoption of a law giving the power to each Annual Conference to decide who should receive from its funds, and how much should be paid them. It was an important change, and has doubtless contributed to increase the confidence and interest of the people in the fifth collection.

It is difficult to conceive how any other than a *discriminating policy* could have ever obtained in view of the reasons that were always given for the creation of these funds. It can only be accounted for from the fact that for many years after they were begun there was no need for discrimination; all the superannuated and widows were strictly *necessitous.* The Chartered Fund originated in answer to the question, "What provision shall be made for *distressed* traveling preachers?" The dividends of the Book Concern from 1792, for more than fifty years, were declared to be for "*distressed preachers, widows, and orphans.*" And the fifth collection is raised "for the relief of the *necessitous.*" Nevertheless, the law giving a discriminating power to the Annual Conference was the subject

of complaint in some sections, and a few of the conferences still adhere to the old rule of giving to all claimants *pro rata.* The inexpediency, if not the injustice, of doing so may properly claim our attention.

In most of the conferences there are a few who hold a superannuated relation to whom a kind Providence has given a competency, or who are able by some honest vocation to earn a comfortable living, though from some special cause disabled from preaching. It is their praise, that under the regulation that gave them a right to the conference funds, some of these, without constraint, have generously relinquished them in favor of those who are needy. If others in like circumstances continue to receive them, *it affects disastrously the amount of collections.* This statement is not based on its application to given cases, so much as on the fact that those conferences which have availed themselves of the power conferred by the change of the rule have increased their collections more than those which have not. And, also, that since the change, the gross amount of collections in the Church for the superannuated and widows have increased much more than they did before. In the ten years following this change, the aggregate yearly collection for this object increased *one hundred and twenty per cent.*, and the average contribution from each member of the Church increased from *three and a half* to *over* six cents, while for the ten years preceding the average from each member had hardly increased the *smallest fraction of a cent.* It is fair to infer that this great difference in receipts during these two decades was from an improved confidence and liberality awakened by the adoption of the discriminating policy. Especially is it so, as there was no corresponding ratio of increase in any of the other great collections of the Church.

To give the avails of the fifth collection to any others than those who are needy involves the question of *fairness* with the contributor, of embarrassment to the solicitor, and of justice toward the necessitous. Is it fair to the contributor? It is well known that he gives his money with the belief that it is to relieve the needy. What an insignificant amount would he give if he thought otherwise! Is it not embarrassing to the solicitor? This collection is commonly made by the regular

minister, and his appeals for it are usually made on the ground that it is required for a comfortable living by its beneficiaries; that they have employed their vigor of life in preaching the Word with barely a support, and that in their failing health they depend on this contingent income from the love and generosity of the people. And is it justice to these, that moneys given for their relief should any part of them be bestowed on others?

Another reason may be given why a wise and kind discrimination should be made in the disbursement of conference funds. It is the influence it will have in making their collection both permanent and popular. There is no reason to doubt a hearty response from the Methodist Church for every cause that secures its confidence and its love. As its financial ability improves, it is showing its readiness to meet any demand for charity or extension. Every day is enlarging its views of Christian liberality. Never have the laity been more generous than now in caring well for the wants of their ministers. Never has there been a healthier sympathy for the superannuated and widows. The salaries of its ministers, especially in the cities and large towns, are greater than they ever were before. As the result of this, some of them, if not many, when the time of disability comes, have laid by something for a stormy day. This will not diminish the respect of the Church for them, but it places them where it will not feel it a duty to give for their support. It will have an honest conviction that they ought not to expect or receive it. On the other hand there will be many ministers, and far the greater number, who have been less fortunate than some of their brethren in their salaries, but not less industrious and successful in doing good. When their time of active service is ended, and they are indeed worn out, they will have nothing in store for the time of need. For them the Church ought, and will always feel a true sympathy. For them its purse will be ever open. To encourage this sympathy and liberality, the conferences should be careful that such, and such only, should be the recipients of their beneficiary funds. So long as they do this every appeal that they make for the increase of these funds will be responded to with a free hand. Let this discrimination be observed and well understood by the people,

and the time is near when every dependent on the conference funds will be comfortably cared for by the fifth collection.

How far it is best to encourage or to allow men to take the relation of superannuated, may, at some day, be a question which the Church will be required to answer with caution. It certainly should never be denied to any who have wrought in the vineyard and become disabled. But that any who have usual health, and are wholly devoting themselves to worldly business, should be placed on the roll of honor of the worn-out is a serious question, both of duty and expediency. Whatever may be the attractions to induce the "able-bodied" to ask for this relation, it ought never to come from any inducement from pecuniary advantage. A faithful adherence to the present discriminating rule will remove all temptations from such inducements. While an Annual Conference has power to decide who are needy, it has also power to determine who are able to obtain a living from their own resources. While it may refuse to give to the affluent, it can also refuse to help the lazy and improvident. And while it is true to itself and the Church, in a kind, but firm and consistent answer to these questions, it may also exert a healthful influence in preserving the integrity of the answer to the question, "Who are the superannuated?"

Art. III.—METHODISTS AND MUSIC.

For more than a century the Methodists have been attractive singers without being great musicians. Of "scientific music" they have been as fearful as the Church fathers, and as jealous as the Puritans. With Augustine, they have thought the "pleasures and delights" of harmony "too sensual;" and with Thomas Aquinas, that "musical instruments do more stir up the mind to delight than frame it to a religious disposition." With the reformers they have called the "playing of orgayns a foolish vanitie," and looked upon the violin as the incarnation of evil. Nevertheless they have sung, and the world has listened, admired, and been edified. It is no reproach to them that their auditors were largely those whom the father of

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Mozart denominated the "long-ears." Musically speaking, a large and respectable portion of mankind belongs to this class. It includes poets and metaphysicians; orators, statesmen, and philosophers; great men, wise men, good men; all that extensive tribe who are so fortunate or unfortunate as to have "no ear for music." It has been truthfully said, "feeling belongs to the many, appreciation to few." Queen Mary of Orange preferred an old Scotch song to Purcell's music. "A common ballad afforded Pope more pleasure than Handel's finest compositions." Johnson was "insensible to the power of music." Garrick possessed every possible inflexion of voice, except for singing. Swift wrote to Stella of the finest Italian singer in England, "I went to the rehearsal, and there was Margarita and another drab and a parcel of fiddlers; in half an hour I was tired of their fine stuff." Walter Scott relished no singing so much as a Scottish song. The biographer of Burns regrets that he sacrificed the higher walks of poetry to setting ballads to old Scotch airs. Pugnani wrote of Voltaire, "He makes fine verses, but he knows no more about music than the devil."

The higher walks of music lie in the same regions with the higher mathematics. There are philosophies and poetries that lie in the same transcendental regions; regions into which the uninitiated never venture, and into which they perhaps seldom peer without a sense of vagueness or dismay. Few besides amateurs or professed musicians can appreciate Mozart, follow the mystic flights of Beethoven, or interpret truthfully the weird strains of Chopin.

It is not necessary. The animate life of our globe is not the less happy because confined to the surface, and because few only are privileged to climb its mountain heights or explore its ocean caverns. Speech is given to all, though oratory is a rare perquisite. All sing after a fashion, though only a few are gifted musicians. The nine muses represent mankind: one is astronomical, another rhetorical, another poetic, all are musical. There are few who are totally destitute of voice and ear. The cases are of the rarest where one cannot distinguish Old Hundred from Yankee Doodle, or where all music is unmeaning jargon, as painful to the sense as jingling together shovel and tongs and warming-pan. If any are so constituted, they

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are the sport of nature, victims of malformation, objects of pity rather than of contempt or ridicule.

It is not to be wondered at that the musical and unmusical fail to understand each other. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that the cultured and artistic of all ages have disdained the vulgar level. Aristotle finds fault with those musicians who "flatter the corrupt taste of the multitude." Horace sneers at the "clowns and mechanics of the theater, whose chief delight is in the glare and glitter of the decorations, and such music as is suited to their rude ears." Ovid seems to regret that "the style of airs at the theater is adapted to the taste of the common people, that their construction is so artless and practicable that they are sung by plowmen in the fields." The world-renowned pianist and beautiful biographer of Chopin, the accomplished Liszt, calls the multitude "a sea of lead, heavy to set in motion, whose waves require to be melted by heat, made malleable and moulded, and which it requires a Cyclops to manipulate." The "masses prefer the conclusions of impulse to the fatigue of a logical argument." "Is he a musiker?" was the question asked by the infant prodigy Charles Wesley, before he would consent to give a display of his wonderful powers on the harpsichord or organ. Martini wrote to Jomelli, "he who possesses the art of accommodating himself to the spirit of the times will bear away the palm. It should be your aim so to please the learned as not to disgust the unlearned. The plain and unbred will have noise; they are never pleased except when they are astonished."

It will be readily inferred that Methodist singing has had little affinity with the artistic; that, in fact, it was such music, and such alone, as the masses could participate in and appreciate. Busby characterizes it when he says of Whitefield, "he was almost as much attached to the charms of cheerful melody as to his own Arminian doctrines. His enthusiasm and love of singularity, not confined to his praying and preaching, were carried into his partiality for music. Decidedly averse to all cathedral and church compositions, especially the "linked sweetness long drawn out" of our parochial melody, he would not suffer a bar of it to be vociferated under his conventicle roofs, nor anything less lively than ballad airs. He urged in defense of this sprightly taste that it was shameful to praise God in

the drawling strains of the Church and let the devil have all the pretty tunes to himself."* Of John Wesley the same author says: "He heard a sailor singing in the street, and it struck him that the melody would suit some of his own hymns. He committed the notes of the tune to paper, on the spot, and always declared it was the most solemn and appropriate of the tunes that his congregation sung." Dr. Burney, in his history of Music, says: "The modern Methodists have introduced a light and ballad kind of melody into their tabernacles, which seems as much wanting in reverence and dignity as the psalmody of other sects in poetry and good taste."

It is not to be denied that Methodists from the beginning have made great use of "spiritual songs." Their singing has been a practical application of the trite aphorism, "Let me make the ballads, I care not who makes the laws." As the Jesuits are said to have fiddled their way to the good graces of some of the Indian tribes, Methodists have sung their way through all parts of nominal christendom. If their music has been "light and ballad-like," it was admirably adapted to those whom Dr. Burney contemptuously calls "cordwainers and tailors," and involved, as he further says, "the absolute necessity of such a simple kind of music as would suit whole congregations." The doctor waxes irate when he adds, "It seems to have been the wish of illiterate and furious reformers that all the religious offices should be performed by field preachers and street singers."

Huss and Jerome, Luther, Zwingle, and Calvin, Wesley and Whitefield were reformers, neither illiterate nor furious, who regenerated the religious singing of their times, as well as the morals of the people. The music of modern civilization is one of its most remarkable features, and it all hails from the era of the Reformation. At the time when Luther had set all Germany to singing hymns, the music of the Romish Church had become so foppish that the reigning powers thought of suppressing "curious music," when Palestrina arose, who "brought choral harmony to a degree of perfection that has never since been exceeded."

Cornelius Agrippa, cotemporary with the great German reformer, shows what need there was for this reformation, when

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* The biographer of Handel attributes this saying to Rowland Hill.

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he says the "prayers are chanted by wanton musicians, hired with great sums of money, not to edify the understanding, but to tickle the ears of the auditory. The church is filled with noise and clamor, the boys whining the descant, while some bellow the tenor, and others bark the counterpoint; others again squeak the treble, while others grunt the bass. A great variety of sounds is heard, yet neither sentences nor even words can be understood." It was for quoting this passage rather coarsely, with other like offensive matter, that Prynne lost his ears a century later.

Puritanism was the natural rebound of the human mind from the excesses of Romanism; but Puritanism went to excess when it described "the synging of mass" as "roryng, howling, whistelyng, mummying, conjuryng, and jogelyng." English Cathedral music, now being sedulously introduced in this country, where the psalms are "trowled from side to side" by "flocks of boys,"* is such as the masses do not appreciate. "Boys," said Della Valle, "are so devoid of taste, judgment, and grace, so mechanical and unfeeling, that I hardly ever heard a boy sing without receiving more pain than pleasure." If the first Methodists had the objections to this style of music which have been attributed to them, they would be founded, not on questions of taste, but on the propriety of restricting a portion of God's worship, which ought to be shared in by all, to one sex and a particular age.

In Wesley we find no opposition to choirs or organs, nor, indeed, any evidences of attachment to "ballad airs." He was a judicious musical critic, heard Handel's oratorios frequently with pleasure, and criticized both the music and performance. He has left us a sensible essay on music. In his efforts at popular enlightenment and elevation he was a century ahead of his times. His zeal for the people was the direct result of his mingling with them. Knowing their condition, and philanthropically and religiously feeling their needs and endeavoring to supply them, he published music books for the use of the common people as well as grammars and philosophies, and gave full directions for their use. In addition to nearly fifty collections of hymns, he published some half dozen compilations of tunes. One of these, the "Sacred Harmony, a choice

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* Erasmus.

collection of psalms and hymns, set to music, in two or three parts, for the voice, harpsichord, or organ," lies before us. It is a thick duodecimo of some three hundred and fifty pages, the music, according to the fashion of the times, beautifully printed from copperplate, the letterpress neat, paper stout, binding elegant and substantial. It contains one hundred and twenty-eight hymns, each of which is set to an appropriate tune. The tunes are solid and substantial, selections from Handel, Worgan, Tallis, Madan, and other celebrated composers Twenty of the selections have survived the ravages of time, and are in common use to this day. The nearest approach to a "ballad" we have found in the book is the setting of Handel's celebrated chorus, "See the conquering hero comes," to "Christ the Lord is risen to-day," which is in infinitely better taste than setting this beautiful Easter carol to the air of the Tyrolese Waltz, as some wretched compilers have done. The hundredth psalm is associated with Dr. Madan's pleasing anthem, familiarly known by the name Denmark. Attached to one tune we find a hymn fifteen verses long, the verses eight lines each; to another tune thirteen verses, with a chorus to each verse; to another, fifteen verses of six lines each. This would indicate that our fathers were as fond of singing as the Puritans, who always finished the psalm in hand, however many verses it might consist of.* In these days four verses are the extent of our patience or ability, and even these are abridged or omitted to make way for a tedious pulpit lucubration or trifling business matter of local interest. Yet in some of our commonest hymns, the sense has been so dovetailed by the composer that dissection is impossible. "Jesus, lover of my soul," "Jesus my all to heaven is gone," are familiar examples of hymns from which it is impossible to drop a single stanza. Why the last revisers of our hymn book found it necessary to tear in two a hymn of five verses, and to leave the mangled remains of such a connected history as "Come, O thou Traveler unknown," in doublets and triplets, seems incomprehensible. The abridgment or omission could safely have been left to the pulpit, the hymn retained in its entirety, and the compilers spared the imputation of want of taste or the reproach of sacrilege. It does not follow, because

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* "Seldom more than four or five verses." Discipline.

selection is sometimes necessary, that the hymn book itself should be made up of shreds and patches.

The standard publications of the Methodist Episcopal Church will no more bear the imputation of "ballad music" than those of John Wesley a hundred years back. In 1808, when the connection consisted of less than a hundred and fifty thousand members, the General Conference gave hearty indorsement to the preparation of a standard compilation of tunes for Church use among the Methodists. "David's Companion, or the Methodist Standard," published by James Evans, under the auspices of the Wesleyan Sacred Music Society, was copyrighted in 1811. The second edition, issued in 1817, is before us, pages 164, tunes 187; some fifty of which are found in the Harmonist of 1837, eight in the Devotional Harmonist of 1850, and twenty in the Church Singer of 1863. The music is all solid, and mainly selected from standard composers. A correspondent tells us that Evans was an Englishman, who arrived in this country in 1806, a charming singer, who read music with facility, and who introduced a higher and better style of sacred music among us by musical associations, of which he was the pioneer.

To arrange and harmonize his selections Evans appears to have employed a musical professor by the name of Leach, who, with the ambition common to compilers, inserted in the book no less than forty-seven tunes of his own composition, mostly written on the higher parts of the staff in the screaming style of his day, all of which have perished except a single short meter, well known by the name "Watchman," still sung, though not in the vein of the taste of the present time. It is doubtful whether any of the ephemeral composers of this day, who insert commonplace tunes and tame harmonies in compilations under modest initials, or the taking phrase "composed expressly for this work," will live, like Leach, half a century in a single one of their vapid arrangements.

The chief publications of the Church for the last half century may be tabulated as follows:

1. David's Companion, 164 pages, by James Evans, 1811.
2. Methodist Harmonist, 245 pages, by Bangs & Mason, 1822.
3. Harmonist, 384 pages, by Mason & Lane, 1837.

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4. Sacred Harmony, 396 pages, by Lane & Tippett, 1848.
5. Devotional Harmonist, 424 pages, by Lane & Scott, 1849.
6. Hymns and Tunes, Hoyt, 224 pages, by Carlton & Porter, 1853.
7. Lute of Zion, 351 pages, by Carlton & Porter and Huntington, 1853.
8. New Lute of Zion, 368 pages, by Carlton & Porter and Huntington, 1856.
9. Hymn and Tune Book, 368 pages, by Carlton & Porter, 1857.
10. Cottage Melodies, 320 pages, by Carlton & Porter, 1859.
11. Church Singer, 418 pages, by Carlton & Porter, 1863.
12 and 13. Sunday-School Harmonist and Singer, Carlton & Porter, 1863–4.

On what principle Gould, in his "History of Church Music in America," published in 1853, omitted the "Harmonist," "Sacred Harmony," "Devotional Harmonist," and "Lute of Zion" from his "List of Collections of Sacred Music in the United States since 1810," we cannot divine, as these works all contain "over three hundred pages each," the only limit by which he professed to be guided in his selection.

Moore's Encyclopedia of Music, 1854, under the head Psalmody, gives a large and exhaustive list of American publications, in which, of all the successive issues of the Book Room above named, only one finds a place, and that is the edition of the "Methodist Harmonist," bearing the imprint 1831. "David's Companion," which Leach's forty-seven original tunes might have rescued from the tomb of the Capulets, is ignored: "Watchman" might have acted the part of a life-preserver to the name and fame of poor Leach, as "China" and "Windham" have done for Swan and Reed. The entire "Harmonist" family, the sole musical progeny of the Methodist press for thirty years, are put aside as contemptible compilations, with not even a "Leach" to save them from oblivion.

Yet this entire series of publications abounds in substantial music. No books in the country are freer from "fugue tunes" or "ballad airs." Whatever Wesley may have thought of light airs he abominated fugues. Fugues were the passion of the last age. Hogarth ascribes the decline in the music of the Romish Church to their abandonment in this. However suited

to the organ and the sublime genius of Sebastian Bachs, they are doubtless ill-fitted for Church singing. Wesley was right in his appreciation of them. The day of their supremacy has been styled the "dark ages" of American Church music. The fugues of Billings and his successors were vicious compositions. Instead of being single melodies, sustained, in whatever clef they might chance to take refuge, by the other parts as an accompaniment, they were really three or four separate and independent melodies moving side by side, with very little reference to the laws of harmonic combination, "each part," says Billings, "straining for mastery and victory," "now the solemn bass, next the manly tenor, now the lofty counter, now the volatile treble, now here, now there, now here again: rush on, ye sons of harmony!" How truthfully this description applies, those distracting medleys of separate airs, "Ocean," "Sherburne," "Exhortation," once so popular, evidence. There is no doubt that these lively fugues were a wonderful improvement upon the drawling psalmody which they displaced, and they are certainly more soul-stirring than the insipid harmonizations that, without "air" enough to entitle them to the breath of life, have been called "tunes" during the last generation. Most of these flat compositions deserve the fate of the anthem submitted for criticism by Dr. Green to Handel. "Did you say it wanted air?" said the composer. "Yes," replied Handel, "and so I threw it out of the window."

To some of these wild and rousing fugues the Methodists have given countenance by extensive use; but in this they only shared in the partiality of the whole country for this species of music, until changing times changed the fashion and brought in other modes, which in their turn will one day give way to newer if not higher styles.

During the last thirty years the Methodists have been extensive patrons of the new books and new modes with which the country has been flooded. A "singing school" has been an annual necessity with every society, and a "new book" as great a necessity as the school. Every important orchestra in the country has stacks of discarded books, each best in its turn, and each forced to give place to the latest novelty. The sprightly melodies of Hastings, and the not over-original compositions of that great musical editor and engineer, Mason, are

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everywhere familiar with Methodist congregations. In one respect the adoption of outside musical publications has had an injurious tendency. The Methodist hymn book has forty particular meters, a large number of which are found in no other collection of hymns, and for which no compiler makes provision, unless he is arranging music expressly for the Methodists. A large number of his pages are of no use to any other denomination, and by as much as his book is improved for their special use it is injured for general circulation. Many of Wesley's finest hymns, in particular meters, are lost for two reasons: first, the use of outside publications; secondly, the tunes with which they are associated in our own books are utterly unworthy of the poetry. In the ordinary meters, long, common, and short, there is no lack of tunes. The felt want is in the domain of the particular meters. Where these meters are common with those of the German and English hymnists there is no lack; but where they become peculiarly Wesleyan there is a chasm which no one has yet successfully bridged. From Handel and Battishill down to the "W's" and "Y's" of the Hymn Tune Book no composer has yet struck the popular vein, and given undying music to some of the most beautiful strains of Charles Wesley's muse. Had his son Samuel, one of the "greatest of English musicians," instead of writing services for the Church of England and masses for the pope of Rome, caught the celestial fire of his father's lyrics and set them to music for the common people, his biographers might not perhaps have written of "great talents lost to the world,"* "a memorable example of an abortive vocation," "name and works extinguished with his life." †

It is extremely doubtful whether many of these Wesleyan songs will ever be worthily set to music. For want of better tunes the people have set popular airs to many of them; and though these airs may be objectionable on account of vulgar origin or secular associations, they are infinitely preferable to the flat compositions in remote meters, made to hire, that disfigure our note books. It seems to be fated that words and music shall never be properly associated in this world. Fulk Greville, the patron of Dr. Burney, once "wondered at the extraordinary phenomenon of a union of sense with sound."

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* Hogarth.

† Schoelcher.

Mendelssohn's beautifully-wrought-out conception of "songs without words" seems almost a satire upon songs with words. Poetical inspiration and musical are essentially different, and when of equal force, seldom take the same channel or expend themselves upon the same theme. In dramatic music it is seldom that the names of a great poet and a great musician are combined. There are few Metastasios. If the music is grand, ten to one the libretto is nonsense; if the words are poetry, the music falters. Milton's Comus will live forever; the music with which it was furnished by Lawes and Arne has already perished forever. The nearest approach to the sublime in the union of sense and sound is found in Handel's oratorios, the themes of which are taken from the words of inspiration, and the music itself often seems inspired. Yet this musical Briareus, who, when composing that most wonderful of terrestrial harmonies, the Halleluiah Chorus, "saw all heaven before him and the great God himself," when called on to give to saved millions a little song that should sing in the heart through all time, in that yearning outgush of Charles Wesley's experience "O love divine, how sweet thou art!" failed utterly.

That incomparable hymn is yet tuneless, and perhaps, like Milton's Comus, will always remain so; but it is one of those heart-songs that the Christian masses *will sing*, though compelled to borrow for its musical expression a ditty from the nearest bagpiper.

Charles Wesley's "Wrestling Jacob" is yet tuneless. "Jesus, lover of my soul," has found its way into all the hymn books in the world, but has yet to find a suitable musical companion. The new year's hymn, "Come, let us anew our journey pursue," is yet balladized. So are scores of beautiful hymns that we need not now particularize. One of the facts in the life of the great English musician Battishill is that he "condescended (!) to set to music a collection of Charles Wesley's hymns." The hymns live, but where is the music that cost the great composer such a self-denying piece of condescension that his biographer must give it to the world as one of the events of his existence!

Methodism has had one of the greatest hymnists in the world; will it ever know a musical genius of equal capacity and equal spirituality? We fear not. Musicians, like poets,

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aspire at once to the epic and dramatic, oblivious to the consideration that a successful lyric may immortalize. "The Burial of Sir John Moore" and the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard" will be repeated when Southey's ponderous epics are forgotten. A cabinet *chef d'œuvre* is preferable to West's square acres of battle and allegory. Christian lyrics are cherished by millions who know nothing of Dante or Milton. The simple chorals of the Church are sung by myriads who never heard of Pergolesi or Haydn or Rossini. Yet poets will not stoop to lyrics, musicians will not stoop to chorals, and psalmody is left to the mercy of dullness or mediocrity; yet neither dullness nor mediocrity is aware that it requires as much genius and talent to compose a choral of four lines as an anthem of twenty pages. A canon of six bars was the composition Haydn sent to the University of Oxford as a test of his musical science when a candidate for the degree of doctor in music. Yet the world is full to-day of mediocre tune-mongers, who think it the simplest thing in the world to "make a tune," who, having thrown together some of the musical phrases floating in the brain of the century as common property, or distorted the strains of some old composer, associate their limping minims and crotchets with the standard compositions of the old masters, and sell the whole as a collection of new music! Poor "Old Hundred" has stood sponsor for scores of worthless collections; and so necessary is the well-known face of this battered veteran to the sale of new publications, that these ephemeral issues might as well honestly once and forever be entitled "Old Hundred & Co." He who has bought twenty music books has bought Old Hundred, and Mear, and a few other old stand-bys, twenty times over, and when he has taken these pearls out of his purchase probably the balance would scarcely be worth the paper and the binding. If Methodism has given the age no musical composer, it is at least saved the reproach of flooding the country with stale productions that will mostly die by the time the ink has dried upon the page. Saving for our precious particular meters we have no need of a composer, and to these none but a Wesley in the domain of music, inspired of the Holy Ghost, will ever do justice. Tunes, like everything else, follow the fluctuations of fashion; but it is not necessary that the Church seek, like the makers of women's

hats, four styles a year. A true tune, like a true prophecy, or a true proverb, or a true poem, lasts forever. Time is the only test of excellence. Great composers are known, not by their works in bulk, but by some one work, composed in an hour of inspiration, that has fastened upon the popular heart forever. The whole annals of literature illustrate this fact. It is equally true in music. "The Soldiers' Chorus" has given "Faust" and Goudinot sudden celebrity. It is whistled at every street corner, trolled by every schoolboy, played by every country band, thrummed by every boarding-school miss upon the piano, ground out of every barrel organ. If the inspiration is genuine it will be like Rossini's famous "Di Tanti Palpiti," as fresh half a century hence as now; if not it will pall upon the public palate and die. If, out of reams of blotted music paper, the arduous composer gets a single page that lasts a century, or even for a single generation, he has reason to congratulate himself. A sprig of laurel may be his, if not the wreath of immortality.

The genius of past ages has made us the heirs of its best inspirations. How shall we make the best use of its treasures? Because the forms of the jewels are old fashioned, shall we prefer alloys to pure gold and plating to solid silver? Out of their voluminous writings here and there a choice strain of Tallis, Lawes, Purcell, Handel, Arne, Arnold, and Boyce, has taken possession of the Christian world. Shall we displace these precious inspirations for insipid melodies and trite harmonies, made yesterday to be forgotten to-morrow?

The power to write music belongs to few; the power to interpret it pertains to many. Singers are like composers in the desire to seek the upper regions of the art. A genuine singer, like a genuine orator, is given to the world once in a century. Catalanis, Malibrans, Linds, Kelloggs, Farinellis, Lablaches, and Brahams are rare. The want of real artists, and the expense of time and cultivation necessary to make an artist, even when nature has bestowed the requisite gifts, render music one of the costliest of luxuries. Voice and skill are marketable endowments, and wealth and fame are lavished upon the fortunate possessors. A good voice must accomplish two things, make its possessor's fortune and gratify the public ear. The Church is no place for show, the concert room is a

narrow field, and the stage is the only resource. The stage monopolizes all the best musical talent of civilized lands. It is vain for the Church to attempt to compete with the stage. Even at Rome the effort has proved a failure. Hired quartettes at the back of a congregation, concealed by curtains, come ridiculously short of the effects produced by the same singers behind the footlights in the presence of an orchestra and dramatic accompaniments, under the inspiration of applauding thousands, and pay to the tune of ten to twenty thousand dollars for a single season. Operatic singing should be confined to the opera. The Church is no place for its display either in vocal song or instrumental voluntaries. Its introduction by irreligious leaders has scandalized the good from the days of Confucius. "If a man," says the great Chinese philosopher, "be without the virtues proper to humanity, what has he to do with music?" "Church music," says old Tansur, "should have as little of the playhouse maggots and voluntaries in it as possible. It should always be free from all galliardizing notes, military tattoos, or frothy jigging airs, which only tickle the ears of the chimerical with light fancies. Such strains prophane the service of God, and bring the playhouse into the Church, whereby we are toodled out of our reason and religion, morality and devotion, by persons of corrupt morals, more fit for penance and correction than for the offices of religion and exultation."

It is not to be doubted that the abuse of Church music by organists, choristers, and choirs, has entitled them to all the maledictions heaped upon them from Prynne to Adam Clarke.* Whatever may be the usages of Romish Churches, or high Church chapels and cathedrals, the theory of Protestantism in general is that music is solely for the worship of God, and that the Church is no place for show, or performance, or exhibition of talent and skill.

If this be the theory of Protestantism in general, what is that of Methodism in particular? Is it not to-day what it was in the days of John Wesley, "let *all* sing, not one in ten only?" Is it not that we are to sing with the spirit as well as with the understanding? If choirs are employed,

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* It was an observation of Gregory the Great, A.D. 600, that singers were more admired for their fine voices than for their precepts or their piety.

is it that they may monopolize the singing and show off their skill and execution, or is it that they may lead the devotions of the entire congregation? If these questions be answered in the negative our occupation is gone; we have lost the fire and unction of the fathers without acquiring the science of other denominations. There is no longer the difference between us and them that existed forty years ago. While we have adopted choirs, they, by the extensive use of hymn tune books, profusely sprinkled with "ballad airs" borrowed from our repertories, have resorted to congregational singing, and consequent spiritual elevation in this part of sacred worship. The musical mission of American Protestantism is a humble one. It has no masses, no cathedral services, no chanted liturgies, no set anthems or oratorios. It is simple psalmody, and even its right to this in metrical form is questioned. The musical mission of Methodism is humbler still. "The history of music in New England," says Hood, "for the first two centuries, is the history of psalmody alone." The history of Methodist singing is the history of hymnody alone. The psalms, by the non-adoption of the prayer book prepared by our founder, have dropped out of our services altogether. They are neither said nor sung in all the borders of cisatlantic Methodism. The apostle says, "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." Our practice confines us to hymns and spiritual songs. We are hardly biblical, much less are we artistic. Poets and poetical musicians and critics will hardly allow our sacred lyrics a place in the lowest grades of poetry; musicians will hardly rank our choral rounds of thirty-two notes each in the lowest grade of musical composition. Professional singers would laugh at our orchestral displays, visit with sneers and contempt our efforts at congregational singing. Busby says "the vocal part of our parochial service is generally so ill performed that an organ decently played, loud enough to drown the voices, is a blessing." Charles Auchester is made to say, "my greatest trial was going to Church, because the singing was so wretchedly bad it made my ears ache. I complained to my mother, but she said we could not help it if ignorant persons were employed to praise God."

The singing of the masses is not for the ear but for the individual heart. Singing for the ear must be sought in the

parlor, in the concert room, at the opera, if your conscience will allow you to go there, but not in the Church of God, particularly in a Church where the music forms so small a portion of the services. The conviction is growing upon the mind of the Church that every effort of the spiritual Christianity of the age should be bent toward making the masses of Christian worshipers do at least a part of the singing of every public service. One characteristic of Methodist singing it should not lose, namely, its extemporaneousness, spontaneousness, adaptation to the sense or narration of Christian experience, the application in social worship of a single stanza or a stirring chorus to a specific case. "Spiritual songs" may be as sedulously cultivated as ever; spiritual ditties should be discountenanced ever.

The latest phrase of the book-publishing mania is flooding the country with Sunday-school note books, in which every species of poetical trash is associated with lower than ballad music to initiate the rising generation into the mysteries of Christian song. The burden of a large number of these wretched ditties is the praise of the Sunday-school itself, in place of the praise of God. This is an undoubted evil, and needs immediate reformation. The style of our Church music will rise with the general rise of music and musical taste in the country. Our public schools are doing well, but not so well as they should do in this matter. The absurd custom is still followed of teaching music to classes in the mass instead of individualizing the lesson, and making each pupil sing independently as he reads or recites his languages or mathematics. When all understand the notes, as every one who has been through one of our public schools ought to do, and can read a plain piece of psalmody, hymn tune books will be of use. At present, it is perhaps safe to say that from one half to nine tenths of our choir singers, especially females, cannot read the commonest music at sight.* Holding up music books is sheer affectation. Put hymn tune books into their

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* When Handel was about to bring out the "Messiah," wishing to try some of its pieces, he sought for some one who could sing at sight, and was recommended to one Janson, who managed so badly that the composer, purple with anger, and swearing in four or five languages at once, cried out, "You schountrel! tit you not tell me dat you could sing at soit?" "Yes, sir," replied the cathedral singer, "but not *at first sight.*" Our choir singers, like poor Janson, sing at sight, but not at first sight!

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hands, and it would at least save the ridiculous farce so often witnessed, of bobbing the head like a shuttlecock between the tune book and the hymn. It has always seemed singular to us that professional singers will come upon the stage and sing all the evening without a scrap of words or music before them, while the singers of a Church orchestra cannot recollect the twenty or thirty notes of a tune sung over four or five times a Sunday, and perhaps half the Sundays of the year. Of our own hymn tune book we have already incidentally noted the main deficiency, namely, in that department which it is at present impossible adequately to supply, the particular meters. If we were to indicate another deficiency it would be to point out the absence of some thirty or more of the most popular tunes of the age, mostly by Lowell Mason, and other composers of acknowledged merit. One third of our hymns are in particular meters, one third of the hymn tunes are in particular meter. Of these, twenty-five are by old authors, twenty-five more, or so, by new authors, and acceptable, some of the rest are passable, but mainly they are trash, which might and ought to be banished for something better.

We can think of no more fitting conclusion to this article than a brief exhibit of the efforts made by the associated choirs of New York City and vicinity for the promotion of sacred music in our branch of the Christian Church. Last year they addressed to the General Conference the following memorial, which, for its concise exhibit of the whole subject, is worthy of a prominent place in the history of the Church:

To the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Philadelphia, May, 1864, *this Memorial of Choristers and others is respectfully presented:*

Brethren and Fathers,—The place which music has ever held in the Church, and the part it has performed in the success of Methodism, establishes its importance.

While some denominations of Christians, by artistic skill unattainable by the masses, have excited admiration, it has been the purpose of the Methodist Church that music should be the medium and instrument of fervent spiritual devotions, adapted to all.

In this, as in other matters of Church polity, our puritanic affinities have caused us to lean too strongly away from ceremonials, and thus we have not sufficiently cherished the science of music, or kept pace with the advanced state of society.

It is true we have not been without efforts, which have at least

fixed the love of music and sacred song in the affections of our people stronger perhaps, and more widely diffused than in any other body of Christians; yet it is apparent that we are, as a denomination, without a musical literature or satisfactory professorship.

We need music of an elevated and devotional character, wedded to our incomparable poetry, by which both shall be engraven upon the memory of our people, producing a oneness of taste and practice. Then shall we accomplish the prophetic desire: "Let the people praise thee, O God; let *all* the people praise thee!"

The efforts hitherto made have been diverse and sectional, and have not secured the regard and sympathy of our wide-spread membership. A more extensive movement is now contemplated. Already a society has been formed and is in successful operation, designing to associate the choirs of the Methodist Episcopal Church of New York and vicinity, and also extend its correspondence and sympathies throughout our connection.

This society of the "Associated Choirs" is about to call a Convention of choristers and others interested in the music of the Church, by which a concord of views may be had, and plans devised which may obtain the desired results.

Promotive of such purposes, the society respectfully asks that a committee may be appointed by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to co-operate with said society and convention, by which the prestige of official sanction may be given to such measures and publications as may have its approval.

For such purpose the subscribers hereto append their names.

JOHN STEPHENSON, *President of the Associated Choirs.*
L. A. BENJAMIN, *Conductor.*

NEW YORK, *May* 2, 1864.

This memorial was presented by Rev. R. S. Foster, D.D., of New York city, and referred to a special committee. The committee, in bringing in their report, stated that they could not give a better expression of their views than those expressed in the memorial, and asked leave to adopt that paper as their report. It was unanimously adopted, and a committee of five were appointed, namely: Rev. Thomas Carlton, of New York; Rev. Luke Hitchcock, of Chicago; Rev. John Lanahan, of Baltimore; Rev. James Pike, of Sanbornton Bridge, N. H.; Rev. Isaac S. Bingham, of Auburn, N. Y.

With the practical wisdom common in deliberative bodies, the General Conference took care that the members of the committee should be so widely scattered that there is no prospect of their meeting before the next quadrennial session.

In October last the associated choirs called a convention in New York city, which sat for ten days, and issued, as the result

of its deliberations, the following resolutions, which have not only elicited full notice from our own press, but have attracted attention in high quarters in other denominations:

Resolved, 1. That singing is an important element of divine worship; it is, therefore, our duty to aim at its highest perfection.

2. That singing is the part of public worship in which the whole congregation can unite, and therefore the assignment of this service to a select few, practically to the exclusion of the congregation, is at variance with the spirit of divine worship, and subversive of its purposes.

3. That singing is a religious exercise commanding our entire faculties, and is the mode by which many of our noblest aspirations and holiest feelings find expression.

4. That in churches of non-liturgical observances singing is the only opportunity for a common declaration of faith and public general confession.

5. That this Convention express as its conviction that the authorized version of hymns in use among us should be sacredly guarded from displacement in our public worship by a loose sentimental literature.

6. That a selection of hymns for Sunday-school purposes be embodied in the Church Hymn-Book, and engrossed in the general index.

7. That singing is a part of divine worship, in which instrumental music, when employed, should be subordinate—an accompaniment, not a substitute.

8. That the human voice is the standard of perfection in music; and as accompaniment, not supersedure, of the vocal powers is the object of instrumental music in sacred worship, and as the modern organ, in its genera, combines in one instrument the excellences for such purpose, we therefore recommend the organ as the most suitable instrument.

9. That the importance of singing points to the necessity of regarding the wise counsel of our revered founder: "Let all the people be diligently instructed in singing;" we therefore recommend to pastors and Church officiaries that their several congregations be regularly assembled for practice in Church music, and our people are earnestly urged to attend thereto as a religious duty.

10. That in the attainment of science an educated professorship is a necessity; it is therefore recommended that we cherish those engaged in the profession of music, and that our Churches make more liberal appropriations for that part of Church service.

11. That while we fully recognize the importance of musical knowledge, and ability to sing "with the understanding," we are also persuaded that this is of secondary importance in the worship of God, and that the primary injunction to "sing with the spirit" should cause us to commit the direction of such service to those who have also been divinely instructed.

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12. That the best form of book for congregational singing is that with hymns and tunes on the same page; and for compactness, the four parts written on two staves.

13. That, in such book, each meter should have a preponderance of tunes selected from those already in use, and most approved by our Churches.

14. That, for congregational music, tunes of extreme intervals or complicated harmony are not desirable.

These resolves tell their own story, and need no special comment from us. They go in heartily for congregational singing, and the subordination of choirs and organs to general vocal music. We indorse their doctrine. The tenth resolution calls for an educated professorship, and liberal appropriation for its support. When talent appears it is well to sustain it liberally, but money will never create it; and we have already shown that the Church fails to compete with the stage in attracting either composers or performers. It costs some of our metropolitan Churches thousands yearly for music, but they are not expended in teaching the people or inducing them to sing. It is doubtful if Methodism needs to go into any such outlay for the execution of its simple hymnody, or to carry out the injunction of the psalmist quoted in the memorial: "Let the PEOPLE praise thee, O God: let ALL the people praise thee!"

ART. IV.—DANA'S MANUAL OF GEOLOGY.

Manual of Geology: Treating of the Principles of the Science, with Special Reference to American Geological History. For the Use of Colleges, Academies, and Schools of Science. By JAMES D. DANA, M.A., LL.D., Silliman Professor of Geology and Natural History in Yale College; Author of a System of Mineralogy, of Reports of Wilkes's Exploring Expedition on Geology, on Zoophytes, and on Crustacea, etc. Illustrated by a Chart of the World, and over One Thousand Figures, mostly from American Sources. Philadelphia: Theodore Bliss & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1863.

This is an excellent treatise on a most interesting and important branch of human study; and its publication will mark an era in the History of American Geological Science.

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The author first became known by the publication of his work on Mineralogy, which appeared in 1837, only four years after his graduation at Yale, and very soon was adopted as a standard authority not in this country only, but in all countries where the science is cultivated. Three editions of it have appeared, and it is understood a fourth is in course of preparation. It is one of the most elaborate works on this branch of science that has ever appeared, and in every part gives evidence of the wonderful industry and extensive research of the author. It is such a work as could be prepared only by one having access to an almost perfect collection of modern scientific works and journals; and such a collection, probably, is not to be found in this country elsewhere than in the editorial office of that immense repository of American Science, familiarly known as *Silliman's Journal*, which has just completed its *eighty-eighth* volume, and with which the author has long been connected as associate editor.

His Reports, beautifully illustrated with his own pencil, upon Geology, Zoophytes, Crustacea, etc., in connection with Wilkes's Exploring Expedition, are also well known.

Occupying so high a place among the scientific writers of the country and of the age, when it was known that he had a work in preparation on the subject of Geology, something of more than ordinary excellence was of course expected. Nor have we been disappointed.

We have already said that the publication of this work will mark an era in the history of American geological science, but in some respects it will do more than this, and even mark an era in the history of the science itself.

Before the publication of the great work of Sir Charles Lyell, in 1830, usually called his Principles of Geology,* it was very generally believed, even by educated men, that this earth had been brought to its present condition, not by the gradual action of natural causes, but by the frequent and direct interference of the same Almighty Power that originally called it into being. The effects of the various geological agencies, which are constantly at work before our eyes, were of course acknowledged;

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* The first volume of this work was published in 1830, and the second in 1832. See Principles of Geology, by Charles Lyell, Esq., F.R.S., Philadelphia, 1837, vol. i, Preface, p. 7.

but they were supposed to be entirely inadequate to produce the mighty changes that have taken place in many parts of the earth's crust.

Nor was this so absurd as it may now seem, if we fail to take into account the opinions that then prevailed on other points. It was then believed—and the Bible was erroneously supposed so to teach—that the earth had existed only some six or seven thousand years; and only this limited time being allowed for the production of the great changes revealed to us by the rocky strata of the globe, it follows, as a matter of course, either that Nature in time past must have been wonderfully "prodigal of violence," or else there must have been direct interference of creative power.

At one time it was supposed that the seven days of creation, mentioned in the first chapter of Genesis, might be understood to indicate as many different periods of indefinite duration, at the end of each of which the Creator thus interfered by his power, at once putting an end to the then existing order of things, and introducing a new order.* And some even supposed that the grand geological formations, separated as many of them are—one from the next succeeding—by such abrupt transitions, might indicate the successive six days' work. This, of course, required that the number of formations should correspond to the number of days.

The singular abruptness, often seen in the transition from a great geological formation to the succeeding one, is well illustrated in the vicinity of London. We may be allowed to refer to it for the benefit of such as are not altogether familiar with the subject. The city of London stands in a basin which is everywhere covered to a depth of several hundred feet with a peculiar brown clay, known as the "London clay," and directly beneath the clay stratum is the chalk formation. Now the chalk is the uppermost and last of the *secondary* or *mesozoic* rocks, and the clay which rests upon it is the lowest and first of the *tertiary* or *cenozoic* rocks; but the fossils of the two are entirely and utterly distinct from each other. It appears therefore that after the deposition of the chalk, and before the clay was thrown down, there must have been an entire change in everything in the region! All the old animals of the chalk

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* Hitchcock, Bib. Rep., vol. v, p. 115, and vi, p. 287. Jamison, Amer. Jour. Sci., vol. xxvi, p. 26.

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period disappeared, and other and different races were introduced before the deposition of the clay. And how different the clay itself from the chalk; and what a different combination of circumstances must have been required for its deposition! This abrupt transition from the chalk formation to the next succeeding, is recognized in numerous localities in the different quarters of the globe, and appears to have been absolutely universal. Other similar abrupt transitions between contiguous formations in lower and older strata are well known; but unfortunately for this hypothesis, the exact number of six cannot be made out.

At another time the notion prevailed very extensively that most or all the changes that have taken place in the crust of the globe, as indicated by its rocky strata, may have been produced by the flood of Noah, and its attendant circumstances.

It is scarcely necessary so say that these opinions have now at length been discarded almost universally, and geologists of all countries agree in the opinion that we are to look for the causes of all the changes the crust of this globe has undergone, only to the same geological agents as we know now to be constantly at work. Some of them, from the nature of the case, were probably more active in the early geological periods than they now are, but in other respects they are the same. Hutton indeed has the credit of having given expression to this opinion at a comparatively early period, but for a long time it gained few adherents. His work, entitled "Theory of the Earth," in which the opinion is expressed, was published in 1788;* but it was reserved for Lyell, more than forty years later, to search out and give to the world the convincing proofs of this doctrine. His great work, entitled "Principles of Geology, being an Inquiry how far the Former Changes of the Earth's Surface are Referrible to Causes now in Operation," which made its appearance in 1830, though at first violently opposed by some very good men, gradually won its way to the confidence of candid inquirers, and became the chief agent in forming the present universal belief on this subject.

This work of Lyell is a prodigy of its kind; and though

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*Lyell's Principles, vol. i, pp. 69, 71, Phil. Ed.

treating of a science which is making constant, and almost daily progress, it can never become obsolete. With singular industry the author ransacked the whole range of ancient and modern literature for recorded instances to prove and illustrate the great geological changes that have occurred during the period covered by the history of our race; and also visited a greater number of important geological localities, thus probably extending his own personal observations over a larger portion of the earth's surface than any other professed geologist has ever done. The book is written in an easy, perspicuous style; and what is more, every page evinces the perfect sincerity and candor with which every fact is stated, and every opinion expressed.

But did Lyell himself fully appreciate the deep importance and extended bearing of his own teachings?

This doctrine, that the earth's surface or crust has come to its present condition by the slow operation of natural agents, even the same as we now see at work, makes the science of geology—at least in one of its principal departments—simply a history; and, as a matter of course, it requires to be treated as such. On this view there has been in all past time, from the earliest periods, a regular succession of events in the operation of the various geological agencies; the condition of things in the earth's crust at any time being not only the result of causes still in operation, but at the same time also growing out of the condition of things in the age next preceding. Thus the condition of things at the present age, in any place, must have grown out of that of the last age, and the condition of things in the last age must have grown out of that in the next preceding, and so on indefinitely. It is indeed true, if the crust of the earth has been brought to its present condition, not by the operation of natural causes, but by a succession of miracles, it still has a history, in a sense, but then this history must be limited to a mere description of the successive cataclysms; and these being, as supposed, mere arbitrary interferences of divine power, there would not necessarily be any connection between them. And so too, if the present condition of the earth be the result of the action of geological agents, but modified by occasional miraculous interferences, there can be no longer any

reasoning from effect to cause, since we never can be certain, in regard to any particular thing, whether it be the effect of the cause supposed, or whether it be not, on the other hand, the result solely of miraculous agency.

But after illustrating and proving, in so able a manner, the truth of Hutton's early but sagacious view, which as we have seen makes the science of geology a history, how does Lyell proceed to present this history before us? Why, "back end foremost," beginning by describing first the most recent events, and closing with the most ancient!* But this work of Lyell, though really a history written backwards, has for more than thirty years maintained the position it took very soon after its publication, as a standard authority, not indeed inferior to any other in any language!

At length, however, in this excellent work of Prof. Dana, we have the true idea realized: a history of the earth written in the order of the events. And if the publication of Lyell's work, a third of a century ago, marked an era in the progress of opinions on this branch of science, so will this also, but in a different way.† It may not indeed effect such a change of opinion on any important point connected with the science, but it invests American geology, at least, with such new interest, and throws around the study of it such new charms, that we may reasonably expect it to receive a new impulse.

But while geology is properly a history, we are not to understand that *historical geology* is the whole of the science. There are other departments besides the historical, of which we shall have occasion to speak subsequently.

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* "It has been often said that geology is a history, the records of which are written in the rocks; and such is its highest department. But is this clearly appreciated? If so, why do we find text-books, even the one highest in authority in the English language, written back end foremost, like a history of England commencing with the reign of Victoria? In history the phases of every age are deeply rooted in the preceding, and intimately dependent on the whole past. There is a literal unfolding of events as time moves on; and this is eminently true of geology."—*Dana's Address at Providence. Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; Ninth Meeting, held at Providence, R. I., August,* 1855, *p.* 4.

† One or two small works on geology have heretofore been published, which treat the subject in this order, but no one, it is believed, which is of standard authority.

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We have already more than intimated our opinion of this work; we consider it not inferior to any other in the language, and, for American students especially, vastly superior to all others. The very beginning, the "Introduction," is surpassingly beautiful, and the reading of it cannot fail deeply to impress the mind, and prepare it for the eloquent pages that are to follow.

1. *Kingdoms of Nature.* Science, in her survey of the earth, has recognized three kingdoms of nature: the animal, the vegetable, and the inorganic; or, naming them from the forms characteristic of each, the Animal Kingdom, the Plant Kingdom, and the Crystal Kingdom. An individual in either kingdom has its systematic mode of formation and growth.—P. 1.

The particular mode of growth of the individual in each kingdom being then described, substantially as by other writers, the author proceeds:

2. But the earth, also, according to geology, has been brought to its present condition through a series of changes or progressive formations, and from a state as utterly featureless as a germ. Moreover, like a plant or animal, it has its special systems of interior and exterior structure, and of interior and exterior conditions, movements, and changes; and although Infinite Mind has guided all events toward the great end, a world of mind, the earth has, under this guidance and appointed law, passed through a regular course of history and growth. Having therefore, as a sphere, its comprehensive system of growth, it is a unit or individual, not indeed in either of the three kingdoms of nature which have been mentioned, but in a higher, a *world kingdom.* Every sphere in space must have had a related system of growth, and all are, in fact, individuals of this kingdom of worlds.

Geology treats of the earth in this grand relation. . . .

3. The earth, regarded as an individuality in a world-kingdom, has not only its comprehensive system of growth, in which strata have been added to strata, continents and seas defined, mountains reared, and valleys, rivers, and plains formed, all in orderly plan, but also a system of currents in its oceans and atmosphere, the earth's circulating system; its equally world-wide system in the distribution of heat, light, moisture, and magnetism; plants and animals; its system of secular variations (daily, annual, etc.,) in its climate and all meteorological phenomena. In these characteristics the sphere before us is an individual, as much as a crystal or a tree; and, to arrive at any correct views on these subjects, the world must be regarded in this capacity. The distribution of man and nations, and of all productions that pertain to man's welfare, comes in under the same grand relation; for in helping to carry forward man's progress as a race, the sphere is working out its final purpose.—Pp. 1 and 2.

Geology then takes its proper place as a distinct branch of the science of nature or natural history. It is not a dull discussion of cataclysms and convulsions that have occurred in the earth in past times without law or order, with descriptions of disgusting monsters, "hobgoblins and chimeras dire," but a grand development of events which have taken place in regular order, those of any one period having had their origin and cause in those of the next preceding, and so on in long succession; all this, of course, under the control and continued superintendence of the same Divine Mind that in infinite wisdom originally called matter into being, and gave it its properties and laws.

But before entering upon the discussion of the earth's individual development, it will add much to the interest of the study if we understand the true "relation of the earth to the universe." This topic the author of this work briefly but beautifully places before us as follows:

> *Relation of the Earth to the Universe.* While recognizing the earth as a sphere in a world-kingdom, it is also important to observe that the earth holds a very subordinate position in the system of the heavens. It is one of the smaller satellites of the sun; its size about $\frac{1}{1,400,000}$ that of the sun. And the planetary system to which it belongs, although three thousand millions of miles in radius, is but one among myriads, the nearest star [being] seven thousand times further off than Neptune. Thus it appears that the earth is a very little object in the universe. Hence we naturally conclude that the earth is but a dependent part of the solar system; that as a satellite of the sun, in conjunction with other planets, it could no more have existed before the sun, or our planetary system before the universe of which it is a part, than the hand before the body which it obediently attends.

Truly insignificant and unimportant this our earthly footstool is, considered comparatively in this light, but not so insignificant or unimportant when considered in another light. The author proceeds:

> Although thus diminutive, the laws of the earth are the laws of the universe. One of the fundamental laws of matter is gravitation; and this we trace not only through our planetary system, but among the fixed stars, and thus *know* that one law pervades the universe.
>
> The rays of light which come in from the remote limits of space are a visible declaration of unity. . . .
>
> Meteoric stones are specimens of celestial bodies occasionally sent to us from the heavens. They exemplify the same chemical

> and crystallographic laws as the rocks of the earth, and have afforded no new element or principle of any kind.
>
> The moon presents to the telescope a surface covered with the craters of volcanoes, having forms that are well illustrated by some of the earth's volcanoes, although of immense size. The principles exemplified on the earth are but repeated in her satellite.
>
> Thus from gravitation, light, meteorites, and the earth's satellite, we learn that there is oneness of law through space. The elements may differ in different systems, but it is a difference such as exists among known elements, and could give us no new fundamental laws. New crystalline forms might be found in the depths of space, but the laws of crystallography would be the same that are displayed before us among the crystals of the earth. A text-book on Crystallography, Physics, or Celestial Mechanics, printed in one of our printing-offices, would serve for the universe. . . .
>
> The earth, therefore, although but an atom in immensity, is immensity itself in its revelations of truth; and science, though gathered from one small sphere, is the deciphered law of all spheres.
>
> It is well to have the mind deeply imbued with this thought before entering upon the study of the earth. It gives grandeur to science and dignity to man, and will help the geologist to apprehend the loftier characteristics of the last of the geological ages.—Pp. 3, 4.

These are long extracts, considering the few pages to which our article must be limited, but the reader who has not ready access to the work itself will not regret their insertion. They are taken from the author's "Introduction," and every one will agree that they furnish excellent ground of hope for a satisfactory treatment of the subject in the body of the work.

The author's division of his subject is peculiar and original. His work treats of the science under the five heads or "Parts," PHYSIOGRAPHIC GEOLOGY, LITHOLOGICAL GEOLOGY, HISTORICAL GEOLOGY, DYNAMICAL GEOLOGY, and COSMOGONY. Under the treatment of so able a hand this arrangement answers well, though at first view it seems defective, especially for a work to be put into the hands of students. A very natural arrangement for a text-book on geology is that adopted in the "Elements of Geology" by Gray and Adams, which, for quite a number of years, has been the chief text-book in this branch of science used in American seminaries of learning. The essential peculiarity of it is that a considerable space, at the very first, is devoted to the discussion of "Geological Agencies," that is, the agents by which the earth has been brought

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to its present condition. This to the student is of great importance as a preparation for the task he has prescribed for himself. Few persons that have not had their attention called to the wonderful effects produced by those agencies, with special reference to this science, are aware of the great geological changes that are almost everywhere constantly in progress even before our eyes. They have indeed seen some change in the river's bank or channel, or in the filling up of a harbor or watercourse, or the slide that has come down the side of a mountain, and have read of similar occurrences elsewhere, and of the results of earthquakes and volcanic action ; but still, without a systematic examination very few are capable of appreciating the mighty changes which have been produced by these agencies during the few thousand years denominated the historic period.

This preparation, in some form, for the study of the grand subject, seems to be essential for the student ; and if before entering upon the study of this work he can find time to read only a few chapters of the first volume of " Lyell's Principles," he will find it a great advantage.

This point, on a smaller scale, is recognized by all writers on geology, by introducing somewhere in their works a chapter treating specially of the general classification of animals and plants. Our author occupies twenty pages (pp. 147–167) in this way. This in fact is absolutely necessary for a proper understanding of the subject.

The name Physiographic Geology, which the author has chosen for the first part of the work, is perhaps sufficiently expressive of the topics discussed in it. These are essentially the same as we find treated of in works on Physical Geography. They are necessarily included in any proper description of the earth, but we do not recollect to have seen them so formally introduced in any other work on geology. Many of the points presented are the same substantially as are found in other authors, but some are original and striking :

> If a globe be cut through the center by a plane intersecting the meridian of 175° E. at the parallel of 40° N., one of the hemispheres thus made, the northern, will contain nearly all the land of the globe, and the other be almost wholly water. . . .
>
> The pole of the land-hemisphere in this map is the western half of the British Channel ; and if this point on a common globe be

placed in the zenith, under the brass meridian, the horizon-circle will then mark the division between the two hemispheres.—Pp. 10, 11.

The author might have added, the pole of this land-hemisphere, being thus nearly midway between London and Paris, may be taken as the great center of civilization and of finance for the whole globe.

In this part of the work the grand features of the earth's surface, its continents and oceans, its mountain ranges and elevated plateaus, its rivers, lakes, and islands, its oceanic and atmospheric currents, are well but of course briefly described. The continents are only two in number, the eastern and western—the "*orient*" and the "*occident*"—Australia being considered as making a part of the "orient," as is evidently proper. The eastern continent, even including Australia as a part of it, does not extend as far south as the western, but has a much greater breadth in its northern part, and its southern bifid prolongations are separated by the Indian Ocean.

The highest mountains of the globe are in the torrid zone; and nearly within the same limits the waters in east and west lines almost divide both the orient and occident, there being required for the purpose only thirty-seven miles of canal at the Isthmus of Darien, and seventy miles at the Isthmus of Suez.

There are three great oceanic basins, the Atlantic, the Indian, and the Pacific. The first two have but few islands, but in the Pacific there are no less than six hundred and seventy-five. Many of these are in clusters in mid-ocean, and may be considered the tops of sub-oceanic mountains.

Climate too comes in for consideration, and many interesting and important facts are presented.

The laws of the winds are the basis of the distribution of sterility and fertility:

1. The warm tropical winds, or trades, are moist winds; and blowing against cooler land, or meeting cooler currents of air, they drop the moisture in rain or snow. Consequently, the side of the continent or of an island struck by them—that is, the eastern—is the moist side.

2. The cool extra-tropical winds from the westward and high latitudes are only moderately moist, (for the capacity for moisture depends on the temperature,) blowing against a coast, and bending toward the equator, they become warmer, and continue to take

> up more moisture as they heat up; and hence they are drying winds. Consequently, the side of a continent struck by these westerly currents—that is, the *western*—is the *drier* side.
>
> There is, therefore, double reason for the difference in moisture between the opposite sides of a continent.
>
> Consequently, the annual amount of rain falling in tropical South America is 116 inches, while on the opposite side of the Atlantic it is 76 inches. In the temperate zone of the United States, east of the Mississippi, the average fall is about 44 inches; in Europe, only 32. . . .
>
> It is well for America that her mountains stand in the far west, instead of on her eastern borders to intercept the atmospheric moisture and pour it immediately back into the ocean. The waters of the great Gulf of Mexico (which has almost the area of the United States east of the Mississippi) and those of the Mediterranean are a provision against drought for the continents adjoining. It is bad for Africa that her loftiest mountains are on her eastern border.—Pp. 46, 47.

One peculiarity of our American rivers he omits to mention. Nearly all our rivers are subject to greater variations in the quantity of water flowing in them at different seasons than European rivers are. This is greatly to the disadvantage of the interests of navigation on them. The rivers of Europe are indeed subject to the same irregularities, but in less degree. The reason is found in the fact that the mountains of Europe, where several of the larger rivers have their origin, are covered the whole year with ice and snow, which are rapidly melted by the heat of summer, and thus the flow of water in the different seasons is in a great degree equalized.

The Second Part of the work before us, devoted to Lithological Geology, contains a very full description of all the various kinds of rocks which form the crust of our globe, or all that part of it to which we have access; while the Fourth Part, or Dynamical Geology, treats of the causes of events in the earth's geological progress.

These two great branches of the general subject are certainly to some extent distinct from each other, and yet it is a question whether there is anything to be gained by treating of them separately. In another connection he says: "Geology is sometimes defined as the science of the structure of the earth. But the ideas of structure and *origin* of structure are inseparably connected and in all geological investigations they go together."—P. 4. This is indeed said of the structure of the earth itself, but it is

equally true of the structure of the strata that form the earth's crust, to which the teachings of the science are chiefly limited. The difficulty of separating a description of the rocks from any discussion of the forces or agents by which they have been formed, becomes very apparent when an attempt is made to describe certain kinds of rocks, as those called *metamorphic.* To convey a clear idea of the peculiar characteristics of these rocks, the very best method is to describe the mode in which it is believed they have been formed; first, as sedimentary deposits, with or without organic remains, but afterward altered or *metamorphosed* more or less by the action of heat, obliterating the organic remains, if any, and producing partial crystallization. The author himself falls into this method in his first sentence describing these rocks. (See page 74, and also page 704.)

But while saying this, as in our belief strictly true, we hasten to say that we, in reality, have no quarrel with the author's arrangement. Such a science as geology admits of various arrangements of its details, each having its own advantages and disadvantages. He has presented the subject very admirably for the use of such as are systematically seeking a thorough knowledge of it; but if occasionally the persevering student, in his efforts to master "Lithological Geology," finds it a little tedious, he may be excused if he is disposed to attribute it in part to the peculiar arrangement of the different parts of the work.

But the charm of this great work is found more especially in the Third Part, which treats of "Historical Geology." Here it is that the advantage of the author's method is made to appear so plainly.

We have heretofore seen, when we come to recognize the fact that the earth has been brought to its present condition by the regular operation of natural causes, we are then prepared to understand that there has been a regular progress and development in its affairs; and this progress or development, if we can mark its varied steps, is as much a matter of historical inquiry as are the progressive events in the affairs of the human race. But while there has been an unceasing flow, a continual progress, in the changes by which the present condition of the earth's crust has been produced, it is reasonable

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to expect there will also be epochs in this progress, as in human history, which constitute natural subdivisions of the grand subject. This we find to be the case; but the author justly cautions us that we must not "expect to find strongly-drawn lines between the ages, nor the corresponding subdivisions of the rocks." It is comparatively easy, as a general thing, to determine the culminating or central point of a period, but it is not so easy to determine the exact beginning or end. Indeed, in the progress of the geological ages or periods, the characteristics of any one period are usually, upon examination, found to have had their origin in the middle of the period preceding. In the continual flow of events, the transition from one condition to another are so easy that the change is scarcely noticed; but when the eye is thrown back it is seen that the characteristics of the present period were really foreshadowed far back in the past.

The rocks formed in any region in successive geological periods, are often found to differ greatly in character; but it is by the progress of life that "geological time derives its division into ages." * The rocks change in character as we ascend in the series in any particular locality, and the order of superposition there, as a general rule, will determine their relative age; but how shall the relative age of strata be determined in places remote from each other, and between which no connection can be traced? It is only or chiefly by the fossils found in them, which are themselves the records of the progress of life at the time these strata were deposited. It is not to be supposed that exactly the same geological changes were taking place at the same time in countries distant from each other, but it has been fully determined that the progress of life, in its grand features, has been essentially the same everywhere. And the reason of this, in part at least, the progress of science has made known to us.

One of the chief circumstances affecting both vegetable and animal life, and especially the latter, is the condition of the atmosphere; and this in all its important features must be the same over the whole earth. At present, in every country, and everywhere over the ocean as well as on the land, so far as our observations have extended, the atmosphere is made up of

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* Dana's Address at Providence, p. 5.

nitrogen about seventy-nine parts, oxygen twenty or twenty-one parts, and carbonic acid gas less than one part. The proportional quantity of the latter, however, varies considerably in different places, and at different times in the same place. Occasionally other substances are present, but only in very minute quantities.

But in the early geological periods the constitution of the atmosphere must have been essentially different from this, as a very considerable part of the carbon which we now find beneath the soil, in the form of mineral coal, was then in combination with a part of the free oxygen of the present atmosphere, as carbonic acid. This latter must then have formed a part of the atmosphere, which of course contained proportionally a much larger quantity of carbonic acid, and much less oxygen than the present atmosphere. Other gases also may then have been present, but we have no means now of determining this point. No animals or plants of the present day, especially the former, could have lived at that time, nor could the animals or plants of that period now flourish.

This change in the atmosphere was not made in a day or a year, but being the result of the operation of natural causes, was in progress through a long period of time. And as the change gradually progressed there would necessarily be corresponding changes in both the animals and plants of that period; and moreover as the progressive changes in the atmosphere would extend to all countries on the face of the globe, so would the corresponding changes in the progress of life, as far as affected by this cause. Therefore, though the races of animals inhabiting distant countries at any epoch may have been very different, still a sufficient resemblance would be preserved to identify them as belonging to the same period. The same remark will apply also to the plants of any period, though perhaps with less apparent force.

In every work on geology reference must frequently be made to particular localities in illustration of principles advanced, but our author's method of treating the subject requires more than this. There is no such thing as history in the abstract; a history must be the history of some country or people or individual. The work does indeed treat of the general subject of geology, but the great globe is made up of many parts, each of

which has had its own development, and in a grand measure its own separate history. As in civil history, the history of the world is made up of the histories of the multitudinous nations that have at different periods occupied various portions of its surface, so in geological history, the whole is also made up of its separate parts, which are more or less distinct.

The author in his Preface gives us his reasons for the American character of his work. They are two: "a desire to adapt it to the wants of American students, and a belief that, on account of a peculiar simplicity and unity, American geological history affords the best basis for a text-book of the science. North America stands alone in the ocean, a simple isolated specimen of a continent, (even South America lying to the eastward of its meridians,) and the laws of progress have been undisturbed by the conflicting movements of other lands." The work therefore is designed to be a history of the development of the North American continent in particular, but references are occasionally made to the cotemporaneous geological history of other continents; so, also, localities in other countries are constantly referred to as illustrating important principles, or proving the operation of particular agencies.

Thus the work is made, to a considerable extent, a general discussion of geological history, while it, in a special manner, develops the geological history of our own continent.

In his survey of general geological history, the author recognizes seven periods or ages, each of which is characterized by some few prevailing forms of animal or vegetable life. These ages are not "strongly marked off in the rocks," because "it is not in the nature of history to be divided off by visible embankments;" but still the reality of their existence is easily seen, even when the beginning or ending of an age it may be quite impossible to determine. These ages are,

Firstly, The Azoic Age, so named because in the rocks of that period no traces of animal life are found, and only a few of the lowest orders of plants; they are considered the oldest rocks that meet our view.

Secondly, The Age of Mollusks, during which were deposited the oldest rocks that contain the remains of animals and plants. These rocks, with others of later periods, are called the Paleozoic (ancient life-bearing) rocks. In this age mollusks were

more abundant than any other form of life, but other forms were known. These rocks are also known as the Silurian rocks.

Thirdly, The Age of Fishes, in which fishes were especially abundant. The rocks of this period are also known as the Devonian rocks.

Fourthly, The Carboniferous Age or Coal Period, during which the immense deposits of mineral coal were formed.

Fifthly, The Age of Reptiles, so called because characterized by the existence of huge reptiles, as the ichthyosaurus, the iguanodon, etc., found in England and elsewhere.

Sixthly, The Age of Mammals.

Seventhly, The Age of Man.

This subdivision of geological history has reference solely to the animal kingdom, as will be seen at a glance; but the author remarks that a classification made in reference to the vegetable kingdom would not differ widely from it.

It would be interesting to give here some extracts from the author's "History," to show how very satisfactorily he depicts the probable phases of this continent at different periods as it gradually emerged from the universal ocean, and progressed from stage to stage through the long, long, slowly-creeping centuries; race after race of both animals and plants appearing and disappearing in long succession; until at length it put on its present verdure, and became peopled with its present inhabitants, but it is impossible to do so in our brief space. Only a single extract can be given to show the point of beginning:

> The fact of the existence of the globe at one time in a state of universal fusion, is placed beyond a reasonable doubt. And whatever events occurred upon the globe from the era of the elevated temperature necessary to fusion, down to the time when the climate and waters had become fitted for animal life, are events in the Azoic age. The age, therefore, must stand as the first in geological history, whether science can point out unquestionably the rocks of that age or not.—P. 134.

But we must not allow ourselves to be led astray here; as is implied in this extract, we are not always to infer that rocks belong to this age or period because they are destitute of organic remains. The granitic and metamorphic rocks of New England contain no fossils, but it is considered as well settled that they are even more recent than the fossiliferous rocks of north-

ern New York. In close proximity to the granite, in some places in Massachusetts, rocks are found containing fossils similar to those in the rocks of northern New York; a fact which indicates that the intruded granite is the more recent of the two.

The development of this continent, according to the author of this work, began with the immense range of granitic or azoic rocks, which extends from a point north-west of Lake Superior in two branches, one to the north-west, parallel with the Pacific coast, and the other to the north-east, parallel with the river St. Lawrence, about midway between that river and Hudson's Bay. These are the true primary rocks of the continent, having so early emerged from beneath the waters that in all probability they were never covered with any sedimentary deposits. Rocks of the same character, but only of very limited extent, are found in some other places in the interior of the continent, as in Michigan, a small distance south of Lake Superior, and perhaps some points in the Rocky Mountain range. These peaks then of course constituted islands in the vast sea. But though only this small part of the continent had at this time emerged above the surface of the ocean, still the great outlines of the continent, as it afterward became developed, were probably well defined, and the whole, with the exceptions named, lay at no great depth beneath the surface of the wide extended ocean.

Thus, the azoic period closed when the surface and the atmosphere had attained a temperature which permitted the introduction of organic bodies, and some of the lower orders, both of plants and animals, made their appearance; and their remains constitute the fossils now found in the earliest paleozoic rocks, the rocks of the next succeeding period.

During the azoic period all the events that occurred were simply *physical;* but on the introduction of organic bodies, a new order of things was presented, which constituted "a new and great step of progress." And this progression thus inaugurated was to continue through many intermediate stages until it should terminate in the "creation of Man and Mind, as the last and loftiest of these culminations."

But we may not follow the author further as he continues his descriptions of the successive developments of this conti-

nent, in a manner, it is believed, that has never before been attempted.

To the eye of a finite being, could there have been one present to witness the passing panorama, there would have appeared many retrograde movements, but in reality all were steps in the grand development which was to have its termination in the present era, the "Era of Mind." For this, all that preceded was only preparatory.

> In the latter part of the preceding era the animal kingdom, apart from man, culminated; for the system then reached the highest grade of development presented by the merely animal type, and brute passion had its fullest display. In the era [of Mind] now opening, the animal element is no longer dominant, but mind, in the possession of a being at the head of the kingdom of life; and the era bears the impress of its exalted characteristic even in the smaller size of its beasts of prey. At the same time, the ennobled animal structure rises to its highest perfection; for the vertebrate type which began during the paleozoic in the prone or horizontal fish, finally becomes erect in man, completing, as Agassiz has observed, the possible changes in the series to its last term."—P. 573.

But may not the objection be raised here that this is assuming quite too much for our own era, and for man, the being of Mind, and grand characteristic of the era? May it not be well to heed the sarcastic language of the poet?—

> "While man exclaims, 'See all things for my use,'
> 'See man for mine!' replies the pampered goose."

The author gives us the very satisfactory answer as follows, namely:

> In order to a correct apprehension of the distinctions and eminence of the era of mind, a few of the attributes of man are here enumerated.
>
> Man was the first being that was not finished on reaching adult growth, but was provided with powers for indefinite expansion, a will for a life of work, and a boundless aspiration to lead to endless improvement. He was the first being capable of an intelligent survey of nature and comprehension of her laws; the first capable of augmenting his strength by bending nature to his service, rendering thereby a weak body stronger than all possible animal force; the first capable of deriving happiness from beauty, truth, and goodness, of apprehending eternal right, of looking from the finite to the infinite, and communing with God his Maker. Made in the image of God, surely he is immeasurably beyond the brute, although it shares with him the attribute of reason.
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> The supremacy of the animal in nature, which continued until now, here yields, therefore, to the supremacy of the spiritual. As

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> the body, through its development and adaptation, is made for the service and education of the soul that is slowly maturing in connection with it, so with the system of the world, as regards both its inorganic and organic departments, there was reference throughout its history, no less than in its final adjustment, to man, the last, the highest, the spiritual creation. And the earth subserves her chief purpose in nurturing this new creation for a still more exalted stage, that of spiritual existence.—Pp. 573, 574.

The question concerning the "Antiquity of Man," which has of late received so much attention, the author does not specially discuss, but merely remarks in passing that the age of man opens in the "Terrace" Epoch; the period when the present river terraces were formed; in which were made the very latest post-tertiary deposits not referrible to the action of present rivers and streams. (See pages 535 and 548.)

To those who are curious in the study of this question, it may be interesting to remark that the Niagara River, or rather the deep gorge it has excavated for itself, furnishes the best data to be found in this region for a kind of practical elucidation of the subject.

According to the author of this work, the introduction of man took place during the "Terrace Epoch," which is considered as a "transition period," connecting the latest post-tertiary with the historic times. Now this excavation of its own channel by the Niagara River began after or at the close of the drift period, and not very long before the beginning of this "Terrace Epoch;" consequently, if we can determine the time which has been required for the Niagara River to accomplish this work, we shall know, approximately, how long our race has existed on this globe! But to do this we need to know what has been the average annual rate at which the recession has progressed in times past; a period which has not yet been satisfactorily settled.

Mr. Bakewell, in 1830,* thought he found evidence that for the forty years preceding, the recession had averaged about three feet annually; but probably this is too much, and Lyell,† in 1841, thought it would not exceed one third of this, or one foot a year; and Hall‡ coincides with him. The author of the work before us (page 591) names an inch a year, or eight and

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* Literary Journal, vol. xiv, p. 47.

† Lyell's Travels, vol. i, p. 27.

‡ Rep. 4th Dist. N. Y., p. 348.

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one third feet a century, as a more probable rate, and others still have made lower estimates. If we adopt any one of these estimates, it is easy to calculate the time that would be required to produce the six miles of excavation below the Falls.

> Taking the rate at one foot a year, the six miles will have required thirty-one thousand years; if at the rate of one inch a year, which is eight and one third feet a century, three hundred and eighty thousand years.

That the recession has required a very long period is plain, but when we undertake to estimate it in years we find it difficult to settle upon any definite number.

In concluding this paper a few general observations suggest themselves.

1. No one can read the work before us without being impressed with the profoundness of the author's views of the great subject of which it treats. In this we may claim for it a dedecided superiority over any other work in the English language. He seizes upon the mighty subject with the grasp of a giant, and presents it systematically before us in all its great features and relations with singular clearness; and, at the same time, brings forward in long array the multitudinous details on which the immense superstructure depends.

In all the qualities which constitute the peculiarities of an excellent book, we hesitate not to say the volume has not often been surpassed.

2. With his profound knowledge of the whole subject, the author has found nothing to disturb, in the least, his long professed belief in the Christian religion, or his firm reliance upon the Bible as the Book of God. On minor points, where others have so often stumbled, he feels no difficulty. Take, for instance, the origin of species, which has always constituted a vexed question:

> With regard to the *origin of species*, geology suggests no theory from natural forces. It is right for science to search out Nature's methods, and strive to employ her forces, organic or inorganic, in the effort, vain though it prove, to derive thence new living species. The study of fossils has given no aid in this direction. It has brought to light no facts sustaining a theory that derives species from others, either by a system of evolution, or by a system of variations of living individuals, and bears strongly against both hypotheses. There are no lineal series through cre-

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> ation corresponding to such methods of development. . . . With any such system of development of species from species, the system of life, after ages of progress, would have become a blended mass; the temple of nature fused over its surface and throughout its structure. The study of the past has opened to view no such result.—Pp. 602, 603.

That species after species, and race after race, both of plants and animals, have in some way been introduced upon this earth, and after flourishing their brief day, again entirely disappeared, leaving only such remains as are preserved in the rocks constituting the crust of our globe, is abundantly manifest; but the *method* of their introduction is a point man has not yet been able to determine. Science on this point having thus far entirely failed us, the author is willing to leave it, for the present at least, unexplained. It is not the only question pertaining to this study that we are obliged to leave thus.

> But geology, while reaching so deeply into the origin of things, leaves wholly unexplained the creation of matter, life, and spirit, and that spiritual element which pervades the whole history like a prophecy, becoming more and more clearly pronounced with the progressing ages, and having its consummation and fulfillment in man. It gives no cause for the arrangement of the continents together in one hemisphere, and mainly in the same temperate zone, or their situation about the narrow Atlantic, with the barrier mountains in the remote west of America and in the remote east of Europe and Asia, thus gathering the civilized world into one vast arena; it does not account for the oceans having that exact relation in extent and depth to the land which, under all the changes, allowed of submergence and emergence through small oscillations of the coast, and have permitted the spreading out of sandstones and shales by the waves and currents, the building up of limestones through animal life, and the accumulation of coal beds through the growth of plants; and all in numberless alternations; nor for the various adaptations of the systems of plants and animals to the wants of the last species in that system. Through the whole history of the globe there was a shaping, provisioning, and exalting the earth, with reference to a being of mind, to be sustained, educated, exalted. This is the spiritual element in geological history, for which attraction, water, and fire have no explanation.—P. 740.

3. There is no discrepancy between the teachings of geology and the teachings of the Bible. This, at least, is the deliberate opinion of the author of this work. After a brief discussion of the "Cosmogony" of the first chapter of the book of Genesis, he says:

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> The record of the Bible is, therefore, profoundly philosophical in the scheme of creation which it presents. It is both true and divine. It is a declaration of authorship, both of creation and the Bible, on the first page of the sacred volume.
>
> There can be no real conflict between the two books of the GREAT AUTHOR. Both are revelations made by him to man; the *earlier* telling of God-made harmonies coming up from the deep past, and rising to their height when man appeared; the *later* teaching man's relations to his Maker, and speaking of loftier harmonies in the eternal future.—P. 746.

Of this great science, geology, the author had previously said with equal beauty and truth:

> Geology appears to bring us directly before the Creator, and, while opening to us the methods through which the forces of nature have accomplished his purposes; while proving that there has been a plan glorious in its scheme and perfect in system, progressing through unmeasured ages and looking ever toward Man and a spiritual end; it leads to no other solution of the great problem of creation, whether of kinds of matter or of species of life, than this, DEUS FECIT!

ART. V.—LESSON FROM THE BAR TO THE PULPIT.*

EVERY man who deems himself called by summons of the Most High to stand forth his herald to the sons of men, should know that it is a God of *perfections* who calls him to the work, "even the Lord of hosts, which is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in *working*." His all-seeing eye is ever on his vineyard, and on those who labor therein. Will he then, a God most perfect in his style of action, rest content at beholding ungainly airs and slouching attitudes, or mangled words and boorish genuflections at his sacred altars?

Let us turn our attention to that qualification of the public speaker, *eloquence*. Is it essential that it be cultivated as a means of aid in the work of the Christian ministry? Is time *lost* that the servant of God may devote to its acquirement?

In commencing an answer to these interrogatories, we may with much profit go back to very remote periods of the past. It is in our power to recur to a time when the point was raised before Deity himself. Possibly, after that, further pursuit were

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* The title to the present article is selected by the Editor.

superfluous. This is the instance we quote: "And Moses said unto the Lord, O my Lord, I am not *eloquent;* but I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue. And the Lord said, Is not Aaron the Levite thy brother? I know that he can speak well. And he shall be thy spokesman unto the people. And Moses and Aaron went and gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel, and *Aaron* spake," etc., etc. We but pause to remark, it was not that Moses was incapable of speaking, but that the Levite could speak *well.*

We purposely avoid dwelling on the labors of Him who, at the seaside, in the highways, on the mount, and in the temple at Jerusalem, "spake as never man spake," lest the attempt might induce the charge of presumption. But we do not feel debarred access to the excellences of that chosen vessel of God, who stood forth the able champion of the Cross, whose powers of declamation the haughty representatives of Cæsar trembled to witness; and who, in the midst of Mars' Hill, undaunted by embellishments of glorious Athens, overwhelmed her vaunted schools of stoics and philosophers. What sublime impress did not the public discourses of the great apostle stamp on the time wherein he lived! and what a tale was that the Athenian paterfamilias, in after years, may have related at his family board, who, in early manhood, had listened to a sermon preached by the great missionary to the Gentile world! And what source of regret to *us* that the son of Tarsus, like the orators of profane history, or the yet living prodigies of the present day, could not likewise have had *his* biographer!

Then might we have had some account of those peculiar powers which "almost" persuaded Roman aristocracy to embrace the then reviled and unfashionable faith of the humble Christian. But as it is, we can only form an estimate of those performances by the record sent down to us of the *effects* they produced. The tone, accent, gesture, experience, etc., etc., are lost. It may be well supposed, however, that the student of Gamaliel, who surrounded his *epistolary* productions with so much that is chaste and precise, was not insensible to the advantages resulting from due care in the cultivation of the *oratorical.*

Following these cited instances, it were possible to say much of those luminaries of the German. the French the English and

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Scottish Churches, whose names and fame are known to all the reading world. Some of them, indeed, are of recent date; it being yet within recollection of the living how their eloquent appeals awakened the admiration and chained the minds of American audiences. Even the philosophic intellect of Franklin swayed to the tempest of Whitfield's exhortation.

Sermons are proclaimed from the desk in one or the other of two ways. They are read from manuscript or print, or delivered extemporaneously; those most effectually, in the latter way. To the credit and glory of the Methodist Episcopal Church, her ministers (with few exceptions) adhere to the extemporaneous form of delivery. It could be hoped these exceptions were fewer than they are. No one will pretend to question the fact, that a more systematic and properly plotted sermon can be drawn out at leisure on paper than can be produced impromptu in the desk. But after all, perfect and polished as it may be, it is but a work of *skill;* and when *read*, even in good style, may be productive of slight profit. These reading speakers, or speaking readers, may be reminded that they find no warrant for the custom in the labors of St. Paul.

Waiving consideration of the *matter* of a public discourse, let us proceed to the inspection of *manner* in presenting it. Those sadly err who think it matter of slight concern *how* they get through a sermon, provided it is orthodox, and of the approved length; supposing that when the time is filled up and the motions made, the appointed task is done. It is unfortunately true there are such; and the weaker their powers and fewer their graces, the longer, usually, their public displays. An infinite deal, we humbly submit, depends on the manner wherein the speaker presents *himself*, as well as his subject. How wide the contrast between a personal habit graceful and unconstrained, and one careless, clownish, or awkward!

It is, or should be, the same with a public speaker as with the public performer on an instrument. All will concede that the very poorest player in the world may play for his own edification from morning until night, but must become a *master* of the instrument before essaying to greet the *public* ear. Of the many thousands of the professed gentlemen of the bow, the judicious masses endure but the Ole Bulls and the Paul Juliens,

those remarkable instances of proficiency acquired by patience, perseverance, and years of toil.

Those of the ministerial calling who think they have only to do with the *ear* of the auditor, mistake the matter. A congregation of Christian worshipers are remarkably particular as to the bearing, appearance, and even habiliments of the public servant. Were the members blind, or if public services were conducted in the dark, the case would be widely different. But as it is, we *will* look at the preacher; note his dress, his walk, his hair, his hands, his every motion; even his pocket-handkerchief. If all is *right*, we feel content, and listen to what he may have to say; if anything is *wrong*, we grow uneasy, if not petulant, and listen or not, as it may chance to happen. In truth, the adoption of an unexceptional bearing in the sacred desk is a matter deeply affecting the interests of community. Looking to the high character of this exalted service, and mindful of the sacred day set apart for its discharge, and the classes of persons, of both sexes, attendant before the altar, it should be the first aim of the clerical functionary to succeed. Every suitable appliance, art, means, and address, pertaining to his calling, should be regarded and practiced. The *attention* of a promiscuous mass is not always a thing so easily caught, but being caught should be, if possible, retained. Sound argument, or exhibition of superior acquirements, or elegance of composition, may all fail to arrest attention, when mere excellence of manner may. But let us proceed to the consideration of some particular points.

1. In our own youthful days, it was by many thought the *ne plus ultra* of the public servant of God to declaim at the utmost limit of violence whereof the body and voice are capable. And this tempest of delivery was indiscriminately used in the didactic, descriptive, argumentative; in the denunciatory, the pathetic, the persuasive, in fact, in everything, after full headway was attained. A man for an hour under this high-pressure system naturally became discolored in face, distorted in feature, distressed in body, and would be, the greater part of the time, painfully squeaking with a broken-down voice. Happily this style has measurably gone into disuse. But while this excess is reprobated, it by no means follows that loud speaking is at all times unsuited to the services of the pulpit. It is that *continuous* thundering, without merit of discrimina-

tion, which we deplore. When a grand idea comes across the speaker's mind, it is marvelously well to utter it with full force. But a man may discuss an abstract proposition, or elucidate a principle or a doctrine, or invite sinners to the foot of the cross, or persuade the impenitent to close in with the overtures of mercy, or utter words of consolation to the bereaved, without putting everybody in pain by the manner of his doing it.

2. There are ministers, and not a few in number, who permit the indulgence of a kind of hacking or unreal cough, incessantly occurring at the end of every half dozen words, as though (which is not the case) the throat was uncleared from the beginning to the close of the discourse. Such a melancholy case always burdens one with the irresistible desire, if such thing were possible, to give one effectual cough for him, and for once and evermore open an unobstructed channel for his words.

Of much the same nature that superserviceable appendage, in the form of a monosyllable, not to be found in Webster, or any other unquestioned authority, *ugh!* "Then came he out of the land of the Chaldeans-*ugh*; and from thence-*ugh*, when his father was dead-*ugh*, he removed him into this land-*ugh*, where he now-*ugh* dwells-*ugh*." And a strange circumstance attending this guttural is, that in reality it is but a miserable *affectation*, a thing of acquirement, carefully studied and copied from some admired model. You will never hear it in the halls of Congress, in a State legislative body, at the bar, or at political, scientific, or literary meetings.

3. Much speculation has there been touching the introduction into sermons of those personal adventures and individual narratives usually called *anecdotes*. Some ministers traffic very largely in these unwritten bits of history; others introduce them, *never*. We are scarce prepared to venture an opinion regarding the policy of their use. We have known their occasional introduction attended with great success and power; and, on the other hand, have known public discourses so loaded down with them, as to inspire us with a feeling of contempt for the speaker. Such items are perhaps more in place at *social* meetings of the church than at the more public services. And on all occasions, the growing sentiment of the judicious and enlightened mind counsels their being used *sparingly;* but at no time to recite those of a whimsical, ludicrous, or laughter-moving sort.

The sacred platform is indeed holy ground, and he who presumes to set foot upon it should not be unmindful of those wise teachings of the Discipline, "Let your whole deportment be serious, weighty, and solemn." And again, "Let your motto be, *holiness to the Lord.* Avoid all *lightness, jesting, and foolish talking.*"

4. There is another evil, which all efforts of precaution, actuated by good taste, have failed to exclude from the social circle, the bar, the lecture-room, or the halls of legislation. It sometimes finds its way where of all places it should sternly be denied access, we mean into the sacred desk. It consists in the use of foolish saws and cant phrases, culled from the byways and sloughs of vulgar life, and which ill deserve the honor of transfer to better fields. Society has invented for them the well-fitting term of *slang.* It may be true the more vulgar and ribald of these miserable coinings of the brain do not often obtrude themselves within the house of God. But there *is* a class of them, something more decent of garb, but of the same lineage and low descent, which are smuggled into ports that should be closed to their reception. Let every minister observe a careful watch, and guard against depreciating the standard of pulpit dignity and decorum of speech. Is it well to use such terms as these? "Yes, it is," "that's so," "I'll tell you what," "toe the mark," "down with the brakes," "take a bee line to heaven," "a through ticket to glory." A judicious minister would not give utterance to the like phrases if preaching before crowned heads, or before a living John Wesley. Then why should they be current in any house dedicated to God, and filled with his children, heirs of everlasting life?

5. Let us next note a singular defect accompanying the public labors of some men, which, like most bad habits, is wholly without excuse. We can specify a minister who, during the whole time of delivering a sermon never once looked at his congregation. He ever appeared to be addressing somebody where there was nobody, in the ceiling or upper corners of the room. And although he spoke extemporaneously, his eye never descended from this elevated range. Then a lesser degree of this marked defect (by no means uncommon) is where the speaker has but a few places in the audience on which his eye rests. Doubtless every hearer has frequently had occasion to

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feel the effects of this apparent partiality of the minister, and has looked in vain for his turn to come; but the eye adhering to the favored spots, has left him with the consciousness of having been overlooked. At the bar, we should deem it bad policy to pass by any one of the twelve jurors empanneled in the cause; and it would seem to be equally essential that each person in the congregation, so far as practicable, should receive a due share of attention.

6. There is a diversity of opinions respecting the *rate* at which words should be uttered. The most illiterate of community, and especially the very young, regard extreme *rapidity* as the quintessence of perfection. An investigation of the subject will satisfy us that there are many eloquent men who speak with wondrous rapidity; others, equally eloquent, who articulate with deliberation. The most effective orator whom we have known at the bar was the very slowest we ever heard anywhere. The probability is, there is no reliable standard on the subject. Probably our efforts should be exercised in attempting to avoid either extreme.

We may consider under this head, as we pass, what is understood to be expressed by the word *monotony*. Every person knows what it is, as almost everybody has suffered from it. He is truly a fortunate man whose manner embraces variety. In everything we seem to favor change. The levelest of roads begets after a time an earnest longing for a few ups and downs. Continuous harmony in rhyme is finally relieved by a jar in its concord; essentially relieved by change of meter, equally so by descent to plain prose. And the same principle pertains to the style of delivering a discourse. It matters not how excellent it is, how sound in sentiment or beautiful in diction, if it comes forth all in the same tone, same rate of rapidity, same pitch of voice, though each be commendable in itself, the hearer grows weary; it is *monotonous*.

7. A matter of signal importance with the public speaker is that of gesture. We remember, when at school, that certain defined positions of the head, the body, the hands and feet were prescribed for our observance. Some of the books that supplied prescriptions and hints for the fabrication of orators were embellished with plates representing the human figure in all

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the phases of the art. But like the writing copy-book, we may doubt if these models of the school were much followed in practical life. We are disposed to think not, since every man has a system of gestures as peculiar to himself as the hand he writes, and both more or less vary with each succeeding year of his life. As to any rule or standard on the subject, it would seem impossible to announce one. It may be added however, regarding such as *read* sermons, that the hands had better be kept at rest while the eye is on the paper. Reading is reading. The hands are helps to declamation only. It may be said, generally, that whatever form of gesticulation a speaker may adopt, it should be as far as possible comely and graceful. And again, gesture should not be *pressed* into service, nor used, as it were, on *purpose.* That kind is ever preferable which we use unconsciously. In fear, in anger, in joy, in persuasion; in every sway of emotion, indeed, nature dictates the *physical* deportment, as well as the fitting *words.* If we guard against genuflections of an extravagant or *outré* kind, the dictate of the moment may serve us sufficiently well.

8. What power and what grace has the Dispenser of every good and perfect gift bestowed on the human voice! How susceptible is it of improvement, and what matchless modulations of cadence lie within its compass! No instrument of man's formation can reach the climax of its harmonious powers. It is wonderful to contemplate the height of excellence to which patient cultivation will carry the voice naturally defective either in tone or power. This is said to have been fully proved in the case of the renowned Athenian. It has since been verified in the instances of some of our most illustrious public singers. They seem to have the ordinary voice for conversation, but *another*, one wrought out by long and labored practice, and of surpassing genius, for song. Then if it be true the natural endowments of voice may be improved by cultivation, it is incumbent on the public man to see that he does it. He will be greatly the gainer in his field of labor whose mission it is to mould the sentiments, fix the opinions, and lead the hearts of his people on from grace to grace. We read some years ago, and with great interest, that inimitable biography of Edmund Kean the English tragedian, from the pen of Barry Cornwall. So great was the result of most assiduous practice,

that this man of diminutive stature, and with voice by nature husky and unmusical, could whelm his audience in tears by the mere rendering of those three words in the tragedy of Hamlet, "Alas, poor Yorick!" It may seem strange that so much could be made on so small a capital as this. But Kean, it is known, with all the essence of paternal love, stood over the cradle of his infant boy, and by a thousand repetitions of the words, got the key-note of their delivery. This he carried with him to the stage, and hard was the heart that did not yield to the magic of the pathetic apostrophe.

And to the like acme of perfection, by long trial and persistent practice, did Rachel, that Jewish child of celebrity, bring her natural endowments. It is possible to find analogies of the working of this principle in every pursuit of human ambition: in the musician, singer, sculptor, painter, penman, lapidary, engraver; in sooth, in every branch. They go on from awkward beginnings, laboring, practicing, training, until the art of the master's touch is perceptible in all they attempt.

9. Let me refer to another matter, which is not without claim to our attentive regard. A line in the English Reader, long time fixed in memory, is ever performing the office of an invaluable admonition. Thus it read: "It is always an indication of good sense to be diffident of it." We may presume that Duncan, "who bore his faculties so meek," was possessed of this good sense. And so is every man who permits his merit to make itself apparent. How painful to the beholder is swagger in any form; in gait, word, bearing, manner! We cannot but delight in seeing the arrogant fall; we shed tears of anguish at beholding the unpretending fail. Truly, it is better to be *invited* higher up, than to be hurled from the upper seat to which vain presumption has led us.

This insidious foe to that demeanor gracious in the public eye is apparent in a multitude of forms. The child detects it at a glance, and has given it the characteristic phrase of being "stuck up." Who does not remember the alliterative couplet so aptly applied to the proud cardinal of England:

> "Begot by butchers, but by bishops bred,
> How high his honor holds his haughty head!"

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10. Then there is the matter of *reading.* Hymns must be read, and so also the word of God. And of all those who undertake this duty, how few of them really read well! Can it be denied that reading is mainly an art, and can be improved to almost any degree? These teachers of elocution, commonly regarded as cumberers of the ground, are not without purpose after all. The schoolmaster cannot be dispensed with, and yet is he not a lower order of the same family? The Church of England has not been indifferent to the import of this qualification, and it is to be hoped our own will profit by their example.

11. But while these different subjects relating to the public duties of the ministry are being considered, it may not be inopportune to notice the strangely misconstructed, cramped-up pens and boxes, in which, too often, they (the clergy) are shut up to perform. Unless the matter of *constructing pulpits* be left wholly to the whim of the carpenter, (who generally knows little of what is essential,) it is difficult to account for the wretched taste that prevails, and especially in the country. It would seem that the sacred desk, erected solely for *speaking* purposes, is denied all the accustomed appliances of the art elsewhere prevailing. The legislator, lecturer, lawyer, actor, "stump-speaker," has each an open sea for action, and may swing his arm without upsetting a lamp or breaking his knuckles on a board. So it has been, with the exception of the minister, from the days of the Roman Forum down. We were never more impressed with the signal beauty of a public appearance than when, some years ago, we saw the celebrated Dr. Lardner, of Edinburgh, stand forth, disencumbered of chairs, stands, or tables, on the wide stage of the Chestnut-Street Theater, to deliver a lecture on astronomy. A man of good personal appearance; easy and dignified in air; evincing no constraint and manifesting nothing of arrogant pretension, it was the most pleasing and imposing exhibition of the perfection of manner we had ever beheld. It is difficult to say what he would have been capable of doing, shut in behind the barricade of some of our pulpit structures. A lawyer accustomed to stand out on the open floor of the bar, is inclined to deplore the custom of the Church, which dooms her public servants to confined restraint behind an elevated breastwork, often so high as

to require the aid of a moveable little trap to stand upon, and hampered and trammeled with a variety of stools, cushions, chairs, lamps, gas-pipes, etc. We approve the enterprise of Henry Ward Beecher, who has cast aside all this cumbrous machinery, and substituted simply a small stand.*

We will close with an extract from a lecture on "*Style*," which the present writer had the honor to prepare and deliver in 1857:

"Being from home on a Sabbath, some years ago, I found my way into a strange church in the city. Looking down from the gallery at the crowds passing up the aisles, a man with a quiet, noiseless step, and unpretending mien, caught my eye. His hair was justly and carefully arranged, and his clothing, exceedingly neat and well fitting, exhibited no particle of dust or down from top to toe. I watched him as he passed with the throng, but instead of turning into a pew he ascended the pulpit. He ascended the steps as a gentleman should; he didn't jump up, nor blunder up, nor fall up; he simply ascended. Putting his hat quietly down, he drew off his overcoat, folded it, and placed it at the end of the sofa. He then sat down. These, it must be admitted, are very ordinary occurrences, affording, it may be apprehended, little scope for effect. But the fact was, they were accomplished with a degree of quiet ease and absolute grace of manner that arrested my attention, and at once prepossessed me in the stranger's favor. Though he had not as yet uttered a syllable, he had already

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* That pulpits are often so constructed as to impede abundant action in the speaker is very true; but that fact does not, we think, (and may, perhaps say without widely disagreeing with our respected contributor,) justify the present fashionable demand for *the abolition of the pulpit*, or its substitution by a mere stand. We do not see what is gained by the removal of all screening of the speaker's person, or the exposure of legs and boots to the view of an audience. A good pulpit proper reveals all that is necessary for the chaste action of a true orator in contrast with a theatrical declaimer, at the same time that it allows some degree of reserve and retirement, of which we think every minister feels the occasional need. Daniel Webster is reported, truly or falsely, as saying that a lawyer could do nothing boxed up in an ordinary pulpit; but Chalmers, Summerfield, and Fisk contrived to do *something* even in that time-honored inclosure. We have no admiration for the semi-theatrical stage, surmounted by something like a merchant's counter, and backed by a parlor sofa, across which our modern performer races, in all "the frenzy of the Sybil without the inspiration."—ED.

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won my regard, and awakened in me a strong desire to *hear* him.

"Rising at length, he came forward, and read the opening hymn. There was certainly a most peculiar utterance, in the manner of reading, and a deliberation wonderful exceedingly; but the sense of the words came fully to the surface. While the hymn was being sung, the question was running through our mind whether, after this singular display of style, we should or should not like the preacher.

"The prayer which followed, though in the same unusual manner, was a fair type of what the address to Deity should ever be. It was direct, simple, earnest, and comprehensive. But knowing myself to be in a *Methodist* church, it was far less vehement and boisterous than was expected; in fact, there was nothing of such characteristic in it.

"The chapter read, though an old acquaintance, seemed either to be altered in text or changed in sense. There was certainly more meaning in it than we were ever before aware of. Many ideas and sentiments suddenly came to view that before had escaped notice. *The chapter was well read.*

"And then the style of the sermon. In the first place there was no hurry or flurry in clearing, as it were, the decks for action. There was no humming or hawing; no running of fingers through the hair; no twisting the body from side to side, as if seeking for the true center of gravity; no tumbling about of books; no awkward display of any kind.

"The heads of the discourse, drawn out on a small slip of paper, purely clean and undefaced, he laid upon the Bible. The text was announced, and the divisions made of it set forth in a manner so plain, and with an articulation so distinct and deliberate, that no one present could fail to understand. These were taken up severally in order, discussed or explained, and passed. 'Really,' we thought, 'how *easy* a matter it is to preach!' And it may not be improbable that many others in that densely crowded hall, who witnessed the apparent ease with which the master sermonizer moved from point to point, fastening the attention and moving the fountain depths of every heart, were impressed with the like thought. Yet neither they nor I, in the deep emotion of the hour, took heed of the labor bestowed in marshaling this grand array of Bible truths and

logical deduction, or thought of that toil of practice whence came a method, a manner, a pulpit style so chaste, so inimitable, and in the occasional thunder peals the orator's lips put forth, so overwhelming, so majestic. *This was John P. Durbin.*"

ART. VI.—THE DOCTRINE CONCERNING GOD.

IT will be universally conceded, we suppose, that God defines himself perfectly in his works and in his word. Where shall we take our stand to contemplate him? From what points in his works and word shall we essay to lift our eyes to look on him? Our present material position, wherever it be, is as available as any in this world for the study. No advantage would be gained by sounding the depths of space, in the center or vast circumferences of the universe, or in microscopic powers, or in sublimated material, electricity or odic force. All and each are alike distant from Spirit, and all and each are alike in and distinct from God. The geologist, with his hand lovingly upon a stone, may dream like Jacob* in his sleep, (fit emblem of the men of science,) and behold in the strata of earth "a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reaching to heaven, and the LORD standing above it." But it is as a dream; something projected from the mind itself, "created in the image and likeness of God," from which all nature appears clothed from a divine and spiritual being. Dreams may be the soap-bubbles of the soul, which the childish may play with, and the practical man despise, but in which the Newtons of divine science may analyze the light of heaven, study the laws of truth's refraction, and contemplate its rainbow beauties. Nature is a perfect mirror in which the divine is *reflected* just in proportion as the divine is in us. If a man is without God in himself, he cannot see God in nature; fill man with God and he sees God in all things. For when God *appears* before us in nature it is really the reflection of his image formed in our reason and understanding.

Nor is God's book of Sacred Scripture essentially different from his book of nature. It is true that the Scripture is a

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*Gen. xxviii, 12, 13.

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higher plane, a more verbal utterance, yet the mere intellect will search in vain for God here also.

It is in accordance with true philosophy, not mere theological dogma or conceit of superior intelligence, that the apostle declares that the "natural man cannot know the things of the spirit of God." They are only known by the spiritual [inner?] man who "judgeth all things," because he has "the mind of Christ."*

God reveals himself universally. But like all things which exist, there is a particular *method* attached to our apprehension of him. The eye beholds objects in light, the ear tries sounds, and the intellect arranges, numbers, and orders, according to the senses; and the soul *feels* what is right and wrong, and has its *sights* of spiritual truth, and *tastes* of goodness and consciousness of God. From the measure we have of God in us by *doing his will* in faith, we must judge of God above us.

Every man is casting his image or shadow on all things around him; but only the sensitive surface, properly treated by the artist, retains that image, which may be transferred indefinitely, so that the original would be universally recognized. So God's image, which is his very substance of goodness and truth, falls on all things, and is in degree in all beings; but only in souls prepared by truth and love is this image eminent in such degree as to enable us to know the Original. When man was unfallen, his interior faculties were all opened, and God flowed into him in life and power. He saw God directly; but when sin entered, his faculties were closed, and he had no elements left alive in himself by which to apprehend God. Then in redemption God gathered all his rays of glory and goodness into his Son. The Word, which was God in substance, was made flesh.† God stood before man's exterior perceptions in the humble person of a man, and spake unto the world, and glorified himself.‡ In contemplating obediently this history of his Word, our understandings are again opened,§ sin is removed, and God shines again upon our quickened spirits, his image is formed in us, and we know him. We become the sons of God by adoption; we are gods to whom the word of God comes;‖ Christ is in us and we know Him that is true.¶ We can then

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* 1 Cor. ii, 13–16. † John i, 14; Rom. ix, 5. ‡ Heb. i, 1–3.

§ Luke xxiv, 44–47. ‖ John x, 30–37. ¶ 2 Cor. xiii, 5; and 1 John v, 20.

truly reason of God, for we have all the divine elements in degree in ourselves, and can understand the doctrine which affirms these elements in their infinite and absolute relations in God himself.

We have often inquired in ourself if the doctrine of the witness of the Spirit, such a distinguished feature of Methodism, were made sufficiently prominent as a basis of theology among us? Has not the time come to construct theology from the divine word entirely, in the light of the Christian consciousness?*

These two principles, the letter without us, and the Spirit of God within us, are the two immutable pillars of theology. We learn what the word is by the life it operates in our hearts, and we know whether we have obtained the true life by its correspondence with the letter of the word.† On one pillar alone, the letter of the word, theology is converted into a graven image; a statue that cannot move; an iron groove of the soul; a mere dogmatic naturalism; a creed more or less irrational that must defend itself by fagots and falsehood. On the other pillar alone, the religious consciousness, theology gyrates from the conceited self-consciousness deified, to the cold negations of Herbert Spencer.‡ Unite the two, and theology arises a living form of beauty, clad in the robes of humility, with the light and love of truth in the countenance, stooping to guide the wayfarer in the wilderness, giving water to the thirsty, bread to the hungry, and clothing to the naked, and boldly breaking the

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* We need not define this to any *true* Christian, for he knows the term expresses the sum of the experience of the life of God in the soul. But such writers as Henry Thomas Buckle confuse the whole subject. He tries to conceive of consciousness as a separate faculty, and does not find it. (See his Introduction to History of Civilization, vol. i, pp. 11–20.) Others do not make anything or but little of *consciousness*, or the life of *all* the faculties, in religion. Their religion is cold, or a simple intellection. But with Methodists and Freedomists the consciousness is the ultimate appeal. (See Whedon on the Will, pp. 81, 82, 367, 358.) Why not put the "inward experience, considered as embracing the whole of the objective Revelation," as the ultimate and perfect method of demonstration in Christianity? (See Wesley's Sermons, vol. i, Sermons 8, 9, 10; and his Letter to Dr. Middleton, Works, vol. v, p. 757; Bibliotheca Sacra for August, 1846, Article on the Trinity, by Dr. A. D. C. Twesten.)

† "Now the testimony of our own spirit . . . is a *consciousness* of our having . . . the tempers mentioned in the word of God as belonging to his adopted children; . . . a *consciousness* that we are inwardly conformed by the Spirit of God to the image of his Son, and that we walk before him in justice, mercy, and truth."—Wesley's Sermons, vol. i, p. 87.

‡ See his Principles of Philosophy.

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bars of death, demolishing the prison-house of the soul, and leading triumphantly up the starry pathway of light, through the opening gates of glory on to immortality.

But this position, so uniformly set forth in Scripture,* and maintained now among Christians more or less distinctly, reaches to conclusions not usually announced in theology. Our knowledge of God, growing in such good part from the life of God in us, will necessarily be progressive. And there is no theme on which we should be less dogmatic and more open to new views than that of the doctrine concerning God. It is the command of an apostle to "grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.†

The next important position to secure in the study of God is the proper stand-point in the Holy Scriptures. We may correct the human defects and divergences of thought by properly arranging before us their historic and doctrinal statements. Most theologians commence their study of God with Genesis, and leave it at the "burning bush," and Sinai "wrapped in clouds of fire." They stun with gorgeous images of terror. The Gospel is in their hands the seeming interposition of *another* God to soften these terrors and open heaven to sinners. This method I think defective and misleading. The mind imposes upon itself the naturalistic ideas of God contained in the law, which prevent the apprehension of him in Jesus Christ. The doctrine of the Trinity, so important in revelation, spreads out unconsciously into the heresy of three Gods, or negations and confusions arise which leave men in the same unbelief that characterizes the Jews, who "have Moses and the prophets," and

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* The Lord considers the powers of the human mind entirely reliable: "Ye are my witnesses, saith the LORD, and my servant whom I have chosen; that ye may know and believe me, and understand that I *am* he . . . therefore ye are my witnesses, saith the LORD, that I *am* God." Isa. xliii, 10–12. The word and the living presence of God are united. "Judas saith unto him, not Iscariot, Lord, how is it that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us, and not unto the world? Jesus answered and said unto him, If a man love me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." John xiv, 22, 23. The knowledge of God is progressive: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth," etc. (See John xvi, 12–16.) St. John considered the "anointing" superseded the necessity of his epistle, while it confirmed it. (1 John ii, 27.) "But the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you," etc.

† 2 Pet. iii, 18. See also Eph. iii, 14–21; Col. ii, 2, 3.

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who reject the Saviour to this day. Neither should we take our stand in the Gospel narratives or on the day of Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit was poured out, important as these points are historically and doctrinally. But we should take our stand at the close of revelation ; on the apex of the pyramid of truth, and fix our eyes upon the vision of the spirit-world.

The first question is, *Who is God?*

And we must look up when the door is opened in heaven, and behold who is in the throne. Alas, our sight is so dim! but light is descending on our reason, and we can take a *back-sight* on revelation and correct by doctrine also the personal equation,* so as to remove the bias of the natural mind, the errors of education, the false doctrines of an hereditary faith, and the misleading tendency of natural words used of divine and spiritual things.

The finishing touch of Revelation, its completing principle and point of highest glory, is in the words, "THE GRACE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST BE WITH YOU ALL. AMEN."

Jesus Christ is the Lord! Is he the Lord in such a sense that there is no God "besides him?" In his divine-human person is there the fullness of the Holy Trinity? Is the Father in him? and is the Holy Spirit or Comforter his Spirit? Let us answer these inquiries by the history and doctrine contained in the Sacred Scriptures themselves. Here is the first most significant statement: "I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches." Rev. xxii, 16. "The Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to show unto his servants things which must shortly be done." Rev. v, 6.

Placing these passages together we see that Jesus and the

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* The term "personal equation" is used in astronomy to denote the equation of the difference which arises in different individuals in noting instrumentally the time of an observation. It amounts to less than one half a second, yet it is made an element in nice calculations. So the surveyor takes a *back-sight* to assure himself of the correctness of his course. With how much more caution should we study our methods when we look to the "High and Lofty One who inhabiteth eternity!" And with what care should we lay our course to the holy city! The particular feature of progress in science may be summed up in one sentence as a philosophy of method in material things, and what wonders it works! And Revelation may be summed up as a philosophy of method in spiritual realities. So it should be applied throughout, and it will work untold wonders in the soul. See John vii, 15-18, 37-39; Luke x, 17-24.

Lord God are equivalent names, applied to the same person. This is the "revelation of Jesus Christ which God gave unto him." Rev. i, 1. The revelation was from his own divinity and concerning his own divine-human person, [?] or from himself and of himself. Or how was it understood in heaven as shown to John? The angel which showed these things to John was so exceedingly glorious with the glory of Jesus that the apostle, mistaking him for his transfigured master, twice fell at his feet to worship him; but it was said to him, "See thou do it not,"* *q. d.*, thy master is much above me, even the Lord God. "I am thy fellow-servant and of thy brethren the prophets; worship God."

But in heaven, where there is such abhorrence of idolatry, all fall down and worship the Lamb. (Rev. v, 8, 9.) This is the proper name of the divine-human person of Jesus, as is evident from the connection and the following history: "Again the next day after John stood and two of his disciples, and looking upon Jesus as he walked he saith, Behold the Lamb of God." John i, 35, 36. It cannot then have been a human weakness which overcame St. Thomas when, with the person of Christ before him, he cried out, "My Lord and my God;† nor is it an error in our Articles of Religion, [art. ii,] which calls him the "Very and Eternal God." He is the very being called JAH and JEHOVAH in the Psalms and Prophets: Sing unto God, sing praises to his name; extol him that rideth upon the heavens by his name JAH, and rejoice before him;‡ for the LORD JEHOVAH is my strength and song; he also is become my salvation.§ It is he to whom they sing in heaven ALLELUIA, or praise JAH;‖ or as extended in the song itself into the words, "Salvation and glory and honor and power unto the Lord our God." Hence we see that the Divine Father is not *another* God! Such an idea of the distinctions in the godhead is utterly inadmissible. For this is the same "I JESUS," who says, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last." Rev. xxii, 13. "He that was, and is, and is to come, the Almighty." "I am he that liveth, and was [became, Bengel] dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the

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* Rev. xix, 10; xxii, 8, 9. † Mark this whole connection in John xix, 24–28.
‡ Psa. lxviii, 4; civ, 35; cvi, 48; cxv, 18; cxvii, 2. Halleluiah is the word.
§ Isa. xii, 2. ‖ Bengel's Gnomon, on Rev. xix, 1.

keys of hell and of death." Rev. i, 17, 18. The "I Am that I Am" [or He who was, is, and will be*] of Exodus iii, 14; the "name of God for ever and his memorial unto all generations." Or, as he explains himself, Gen. vi, 3: "And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known unto them." This is the I Am of John viii,† and the "Alpha and Omega, saith the Lord; he that was and is and is to come, the Almighty," of Rev. i and xxii, unless there are two infinite and eternal beings.‡ But as this cannot be, the distinctions that are made are the *unfoldings* of One Infinite and Eternal Being, whose essential divinity is personified by the Father, whose

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* See Alex. McWhorter's Yaveh, an excellent and timely production.

† See Mr. Wesley's Translation and Notes on verses 24, 28.

‡ To say that *three* "Gods created," which seems really the expression of the argument from the plural *Alohim*, sometimes used, proves too much. So also to mark strongly that the divine person of Christ is distinct from the person of the Father makes him less than God, and destroys the doctrine of the Trinity altogether. I have looked in vain, in a History of All Denominations in Christendom, for an expression like the following: "Each person of the Trinity is to be worshiped through the mediation of Jesus Christ;" especially when affirmed against the statement of St. Paul that "There is ONE GOD and ONE Mediator." 1 Tim. ii, 5. It is an *innovation* fit to go with the following expressions attributed to Sartorius:

"God is love, not only as creator and preserver, but in himself from eternity. Eternal love in person, and surely in more than one person, for love consists in the unity of (at least) two persons. The subject of love is not conceivable without an object, nor personal love without a personal object, without which it would be but self-seeking. The *I* must have a *thou;* the eternal *I* must have an eternal *thou;* eternal love an eternal object. 'Therefore,' says Bickersteth, 'if the Son were not from everlasting, (as the Father himself,) the first and last, the beginning and the ending, then before the world or any worlds through the receding cycles of a past eternity the Divine Mind would have dwelt in an immense solitariness, without reciprocity of affection, and without communion of intellectual enjoyment.'"

Here is a family of Gods, or "at least two;" two everlasting beings, individuals, which love each other and hold intellectual feasts together; two infinites, *two* eternals, "*at least two;*" there may be more! And in looking at this polytheistic picture nothing of ancient mythology is wanting except the goddesses; the eternal consort of the Father and the Mother of this Eternal Son! What a pitiful conception of the Eternal and Infinite One; of love itself and wisdom itself! And what an idea is that of "immense solitariness" in the ineffable God, who has by himself declared that he knows no other. "Is there a God besides me? Yea, there is no God. I know not any." Isa. xliv, 8. Of course to such minds the monotheistic trinity of "Plato and the Hindoos" would be considered too *ideal,* and Christianity would be claimed as revealing three "*real persons,*" that is, as distinct as Peter, James, and John.

image is the divine-human person of the Son, and whose divine "Proceeding"[*] is personified[†] in the Holy Spirit.

[*] Articles of Religion, art. iv.

[†] The term *person* is very ambiguous in theology. See Wakeley's Logic, App., on Ambiguous Terms. It is not scriptural, misleads the mind, and confuses the understanding. As used in our first Article of Religion, it is not metaphysically definable; for it is said, "There is but one living and true God, . . . without body or parts, and in the unity of the godhead there are three persons," etc. Of course they must be each and all without *body or parts.* There is therefore no *real* person taught in our Articles, except (see art. ii,) the *person* of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is declared to be both God and man, in "*one person.*" I have used the term *personified* as the best expression of the sense of the first and fourth articles. This term may be *more*, yet differs from the idea of a *real person.* Thus Abraham is made to *personify* the Lord by Paul, who calls him the father of all that believe. It is not the *person* Abraham after the flesh, but God, who is really the Father of all. (Comp. Rom. iv, 11–25; viii, 8–17.) So of David, Psa. cx, compared with Matt. xxii, 42–45; Rev. xxii, 16, "I am the root and offspring of David," etc. The kingdom of God is personified by the "throne of David." Isa. ix, 7. Other instances will be given further on.

Mr. Wesley considered the doctrine of the Trinity inexplicable; but with his characteristic orthodox catholicity would "not insist on any one using the term 'trinity' or 'person.' . . . If any man has any scruple concerning them, who shall constrain him to use them? I cannot." (Sermons, vol. ii, pp. 20, 21.) He insists on nothing but what the Scriptures plainly teach. In preparing the Articles of Religion for the Church in America, Mr. Wesley left out article viii, and thirteen others of the Church of England Articles. Article viii indorses the *Athanasian*, *Nicene*, and *Apostles'* Creeds. There is no creed indorsed by our Articles of Religion. (See Dixon's Methodism in America on this noticeable fact.) Mr. Fletcher says, "Were we to divide the Son from the Father and consider him a separate being, [real, distinct person,] and worship him as such, then we should worship another God." The danger of the term *person* is to lead us to think the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit have distinct wills and intellects. (See Works, vol. iii, p. 468.) Dr. Adam Clarke says, "In the ever-blessed Trinity, from the indivisible unity of the persons, there can be but one will, one purpose, and one infinite and uncontrollable energy." Com. on Gen. i, 1. This definition destroys while it uses the term person. So the Athanasian Creed seems to us to affirm both sides of a contradiction. It is a person, and it is not a person! That creed is not in use in any Church in America except the Roman Catholic. The Episcopal Church amended article viii in this particular, and indorses only the *Nicene* and *Apostles'* Creeds. The latter is against the metaphysical explanation of the Trinity in the first part of the Athanasian Creed. That creed, human and defective as it is, has some excellences, and we will here insert it from the Church of England Prayer Book. It is not found in the American edition, and is often referred to by ministers among us who fail to produce it correctly.

THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

(*Obtained in France A.D.* 850, *and in Rome* 1014.)

"Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith. Which Faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without

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The Father is an ocean of eternal love itself; a boundless love-being, "above all height;" the Son or Word is Infinite Wisdom itself, which rays around the Father "brighter than

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doubt he shall perish everlastingly. And the Catholic Faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity; neither confounding the Persons nor dividing the Substance. For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, is all one; the glory equal, the majesty co-eternal. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost. The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the Holy Ghost uncreate. The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible. The Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Ghost eternal. And yet there are not three eternals, but one eternal. As also there are not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated, but one uncreated, and one incomprehensible. So likewise the Father is almighty, the Son almighty, and the Holy Ghost almighty, and yet there are not three almighties, but one almighty. So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God. And yet there are not three Gods but one God. So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, and the Holy Ghost Lord, and yet not three Lords but one Lord. For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity to acknowledge every person by himself to be God and Lord, so are we forbidden by the Catholic Religion to say there be three Gods and three Lords. The Father is made of none, neither created nor begotten. The Son is of the Father alone; not made nor created, but begotten. The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son, neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding. So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts. And in this trinity none is afore or after other. None is greater or less than another; but the whole three persons are co-eternal together, and co-equal. So that in all things, as is aforesaid, the unity in trinity and the trinity in unity is to be worshiped. He therefore that will be saved must thus think of the Trinity. Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation that he also believe rightly the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ; for the right Faith is that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is both God and man; God of the substance of the Father, begotten before all worlds, and man of the substance of the mother, born in the world; perfect God, and perfect man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting. Equal to the Father as touching his godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching his manhood; who, although he be God and man, is not two but one Christ; *one not by the conversion of the godhead into flesh, but by taking the manhood into God; one altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person. For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ;* who suffered for our salvation, descended into hell, rose again the third day from the dead. He ascended into heaven, he sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God Almighty; from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies, and shall give account for their works. And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire. This is the Catholic Faith, which except a man believe faithfully he cannot be saved."

Here the idea of person is a "*somewhat!*" as Archbishop Whateley would say.

the light of the sun;" * the Holy Spirit is life itself "proceeding" † from the Father by the Word to infinity, filling all receptive souls

> "With comfort, life, and fire of love."

All these in inconceivable degree, yet known realities, are embodied in the Lord Jesus Christ. "For in him dwelleth all the fullness of the godhead bodily." ‡ These *degrees* in himself he showeth to the Churches.

The first degree is thus expressed, (Rev. i, 4,) "Grace be unto you, and peace from Him which is, and which was, and which is to come." Here is the profound axiom of the Infinite and Eternal One; the perfect expression of God by God himself in supreme degree.

The second degree is grace and peace from the seven spirits of God. This is placed next to the first, and is distinct from it. For we must not think any of these expressions carelessly given. God is revealing himself here in all his complex being. He is not revealing himself as more than *One* God, but in all his essential nature. "God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." John iv. The *seven spirits* are the All-Perfect Spirit, or all in all of the Holy Spirit; *all* the fullness of heavenly powers; a certain necessary degree of that "which is and was and is to come."

The third or last degree is "grace and peace from Jesus Christ, the faithful and true witness, the first begotten from the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth, (chap. i, ver. 5. This completes the degrees of the Holy Trine. And since Jesus was "lifted up" from the dead, glorified, so that he receives into his divine-human person all the glory of the

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* Paul, Acts xxvi, 73.

† Art. iv of Articles of Religion.

‡ "For in him dwelleth," inhabiteth, continually abideth, "all the fullness of the godhead." Believers "are filled" with "all the fullness of God." Eph. iii, 19. But in Christ dwelleth "all the fullness of the godhead;" not only divine powers but the divine nature, (chap. i, 19,) bodily, personally, really, substantially: the very substance of God, if one might so speak, dwells in Christ in the most full sense."—Wesley's Note, following Bengel, on Col. ii, 9. See also his Sermon on 1 John v, 20, Sermons, vol. ii, pp. 177, 184. Dr. Jenk's Comprehensive Commentary quotes Barkwell (Bl.) as saying the body of Christ was "deified." Bengel says Σῶμα does not always denote the body, properly so called; but the bread from heaven is said to be his *flesh*, (John vi, 51, 57, 58,) a more gross term. See Phil. ii, 6–11. What comes down from heaven must be spirit, however clothed on earth. It is *living* bread indeed.

Father, and thus is able to save all men, and *gives* the Spirit, therefore to him the song begins, "Unto Him that loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God, even (or to-wit:) his Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen." Rev. v, 6. In Jesus Christ is the fullness of divine manifestation. Here is the whole doctrine of God stated in its essence and substance. The *trine* appears more than "real persons," not certainly two or three *Gods*, but more than all possible human ideas of *persons* can be; even states of divinity itself into the view and service of which Christ brings his redeemed ones.* Hence the *state* is described as that of kings and priests unto God, *even* the Father. And the worship is given to Jesus Christ, not *another* God, but that divine unfolding of God which lifts men up unto the highest glories of the divine itself.

Jesus Christ is the word "which was God and was with God," *made flesh.* He came to the lowest human condition. He assumed humanity lower than we can detect its first principles, even in the womb of the virgin, and passed through all its stages, anointed more and more by the Holy Spirit, till he accomplished his earthly mission. In him the highest divine degree was brought down to be in man. Jesus glorified raises the human thus assumed to the highest divine degree, even up where he was before; "One with the Father." When shall we learn to sing the "songs of degrees,"† and ascend the ladder of the word from earth to heaven?

That it may be seen that these degrees are all in Christ, mark his address describing himself to the Seven Churches severally: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith

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* We do not pretend to be wise above what is written, but to adhere with our whole soul to the very letter of the word, and strive to realize it simply in expository statements which shall express in some degree our spiritual sight and reason. Personalities are sometimes used in the Scriptures for *principles* more universal than person can be. Thus Paul, Rom. vii, 11, personifies sin, saying that it deceived him and slew him, and as a "body of death," (ver. 24.) In 1 Cor. xv, he personifies death as the last enemy, with his weapon or sting, sin, in his hand. It is not a person, but it is a *principle* more than a real person.

† See Hengstenberg on Psalms cxxii to cxxxvii inclusive, commonly called the "Psalms of Degrees," which were supposed to be sung by the tribes on entering the gates of Jerusalem, as they went up to the worship of God, or as they ascended the fifteen steps to the Temple, or as some say to Solomon's house. Quoted by Bonar on the Psalms.

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to the Churches: To the angel of the Church of Ephesus write; These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks. To the angel of the Church in Smyrna write; These things saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive. To the angel of the Church in Pergamos write; These things saith he which hath the sharp sword with two edges. To the angel of the Church in Thyatira write; These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet are like fine brass. To the angel of the Church in Sardis write; These things saith he that hath the seven spirits of God, and the seven stars. To the angel of the Church in Philadelphia write; These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth. And unto the angel of the Church of the Laodiceans write; These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God," (or the creator from the beginning.) Thus in his manifold degrees Christ addresses his Church.

We see, then, what a lofty pinnacle of blessed revelation is the text, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all." Here once more we take our stand and look up again into the heavens. Rise, my soul, rise on these rays of grace; drop thy dull sense and load of clay; cease thy feeble gropings in time and space; break thy fetters, open thine eyes, come out of thy prison-house, spread thy wings, and as an eagle rise and soar, and soaring rise! "Behold a door is opened in heaven," and light is pouring from the throne. The mystery of redemption is held as a book* written before the world began, in the hand of Him that sitteth upon the throne. The prophet is weeping that none is found to open the book and the understandings of men. But soon it is said "the Lion of the tribe of Judah hath prevailed to open the book and to loose the seals thereof." The

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* The law was a pattern of things in heaven. The great book of God is up there, of which the law, the prophets, and Psalms was a shadowy transcript. Christ fulfilled them because they are the counsels of eternity. "Above when he said, Sacrifice and offering for sin thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me," "Then, said I, Lo, I come, in the volume of the book it is written of me," etc. Psalm xl, 7; Hebrews x, 7–9. "I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart." Hence it appears that this opening of the book is the opening the heart of God, the disclosure of his love and truth.

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Lamb is seen in the throne with all the symbols of his infinity; he takes the book that had been in the hand of Him that sat on the throne, and the coronation song commences, all falling before the Lamb, saying, "Thou art worthy! . . . for thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, and hast made us kings and priests unto our God." This is the revelation of Jesus coming into the glory of the Father, or into his own highest or supreme state which he had with the Father before the world began.* He receives the kingdom before he comes the second time, or "in the clouds of heaven." Daniel beholds the "Ancient of Days" on his throne of flame and wheels of burning fire, before whom "issued and came forth the fiery stream." "The judgment was set, and the books were opened," parallel with Rev. xx, 11, 12. And in the "night visions" he saw one like the Son of Man "come with the clouds of heaven." "And there was given him dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, . . . and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." Dan. vii, 9, 10, 13, 14. But John sees him entering that glory and taking the book to open it, and records the song of inauguration.

"I beheld, and lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four living ones, and in the midst of the four and twenty elders, stood a Lamb as it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth. . . . And they sang a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book and to open the seals thereof, for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood." Rev. v, 6–9.

Now whose faith and reason cannot apprehend the Ancient of Days as the eternal Word (in whom is the Father) in the throne of flame, and the incarnate Word coming as the Lamb slain to unite his divine-human person inseparably † in the glory which he had with the Father before the world began?

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* "And now, O Father, glorify me with thine own self, with the glory I had with thee before the world was." John xvii, 5.

"If God be glorified in him he shall also glorify him in himself, and shall straightway glorify him." John xiii, 32.

† See article ii of the Articles of Religion.

And who does not see that that stream of fire and flame, and the blood which redeemed, are symbols of that same life of love and truth of God that flows forever from him: the joy, the song, the life of heaven?* We see that God and the Lamb are one. "The last is first and the first is last." All the attributes of Deity are ascribed to him. He is omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent, holy and true. He is "worthy to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing, for ever and ever."

But it may not be deemed by some satisfactory to rest theology on the rhapsodies of vision; howbeit theology should be as warm as it is bright. And we must confirm the view given, by doctrine literally expressed in the Scriptures.

I. The union of Christ and the Father is specifically declared. "I and my Father are one." John x, 30. See this whole connection. "Philip saith unto him, Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us. Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, Show us the Father? Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? the words that I speak unto you, I speak not of myself: but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works. Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: or else believe me for the very works' sake." John xiv, 8–11.

Thus what we saw accomplished by symbols in the Apocalypse is plainly declared by the Saviour. How can any man pretend to draw his doctrine from the Divine Word and set this aside? How can he profess to reverence the name of Jesus, and not credit the exposition of the Trinity, which the faithful and true Witness gives? Here, and in verse 26 and chap. xv, 26 compared, it is emphatically declared to be not a trinity of Gods, but a trinity of One God; a trinity of eternal divine *interexistences;* the same, perhaps, we may say, not altogether without Scripture warrant, as is in man in finite degree. For, as in man, soul and body and spirit make one, so allowing for the difference in nature, it may be in God in infinite degree. He may be *personified* in each of the three

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* Compare Isaiah vi, 6, 7; John xvii, 17; and Rev. vii, 14, 15.

essential names—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—but have one will, one intellect, one energy—is, indeed, one and only one absolute, personal, and holy being—JEHOVAH OF HOSTS, *even* the Lord Jesus Christ. "And this is life eternal, to know thee [Father] the only true God (*καὶ*,) even Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." John xvii, 3. There is only one true God, and to know Jesus Christ is to know him. For he comes out from God, and returns to God. He is the manifestation of God, his name, his nature, his person. "This is the true God and eternal life." 1 John v, 20. "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord." Deut. vi, 4; Exod. xx, 3; Mark xii, 29.

II. The attributes of God are set forth as fully in doctrinal statement as in the glow of Revelation, as belonging to Christ.

1. He is Omnipresent. "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst." Matt. xviii, 20. The Lord is present with every man. "That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." "Behold," saith he, "I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in and sup with him, and he with me." Rev. iii, 20. It is our faith that apprehends this omnipresence of Christ. "Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? that is, to bring Christ down, or, Who shall descend into the deep? that is, to bring up Christ, . . . but what saith it? The word is nigh thee, *even* in thy mouth and heart; that is, the word of faith, which we preach." Rom. x, 6–8. [For we preach Christ.] Let all rejoice, "For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy; I dwell in the high and holy, with him also of a contrite and humble spirit." Isa. lvii, 15. And "Lo," he saith, "I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Matt. xxviii, 20.

2. He is Omnipotent. "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." "What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him?" Matt. viii, 27. He raiseth the dead, (John xi, 25–44,) createth all things, (John i, 3,) upholdeth all things, (Heb. i, 3,) and executeth all judgment. (Psa. l, 6; Acts xvii, 31.) The humble faith which discerns Christ's real inward divineness, always finds the "God of Power." "Peter said, Thou art the Christ, the son of the living

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God. Jesus answered, Blessed art thou, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee," etc. (See Matt. xvi, 16–19.) Here Peter receives just what every one receives who acknowledges Christ from an inward light and conviction. He is a rock on the rock, whether his name be Peter or not, or a branch in the vine, and is built up for a habitation of God. He has the "keys of the kingdom of heaven." He has the beginnings of true knowledge. He has faith as a grain of mustard seed, which groweth, if not uprooted, to a great tree.

But great faith was not found in Israel, not even among the Apostles, till after the resurrection. His true omnipotence is illustrated in the case of the centurion, Matt. viii, 6–12: "I am not worthy." That, then, is the occasion of complete divine power. "*Speak the word*, and my servant shall be healed." This is the second. Christ, he sees, is not only the word made flesh—not merely the Son of the living God, but the Father is in him—and he can *speak the word*, and save at any human distance, without the intervention of time. "Jesus marveled and said, I have not found so great faith; no, not in Israel." "If ye shall ask anything in my name, I will do it." John xiv, 14. What blessed omnipotence is this!

3. He is Omniscient. "Jesus knew their thoughts." Matt. xii, 25; Luke vi, 8. "He knew all men, and needed not that any should testify of man, for he knew what was in man." John ii, 24, 25. In former quotations it has been shown that he was the Lord God of the holy prophets, and therefore all the passages which speak of the omniscience of God are applicable to him. But he says: "Of that day and hour knoweth no man; no, not the Son, but my Father only." Mark xiii, 32. How is this to be explained in harmony with what is proved above? Most beautifully, for we have said the Trinity is divine interexistences in *one being*. A man's personal consciousness discloses to himself three great essentials of his being: his affections, his intellect, and his sensibilities. He does not confound sensations with his thoughts, or either of these with his affection. So the Lord, in his personal consciousness, does not confound the essentials of his infinite being. The Father, his own inward affection, knows what his word or intellect cannot know. No word can reveal the truths of the last day. They are intellectually unknown. Only when the

word comes in the glory of the Father will they be known. "It is not for you to know the times and the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power." So often the human heart knows things true, which the mind cannot understand only from it, and cannot then express.

In this distinction we can see how the words, "My Father is greater than I," (John xiv, 28,) may be literally and absolutely true, as the words are "I and my Father are one." For the heart is greater than the intellect, the will is in higher order than the understanding, and love is greater than wisdom; and yet may be co-eternals, and a unity. They cannot, it is true, be two individuals without being two Gods, one of which only is truly supreme, and the other a less God, which is Arianism in spite of all glosses.

Another passage may, by this method, be harmonized with true doctrine. St. Paul says: "Then shall the Son also be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." 1 Cor. xv, 28. Now observe what John says: "God is love," (1 John iv, 16,) and what Christ says: "I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh to the Father but by me." John xiv, 6. Then, under the progress of truth, in the judgment power that destroys death, there comes a time —blessed state! happy hour!—when the truths shall be so clear that we shall see the fullness of God through them. Before this, the mediation of Christ, like smoked glass used to look at the sun, obstructed, while it aided our vision; but then all will be clear as the crown crystal. Christ will appear as he did to John in Patmos, the divine glory itself will flood the human with its ineffable light, or Christ will be so formed in us that we can look on God.

But whether we have given a satisfactory exposition of these passages or not, it is certain that all in heaven ascribe to Jesus Christ the sum of all the divine attributes. There is the place to look to get our theology warmed. A theology not warmed from heaven cannot lead to heaven. Whose heart is not fired with the song, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing?" And every creature which is in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth, John heard as they joined in the song of universal redemption.

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Here our theology, in fairly striking the note of redemption, reaches out through all the vast fields of creation, and brings into view the spiritual world, which interlies all these outposts of suns and systems. The Lord, in appearing in human nature, becomes visible to the angels. The lower the nature he took, the more clear his perfect holiness became to all finite intelligences, and therefore the real love, goodness, and wisdom of God glow in the upper worlds with a brighter luster, and break out from the Immanuel through all the universe, shine in every ray of light, envelop every circling orb, breathe in all the air, live in all attractive force, and blossom in every flower. The love and the life, the wisdom and the power, the glory and the truth, are all of God.

Thus we see, to sum up the doctrine concerning God, that the Father is not the creator, nor was made flesh, but the word created and was made flesh in whom is the Father. The Father is never seen only in the glory of the word. The Father is not therefore *another* God, but is the invisible essence, or soul of the word; which is only known by the word, and revealed by the light and love of himself, as a man's person reveals the light and love of his soul and the power of his spirit. Therefore in heaven, when they sing of the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb, it is not two persons, but one person, in whom is the Father in each instance. Hence we read: "The Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple [not temples,] of it;" "throne of God and the Lamb," not thrones; and "the glory of God did lighten it, (*καὶ*) *even* the Lamb is the light thereof." The Father is not one being and the son another; but it is one being who is manifest, in whom is the eternal essence called the Father. Hence he is always in the Son, as we read in Isa. ix, 6, "Unto us a child is born, a Son is given, . . . and his name shall be Wonderful, Counselor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, and the Prince of Peace;" and hence we have, among many others, the following most blessed parallel expressions:

The LORD is my shepherd; I shall not want. Psa. xxiii, 1.	I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. John x, 11.
Yea, though I walk through the valley and shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me. *Ib.*, ver. 4.	My sheep hear my voice, and I know them and they follow me. And I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish. *Ib.*, ver. 27, 28.

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And he will destroy in this mountain the face of the covering cast over all people, and the vail that is spread over all nations. He will swallow up death in victory. . . . And in that day it shall be said, Lo, this is our God ; we have waited for him, and he will save us. Isa. xxv, 7, 9.	Martha saith unto him, I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day. Jesus saith unto her, I am the resurrection and the life. He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die. John xi, 24–26.
Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth, for I am God, and beside me there is none else. Isa. xlv, 22.	Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest to your souls. Matt. xi, 28, 29.

ART. VII.—AFFINITY OF THE HEBREW AND GREEK LANGUAGES.

The ethnographical table contained in the tenth chapter of Genesis has derived no little corroboration and illustration from the researches of modern philology. It has thus been clearly established that all the languages which have furnished a polished literature are reducible to two great families, corresponding, with a few sporadic variations, to the lineage of the two older sons of Noah respectively, namely, Shem and Japheth. The former of these, which is in fact usually designated as the *Semitic*, is emphatically Oriental, and embraces the Hebrew and Arabic, with their cognates, the Samaritan, the eastern and western Aramean, or Chaldee and Syriac, and the Ethiopic. The latter, which is conveniently styled the *Indo-Germanic* group, includes the Sanscrit, with its sister the Zend, and their offshoots the Greek, the Latin, the Gallic, the Saxon, in a word, the stock of the Occidental or European languages. The analogies and coincidences subsisting between the members of the Semitic family have been pretty fully exhibited by Castell, Gesenius, and Fürst in their lexicons, and by Ewald and Nordheimer in their grammars; while the relationship existing among the Indo-Germanic group has been extensively traced by Bopp in his *Comparative Grammar*, by Pott in his

Etymologische Forschungen, and by Benfey in his *Wurtzellexicon*. Other philologists, among whom De Sacy, Bournouf, Max Müller, and Rénan may be especially mentioned, have somewhat extended the range of these comparisons, and occasional resemblances have been pointed out in particular forms between the Semitic and Indo-Germanic branches; but no systematic collation of these latter coincidences, so far as we are aware, has been instituted, unless we except such fanciful attempts as those of Parkhurst, who derives most of the Greek primitives from Hebrew roots! * Yet notwithstanding the confusion at Babel and many a later linguistic misadventure, the common Noachian parentage ought to be capable of vindication by some distinct traces, at least of analogy if not of identity, in early forms of speech existing among both these great branches of the human family as represented by their written records. We propose in this paper briefly to exhibit a few of these resemblances which have presented themselves in our own investigations as arguing a common origin, although a remote one, between the Semitic and the Indo-Germanic tongues; the most of them are certainly too striking to have been accidental. Lest we should venture beyond our own or our readers' depth, and make our pages bristle with an unnecessary display of foreign characters, we shall confine our illustrations to the Hebrew on the one hand, and to the Greek, Latin, French, German, and English on the other, as sufficient representatives of the two lingual families which we are comparing.

I. IDENTITY OF ROOTS.—The following is a table, compiled from notes made in the course of our private reading, of such Hebrew roots as recur among the European dialects so palpably similar in form and signification as to leave little or no doubt of their original identity.† We have carefully excluded all those that betray evidences of later or artificial introduction

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* Noah Webster seems to have made an extensive collation of this kind for his Dictionary, as he refers the etymology of English primitives to certain classes of biliteral roots; but he has given only a few illustrations of these affinities in his introduction. Very many of the analogies which he points out are either accidental or arbitrary.

† Most of these have also been approved by Gesenius in his Lexicons. Our list might no doubt be greatly extended; see Castell's Heptaglot Lexicon.

from one language to the other, such as commercial, mechanical, or scientific terms, mere technicals, obvious onomatopoetics, names of animals, plants, minerals, official titles, etc., and we have selected words representing families as far divergent as possible, rather than those exhibiting the most striking resemblance. It will be interesting to observe how a root has sometimes slipped out of one or more of the cognate dialects, in the line of descent, and reappears in another representative; a few only are found in all the columns. In some of them again the signification or form has become disguised in one or another of the affiliated languages, but becomes clear again in a later representative. We have restored the *digamma* wherever it was necessary in order to bring out the relationship in the Greek roots. Those marked with an asterisk are Chaldee.

HEBREW.	GREEK.	LATIN.	FRENCH.	GERMAN.	ENGLISH.
אָב *father*	....	avus	....	....	....
אָבָה *to desire*	? αὔω	aveo	....	....	...
אָבַל *to mourn*	....	balo	piailler	[bawl]	wail
אָבַק *to pound*	....	....	bouc	Bängel	beak
אָגַר *to gather*	ἀγείρω	....	....	....	....
אוּל *to roll*	Fέλλω	volvo	....	walzen	wheel
אַין *naught*	νή	non	ne	nein	no, un-
אֵל *this*	....	ille	il	er	....
אָנֹכִי *I*	ἔγω	ego	je	Ich	I
אָנַק *to squeeze*	ἄγχι	ango	angoisse	enge	anger
אָנַשׁ *to ail*	νόσος	....	....	....	....
אָצַר *to lay up*	....	....	....	....	store
אָרַח *to travel*	ἔρχομαι	....	....	....	....
אֶרֶץ *the earth*	....	....	....	Erde	earth
אָרַר *to curse*	ἀράομαι	? ara	....	....	....
אָתָא *to come*	....	ad	à	..	at
אַתָּה *thou*	σύ	tu	tu	du	thou
בְּ־ *in*	....	....	....	bei	by
בָּאַר *to dig*	πείρω	foro	perçer	bohren	bore
בָּאַשׁ *to stink*	....	....	....	? böse	....
בּוֹא *to go*	βαίνω	vado	venir	waten	wend
בּוּס *to tread*	πάτος	pes	patte	Pfad	path
בּוֹשׁ *to be ashamed*	....	pudeo	....	....	bash

HEBREW.	GREEK.	LATIN.	FRENCH.	GERMAN.	ENGLISH.
בָּטַח *to trust*	*πείθω*	fides	foi	....	faith
בָּמָה *a mound*	*βουνός*	mons	mont	Bühne	mount
בָּעַר *to consume*	*βορά*	voro	....	....	browse
בָּקַק *to empty*	....	bacuo	....	....	puke
בַּר *corn*	*πυρός*	far	....	....	bar-ley
בָּרָא *to create*	....	paro	parer	....	pare
בָּרַח *to bolt*	....	....	barre	....	bar
בָּרַךְ *to bless*	....	precor	prier	fragen	pray
בָּרַר *to cleanse*	....	purus	pur	....	pure
גַּב *the back*	*κυφός*	cumbo	gibbeux	Giebel	gaff
גָּבִיעַ *a cup*	*κεφαλή*	caput	chapeau	Haupt	goblet
גָּדַד *to hew*	*σχίζω*	caedo	couteau	schneiden	cut
גְּדִי *a kid*	....	haedus	....	....	kid
גָּדַר *to inclose*	*χόρτος*	portus	cour	Gitter	yard
גּוֹרָל *a lot*	? *κλῆρος*	? glarea	....	....	? gravel
גִּיד *to tie*	....	catena	....	gatten	....
גָּלַח *to be smooth*	*χαλκός*	gelu	[gleich]	kahl	callow
גָּלַם *to fold*	....	glomus	....	....	ag-glomerate
*גָּלַף *to sculpture*	*γλύφω*	sculpo	....	....	scalp
גַּם *also*	*κοινός*	cum	....	....	....
גָּעַר *to low*	*γοάω*	ceva	....	Kuh	cow
גָּרָב *a scab*	....	....	scorbut	Schorf	scurvy
גָּרַד *to scrape*	*χαράττω*	rado	gratter	kratzen	grate
גָּרוֹן *the throat*	*γαργαρίζω*	guttur	goulet	Gurgel	gulp
גָּרַס *to crush*	....	....	écraser	Gries	groats
גָּרַע *to shave*	*κείρω*	? careo	....	scheeren	score
גָּרַף *to pluck*	*ἁρπάζω*	carpo	gripper	Griff	crop
	? Ϝερέπτομαι	rapio	? crever	raffen	rob
גָּרַר *to sweep*	*σαίρω*	sarrio	écurer	scheuern	scour
דָּאַב דָּאַג *to melt*	*τήκω*	tabeo	....	....	....
דָּמַם *to be silent*	*δαμάω*	domo	dompter	dumm	dumb
דָּקַק *to crush*	*δάκνω*	....	....	....	....
דָּקַר *to stab*	....	....	dague	? Deich	? dig
דָּרַךְ *to tread*	*τρέχω*	....	....	treten	thresh
הַ־ *the*	*ὁ*	hic	....	....	he
הוּא *he*	....	is	....	je-	it
הָיָה *to be*	....	fio	fut	werden	was

HEBREW.	GREEK.	LATIN.	FRENCH.	GERMAN.	ENGLISH.
הֵן *lo!*	*ἤν*	en	....	....	....
וְ *and*	*καί*	ve	ou	und	and
	τε	que	et	....	? too
זָבַח *to slay*	? *φάζω*	....	....	....	....
זֶה *this*	*τό*	(is) te	....	der	the
זוּד *to boil*	*ζέω*	....	....	sieden	seethe
זוּעַ *to quake*	*σείω*	....	....	....	? shake
זָלַל *to swing*	*σάλος*	? salix	? saillir	....	? sally
זָנַח *to stink*	*ταγγός*	....	....	....	tang
זָעַם *to rage*	....	....	écurme	Schaum	skim
זָקַק *to filter*	*σάκκος*	sagum	sac	seihen	sack
זָרָה *to strew*	*σπείρω*	sero	a-sperger	streuen	sow
חָבַט *to beat*	*πατάσσω*	batuo	battre	[abate]	pat
חָבַל *to bind*	....	....	cable	Kabel	cable
חָבַר *to join*	? *παρά*	par	pair	Paar	peer
חוּל *to twist*	*κυλίω*	....	? cueillir	....	? coil
חוּשׁ *to hasten*	....	....	hâte	hetzen	haste
חָזָה *to look*	? *ἀγάζομαι*	....	....	....	gaze
חָזַק *to seize*	*Fισχύς*	vis	....	....	vigor
חָיָה *to live*	*ζάω*	? vivo	....	....	? save
חֵלֶב *fat*	*ἀλείφω*	lippus	glisser	schlüpfen	glib
חָלַל *to pierce*	*χαλάω*	cœlum	? creux	hohl	hole
חָלַץ *to pull*	*λύω*	laxus	[lose]	los	loose
חָלַק *to smooth*	*γλυκύς*	glaber	glace	glänzen	sleek
חָם *father-in-law*	*γάμος*	geminus	....	....	? groom
חָמַל *to spare*	*ὁμαλός*	? mel	a-mollir	mild	mellow
חָנַק *to throttle*	*πνίγω*	....	....	....	....
חָסַף *to peel*	*σκάπτω*	scabo	....	schaben	scrape
חָקַק *to hew*	? *ὀξύς*	? acies	hacher	hacken	hash
חָקַר *to search*	[בָּקַר]	quæro	ac-quérir	[question]	query
חָרַב *to waste*	*κάρφω*	....	....	....	....
חָרַד *to tremble*	*κραδάω*	....	....	....	cradle
חָרַק *to quash*	*κρίζω*	....	....	....	creak
חָרַר *to glow*	....	areo	été	Herd	ardent
חָרַשׁ *to carve*	*γράφω*	scribo	graver	graben	scratch
חָשָׁה *to be silent*	....	[hist!]	....	husch	hush
טָבַל *to plunge*	*δύπτω*	[dive]	[dabble]	taufen	dip
טָבַע *to sink*					

HEBREW.	GREEK.	LATIN.	FRENCH.	GERMAN.	ENGLISH.
טִיר *to encircle*	*τιάρα*	[עָטַר]	tour	[turn]	tier
טוּשׂ *to pounce*	....	tundo	....	Stoss	toss
טָפַף *to trip*	*στείβω*	stipes	étamper	tappen	step
טָרַד *to drive*	....	trudo	....	....	thrust
טָרַף *to rend*	*ϑρύπτω*	....	....	streifen	strip
יָאַל *to please*	*βούλομαι*	volo	vouloir	wollen	will
יָבַב *to cry*	*βοάω*	bos	....	....	....
יָבַל *to flow*	....	....	....	wallen	well
יָדַע *to know*	Ϝοῖδα	video	voir	weissen	wit
יָהַב *to give*	? *ἐάω*	....	....	geben	if
יַיִן *wine*	Ϝοῖνος	vinum	vin	Wein	vine
יָכֹל *to be able*	....	? calleo	....	....	could
יָלַד *to bring forth*	....	[? lewd]	....	Leute	lad
יָלַךְ *to go*	....	....	....	....	walk
יָלַל *to wail*	*ὑλάω*	ululo	hurler	heulen	yell
יָסַד *to found*	Ϝέζομαι	sedeo	as-seoir	setzen	sit
יָרַשׁ *to possess*	....	heres	hériter	? Herr	heir
יָצָא *to go forth*	....	....	issuo	....	? ooze
יֵשׁ *there is*	*ἐστί*	est	est	ist	is
כַּד *a bucket*	*κάδος*	cadus	....	....	? cady
כִּי *a brand*	*καίω*	? siccus	? sèche	....	....
כִּי *because*	Ϝός	qui	que	wie	how
כּוֹל *all*	Ϝόλος	ullus	seul	alle	whole
כָּמַהּ *to long*	*κάμνω*	....	....	....	....
כֵּן *a gnat*	*κνάω*	cinifes	? canif	kneipen	nip
כָּנַע *to bend*	*γόνυ*	genu	genou	Knie	knee
	γωνία	cuneus	coin	knicken	coign
כָּפַל *to double*	[fold]	? copula	couple	Koppel	couple
כָּפַף *to bow*	*κάμπτω*	cavus	caverne	kippen	cup
כָּפַר *to hide*	....	....	? couvrir	....	? cover
כָּרָה *to dig*	....	....	carrer	....	quarry
כְּרַז* *to proclaim*	*κράζω*	crocio	....	kreischen	shriek
כָּרַר *to leap*	*σκαίρω*	curro	char	karren	carry
כָּתַת *to beat*	? *κυδοιμός*	cudo	....	....	....
לָהָה *to faint*	....	laxus	languir	....	lag
לוּחַ *a tablet*	*λευκός*	lux	....	leuchten	light
לוּט *to muffle*	*λανϑάνω*	lateo	[? claudo]	....	lid
לוּעַ *to deride*	....	ludo	é-luder	....	il-lusion

HEBREW.	GREEK.	LATIN.	FRENCH.	GERMAN.	ENGLISH.
לָעַג *to mock*	γελάω	....	....	lachen	laugh
לָעַט *to devour*	....	glutio	glouton	....	glut
לַפִּיד *a flame*	λάμπω	lampas	lampe	....	lamp
לָקַק *to lap*	λείχω	ligurio	langue	lecken	lick
לָשׁוֹן *the tongue*	? γλῶσσα	....	....	....	....
מֵאָה *a hundred*	? μέγας	? magnus	....	? Menge	? much
מָדַד *to measure*	μέτρον	meta.	mesure	messen	mete
מוּג *to melt*	ὀμίχω	mingo	[? muck]	[? mucus]	? meek
מוּט *to waver*	[mutiny]	moveo	mouvoir	[muto]	mow
מוּק *to jeer*	μῶκος	....	moquer	....	mock
מוּת *to die*	μορτός	mors	mort	Mord	murder
מָחָא *to clap*	μάχομαι	macto	....	....	smack
מָחָה *to wipe*	ἀπο-μύσσω	e-mungo	....	....	....
מִי *who?*	τίς;	quis?	qui?	wer?	why?
מָלֵא *to fill*	μάλα	multus	mille	viel	mile
	πλοῖον	plus	plouvoir	voll	flow
מָלַל *to talk*	λαλάω	lallo	[loll]	lallen	lull
מָלַץ *to be smooth*	μαλακός	mulceo	? mêler	milch	melt
מָנָה *to allot*	νέμω	numerus	....	....	....
מָסַךְ *to mix*	μίγνυμι	misceo	mixer	mischen	mingle
מָצָא *to find*	μετά	[*מְטָא]	....	mit	meet
מָצָה *to suck*	μύζω	musso	....	....	mutter
מָקַק *to melt*	? μικρός	maceo	maigre	mager	meager
מָרַר *to be bitter*	[moero]	amarus	morne	mürrisch	mourn
מָשַׁל *to rule*	βασιλεύς	....	....	....	....
מָשַׁשׁ *to touch*	μάσσω	....	....	....	....
נָבֵל *to wilt*	φαῦλος	....	....	faul	foul
נָהַג *to lead*	ἡγέομαι	ago	agir	....	act
נוּד *to wander*	....	nuto	....	....	nod
נוּחַ *to rest*	ναίω	....	....	....	....
נוּעַ *to reel*	νεύω	....	....	nicken	....
נָטַל *to raise*	τέλλω	tuli	tolerer	[סָלַל]	tall
נָטַר *to keep*	τηρέω	tueri	....	....	....
נָכָה *to smite*	....	neco	nuire	....	an-noy
נַעַר *a lad*	ἀνήρ	....	....	....	....
נָפַל *to fall*	σφάλλω	fallo	falloir	fallen	fail
נָקַף *to fell*	κόπτω	[chop]	couper	....	cuff
נָתַן *to give*	δίδωμι	donum	donner	....	en-dow

HEBREW.	GREEK.	LATIN.	FRENCH.	GERMAN.	ENGLISH.
נָתַר *to palpitate*	*τρέω*	terreo	trembler	....	tremble
*סְבָה *to view*	....	? sequor	....	? suchen	sight
סֶלַע *a rock*	....	silex	....	....	....
עָבַר *to pass*	*ὑπέρ*	super	....	über	over
עָגַב *to love*	*ἀγαπάω*	....	....	....	....
עָוֶל *evil*	....	....	....	übel	? ill
עָלָה *to ascend*	? *ἄλλομαι*	? alo	?ad-olescence	....	ad-ult
עָלַף *to cover*	*καλύπτω*	clepo	....	....	....
עִם *with*	*ἅμα*	simul	en-semble	sammt	same, ?seem
עָמַל *to toil*	*μῶλος*	moles	....	....	moil
עֲנָק *a collar*	....	....	....	Nacken	neck
עָרַךְ *to arrange*	....	rectus	rang	Reihe	row
עֹרֶף *the back*	? *ἐρέφω*	....	....	....	? roof
עָרַף רָעַף *to distill*	....	[נָטַר]	....	trieben tropfen	drip drop
עָשַׁן *to smoke*	*ἀτμός*	....	....	Athem	....
פָּאַר *to be beautiful*	....	....	....	....	? fair
פָּגַע *to strike*	*πήγνυμι*	figo	[pack]	pochen	peck
פָּגַר *to faint*	....	piger	....	....	....
פָּרֵר *fat*	*πατήρ*	vitricus	paître	Futter	feed
פּוּג *to be torpid*	....	....	....	....	fag
פּוּחַ *to blow*	....	? bufo	? bouffer	? puffen	? puff
פּוּק *to waver*	[fickle]	vagus	vaciller	schwanken	wag
פּוּל *a bean*	....	? bulla	[? pulse]	....	? boll
פּוּר *a lot*	*φᾶρος*	....	....	....	pall
פִּימָה *fat*	*πίων*	pinguis	....	....	....
פַּר *a bullock*	*πόρτις*	porto	....	Farre	....
פָּרַד *to scatter*	....	pars	part	[brittle]	party
פָּרָה *to bear*	*φέρω* *βαρύς*	fero pario	fertile fruit	fahren Börde	burden born
פָּרַךְ *to break*	*Ϝρήγνυμι*	frico	? froisser	brechen	wreck
פָּרַץ *to rend*	....	....	....	....	? burst
פָּרַק *to tear off*	[fringe]	[fray]	franchir	frank	free
פָּתָה *to persuade*	*πείθω*	fides	foi	[? בָּטַח]	faith
פָּתַח *to open*	*πετάννυμι*	pateo	é-pandre	? spreiten	? span
צָחַק *to laugh*	*καχίζω*	cachinnor	....	gackeln	giggle
צָעַד *to step*	....	scando	....	....	? climb
צָפָה *to watch*	*σκέπτομαι*	specio	[שָׁקַף]	spähen	spy

HEBREW.	GREEK.	LATIN.	FRENCH.	GERMAN.	ENGLISH.
קוֹל *the voice*	*καλέω*	calo	....	....	call
קָטַל *to kill*	*κτείνω*	[kill]	....	quälen	quell
קָטֹן *little*	*στενός*	tendo	[דַּק]	dünn	thin
קַל *light*	*κέλης*	celer	ac-célérer	....	ex-cel
קָנָה *to get*	....	....	gagner	....	gain
קֹר *cold*	*κρύος*	cruor	ichor	Gehren	gore
קָרָא *to call*	*γηρύω*	? garrio	crier	krähen	cry
קָרָה *to meet*	*κυρέω*	....	....	....	....
קֶרֶן *a horn*	*κέρας*	cornu	corne	Horn	corner
רָאָה *to see*	Fοράω	verus	garder	wehren	wary
רָגַז *to be angry*	*ὀργή*	rego	rage	recken	reach
רָדַם *to snore*	*δαρθάνω*	dormio	dormir	traumen	dream
רוּף *to shake*	? *τρίβω*	....	....	reiben	rub
רוּק *to empty*	*ἐρεύγομαι*	....	....	....	....
רִיב *to contend*	....	? rivalis	[strive]	streben	? raffle
רָמָה *to hurl*	....	ramus	....	....	ram
רָנַן *to shout*	....	....	....	....	rant
רָפָא *to mend*	*ῥάπτω*	[reeve]	....	Reef	raft
שָׁאַב *to bale*	....	....	? écope	? schöpfen	scoop
שָׁאַל *to ask*	....	con-sulo	conseil	....	counsel
שָׁאַף *to pant*	[suap]	....	....	schnauben	snuff
שְׂאֹר *leaven*	....	....	....	sauer	sour
שֵׁבֶט *a rod*	*σκῆπτρον*	scipio	....	schaft	shaft
שֶׁבַע *seven*	Fεπτά	septem	sept	sieben	seven
שָׁבַר *to break*	....	....	....	? Schiefer	? shiver
שַׁד *the breast*	*τίτθη*	....	téton	Zitz	teat
שׁוֹר *an ox*	*ταῦρος*	taurus	....	Stier	steer
שְׁחֵלֶת *onycha*	*σκύλλω*	[skull]	écaille	Schale	shell
שִׂים *to put*	? *τίθημι*	? pono	....	? thun	? do
שִׁית *to place*	*ἵστημι*	sto	....	stehen	stand
שָׁקָה *to drink*	[succus]	sugo	such	saugen	soak
שָׂכַל *to be wise*	....	....	....	....	? skill
שָׁלַל *to strip*	*συλάω*	vello	spolier	Fell	peel
שָׁם *there*	*τῆμος*	tum	....	dann	then
שֵׁם *a name*	? *σῆμα*	....	....	....	....
שָׁמַט *to cast*	....	mitto	mettre	schmeissen	smite
שֶׁמֶשׁ *the sun*	Fήλιος	sol	soleil	Sonne	summer
שֵׁן *a tooth*	*ὀδούς*	dens	dent	Zahn	dent

HEBREW.	GREEK.	LATIN.	FRENCH.	GERMAN.	ENGLISH.
שָׂעַר *to shiver*	*χήρ*	hirsutus	[hair]	Schauer	shaggy
שַׁעַר *a gate*	*ϑύρα*	...	....	Thur	door
שָׂפָה *the lip*	[sip]	sapor	ab-sorber	schlappen	lap
שָׁפַט *to judge*	....	....	....	Schöppe	....
שֵׁשׁ *six*	Fέξ	sex	six	sechs	six
תָּלָה *to hang*	*τλάω*	tollo	....	[*דְּוַל]	[*See* נָטַל]
תַּנִּיר *a dragon*	*τείνω*	tenuis	tenir	dehnen	tender
תָּפֵל *insipid*	....	....	....	....	? fool
תָּפַף *to beat*	*τύπτω*	tympanum	taper	zapfen	tabor
*תְּרַע *to rend*	*τείρω*	tero	....	zehren	tear

This list is sufficiently copious to prove a more than accidental agreement in words of frequent use. Many of these Hebrew roots are evidently related to each other, and most of them are found in several kindred forms. The same is true of their European equivalents. Among these the selection has here been made not so much for the purpose of exhibiting the most palpable similarity, as to include the greatest variety of distinct etymons in each line of descent. We have not room to express the numerous cognates and derivatives of each, to trace the connection of their meanings with the common or generic import, nor to note the various orthographical changes that they have undergone. If the reader will take the trouble to investigate these points at his leisure, as he may readily do, with the help of good lexicons of the respective languages, he will soon satisfy himself how widely these radices have ramified and how intimately they are connected. A comparison with their Arabic and Sanscrit parallels would still further verify the foregoing results.

II. MONOSYLLABIC ROOTS.—It is well settled that the so-called *weak radicals* in Hebrew verbs, technically denominated Pe-Aleph, Pe-Nun, Pe-Yod, Lamed-He, etc., which drop away in the course of inflection, were not in reality originally triliteral at all, but that these letters were only *added* in those forms in which they appear, for the sake of uniformity with regular verbs. But these constitute in the aggregate a very large part, we apprehend a decided majority of all the verbs

most frequently employed in the language. Besides these there is another very large class of roots of kindred or analogous signification with each other, and having two radicals in common. All these, as Gesenius has ingeniously shown in his Lexicon, are likewise to be regarded as essentially identical, the idea clinging in the two letters possessed by them in common. Thus we have reduced nearly the other moiety of Hebrew verbs, and these it must be remembered are the ground or stock of the entire vocabulary, to triliterals. The presumption is not an unwarrantable one, that *all* the roots might etymologically be similarly retrenched. The few quadriliterals that occur are unceremoniously treated in this manner, being regarded as formed from ordinary roots by reduplication or interpolation.

Now it is a remarkable coincidence that the ultimate theme of the primitive Greek verb has been ascertained, in like manner, by modern philologists to be a monosyllable, consisting of two consonants vocalized, in precise conformity with the Hebrew system of vowel points, by a single mutable vowel. Thus the basis of such protracted forms even as *λανϑάνω*, *μανϑάνω*, *διδάσχω*, becomes *λαϑ*, *μαϑ*, *δαχ*. Indeed, Noah Webster has applied the same principle to all the roots of English words; and in his dictionary (we speak of the quarto edition, originally published at New Haven in two volumes) he has indicated them as "class Dg, No. 28," etc., although he seems never to have published the key or list of this classification.

III. Primitive Tenses.—In nothing perhaps does the disparity between the Greek and the Hebrew verb strike the student at first more obviously than the multiplicity and variety of tense-forms in the former, compared with the meager and vague array of tenses in the latter A little further examination, however, shows that by means of the various so-called *conjugations* (Niphal, Hiphil, etc.) the Hebrews managed to extend their paradigm to pretty considerable dimensions. Here the Heb. Piel and other dageshed conjugations evidently correspond with the *reduplication* of the Greek perfect and pluperfect tenses, while the prefixed syllable of Hiphil, etc., affords a clue to the device of the simple *augment* in Greek. These, how-

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

ever, are comparatively unimportant, although interesting analogies.

The root of the Hebrew verb is found in its least disguised form in the *præter Kal.* The future is but a modification of this, as is especially evident from the facility with which it resumes the preterit import with "vau conversive." The past is naturally the first and most frequent tense in use, because it is historical. In all these respects the præter answers to the Greek *second aorist.* The augment of this tense was a secondary or subsequent invention, and accordingly Homer habitually disregards it. The "Attic reduplication" (for example, *ἤγαγον*) had a still later origin. The second aorist gives the root in its simplest if not purest form. It is further remarkable that *none but primitive verbs have this tense, and no Greek verbs are primitive but those which exhibit a monosyllabic root* as found in the stem of the second aorist. We invite the attention of scholars especially to these last enunciated principles. They show that this tense was originally the ground-form of the verb.

No tense in Greek exhibits greater modifications of the root than the present. This argues that the tense itself was of comparatively late date. Accordingly the derivative verbs most usually have it, although defective in many other parts; and the variety of forms under which it appears, occasions most of the so-called irregularities set down in tables of Greek verbs. Now the Hebrew has properly no present tense. Present time can only be expressed by means of the participle, with the substantive verb (regularly understood) like our "periphrastic present," ("I am doing," etc.) True to the analogy which we have indicated, the junior members of the Hebraistic family, especially the Chaldee and Syriac, constructed a present tense out of the participle, by annexing the inflective terminations appropriate to the different numbers and persons. This process illustrates the formation of

IV. Verb Inflections.—In Greek, as in Hebrew, the personal endings are obviously but fragments of the personal *pronouns,* appended to the verbal root or tense-stem. This is so generally recognized to be the fact with respect to both these languages, that we need dwell upon it only for the purpose of explaining, by its means, some of the peculiarities of the Greek

verbs in *-μι*. This termination, which reappears in the optative of other verbs, was doubtless the original and proper sign of the first person, rather than the ending in *-ω*. The former is the basis of the oblique cases of the pronoun of the first person, *μέ*, *me;* as the latter is the last, but non-radical, syllable of the nominative, *ἐγώ*, *I*. It is in keeping with this that the verbs in *-μι* are some of the oldest in the language, for example, the substantive verb, *εἰμί*. The passive terminal *-μαι* is doubtless but a modification of the same. Now the principle or fact to which we wish to call particular attention in this connection is this: *Every primitive "pure" verb in Greek is a verb in -μι.* By this rule the student may always know them, as there are no others, except the few factitious verbs in *-νμι*, and very rare exceptions like *ῥέω*, *τίω*, *πίνω*, which are attributable to disguises of the true root. Let it now be further noted, in confirmation of what we have stated above concerning the Greek primal tense, that *verbs in -μι have substantially the same inflection as the second aorist*, and *they have only those tenses with which these inflections are compatible.* Neither of these last-named principles, it is true, is carried out with exactness, for the aorists passive of other verbs seem to have usurped these active terminations; but we are persuaded they are in general the real clue to the defectiveness and peculiar inflection of the forms in *-μι*. We therefore look upon the verbs in question as interesting links in the descent from the older Hebrew type.

V. Declensional Endings.—In the absence of any real declensions whatever in the Hebrew, or any proper cases—unless the "construct state" be entitled to be regarded as a genitive—there is little ground of comparison with the copious series of modifications of the Greek noun and adjective. Yet Webster has noted the resemblance of the plural ים and Chaldee ין to the English ox*en*, (archaic hous*en*, etc.) The *ν* "ephelcustic" has its analogue in the "paragogic" ן and is strikingly generalized in the "nunnation" of the Arabic.

VI. Vowel Changes.—To the learner the Hebrew language seems very complicated in this respect; but the whole process of vocalization is wrought out under the following simple law: that "without the tone, a long vowel cannot stand in

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

a closed syllable, nor a short vowel in an open syllable." From this results practically the alternative of *a long vowel or an additional consonant* (or dagesh forte) in every unaccented syllable. In the Greek the following fundamental principle prevails: that *a long vowel* (or diphthong) *indicates the omission of a consonant*, except where it represents two short vowels; and this latter is tantamount to the other, for there is one *letter* less. Thus the systems of syllabication in both languages essentially coincide in this: that *length in the vowel is equivalent to another consonant.* We might take room to exemplify these rules, but the modern scholar will readily see their truth. In none of the later cognate languages is this principle regarded with much uniformity, although from the nature of the vocal organs themselves, it follows, even in so arbitrary a tongue (or rather so *historical* a spelling) as the English, that a vowel is naturally long when it ends the syllable, and short when a consonant closes the sound. But in the Greek and Hebrew the law we have propounded is consistently carried out in a complete system of euphonic changes which lie at the very threshold of either language.

Accordingly, in exactness of *phonetic* representation these two languages have no rival, not even in the German, Italian, or Spanish. Though the original sounds are now somewhat uncertain, yet it is evident (unless we take the degenerate modern Greek, and the discrepant modern Rabbinical pronunciations as perfect guides) that each letter and vowel in both had its own peculiar power. The two alphabets, we know, were identical in origin; for if we distrust the story of the importation of the Phœnician characters by Cadmus into Greece, we have but to compare the names, order, and forms of the written signs (reversing them, as the two languages were read in opposite directions,) in order to satisfy ourselves that they are essentially the same. Even the unappreciable א has its equivalent in the *spiritus lenis*, (as the ע may be visually represented by the *spiritus asper*,) and the old *digamma* (Ϝαῦ) reappears in the consonantal ר· Perhaps the reason why *υ* initial always has the rough breathing, is owing to its affinity to both these last named.

We trust we have said enough to illustrate our proposition, that these two lingual families, and especially their two chiefly

interesting representatives—which, widely variant as they are in age, culture, flexibility, and genius, yet by a remarkable Providence have been brought together in the only revelation written for man—have no ordinary or casual points of resemblance. We would be glad to see the subject extended by some competent hand, especially by a comparison of the venerable and rich Sanscrit and Arabic.

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE COLENSO CASE—ITS FINAL DECISION BY THE PRIVY COUNCIL.—We have traced in the former numbers of the *Methodist Quarterly Review* the history of this important case to the appeal of Bishop Colenso from a decree of South African Bishops—by which he was, on account of heresy, deposed from his See of Natal—to the Queen's Privy Council. The decision of this court, which is final, was delivered by the Lord Chancellor on March 20. The hearing of the appeal was commenced on June 27, 1864, when the Judicial Committee declined to entertain the question of the legality of the Bishop of Capetown's jurisdiction without fuller information. On December 14 the case again came on, when the Bishop of Capetown appeared under protest, denying, "with all due reverence, that her Majesty in Council has any jurisdiction in the subject-matter of the petition, or that any appeal lies from what he (Dr. Gray) has done in the matter, either to Her Majesty in Council, or to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council." The defense concluded by stating that Dr. Colenso not having availed himself of the liberty of appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury, against the sentence of deposition, as provided, but having appealed to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, the appeal should not be allowed, because Dr. Gray was entitled to exercise the authority of a metropolitan bishop, and because Dr. Colenso received his bishopric on that understanding. It was added that, if the petitioner should desire to impugn the letters patent, as having been improvidently granted by the Crown, the proper course for him to pursue would be by proceedings to repeal the said letters patent. The matter was elaborately argued before the Lord Chancellor, Lord Cranworth, Lord Kingsdown, Sir J. Romilly, and Sir S. Lushington. The court, on the part of the counsel of Bishop Colenso, was prayed to admit the appeal, and on the part of the counsel of the Bishop of Capetown, to "advise Her Majesty to pronounce for protest and against the said pretended complaint and appeal." On these points the court delivered judgment. After minutely recapitulating the circumstances which led the Bishop of Capetown to depose the Bishop of Natal from the office of bishop and deprive him of his see, the Lord Chancellor said:

> As the question can be decided only by the Sovereign as head of the Established Church and depositary of ultimate appellate jurisdiction, their lordships will humbly report to Her Majesty their judgment and opinion that *the proceedings taken by the Bishop of Capetown, and the judgment or sentence pronounced by him against the Bishop of Natal, are null and void in law.*

This decision has a far-reaching importance not only with regard to the individual case on which it has been delivered, but with regard to all the colonial sees of the Church of England. It was allowed by the court that the letters patent of Bishop Gray, of Cape-

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town, granted him the rights of a metropolitan. In these letters it is said:

> We do will and ordain that in case any proceeding shall be instituted against any of the said Bishops of Grahamstown and Natal, when placed under the said metropolitical see ~~of Capetown, such~~ proceedings shall originate and be carried on before the said Bishop of Capetown, whom we hereby authorize and direct to take cognizance of the same. And if any party shall conceive himself aggrieved by any judgment, decree, or sentence pronounced by the said Bishop of Capetown or his successors, . . . it shall be lawful for the said party to appeal to the said Archbishop of Canterbury or his successors, who shall finally decide or determine the said appeal.

The letters patent creating the See of Natal contain the following:

> We do further will and ordain that the said John William Colenso and every Bishop of Natal shall, within six months after the date of their respective letters patent, take an oath of due obedience to the Bishop of Capetown for the time being as his metropolitan.

Colenso took the oath accordingly as follows:

> I, John William Colenso, Doctor in Divinity, appointed Bishop of the See and Diocese of Natal, do profess and promise all due reverence and obedience to the Metropolitan Bishop of Capetown and to his successors.

Objection was raised in his appeal by Bishop Colenso, on the ground of there not being in reality, at the time the oath was taken, any metropolitan see of Capetown, or any bishop thereof in existence, this see having been created some months later. Apart from this specific objection, which, whether valid or invalid, could not have affected the general principle, the letters seemed to be very plain. The metropolitan had power to cite the bishop and clergy to his bar, and a final appeal was open from his decision to the Archbishop of Canterbury. But the opinion of the privy council at once cuts away the entire foundation, by stating that the queen's letters patent have themselves no authority whatever, not having been made by any statute of the Imperial Parliament, nor confirmed by any act of the legislature of the Cape of Good Hope, or of the legislative Council of Natal. As in England and Ireland the queen has no power to create a new diocese, or to appoint a bishop to such, without an act of parliament, so it is ruled that in a crown colony an act of parliament is necessary; and in colonies which have their own legislatures, the sanction of those legislatures must be obtained to give validity to the establishment of a diocese. The queen has a right of her own prerogative to command the consecration of a bishop, but no power to assign him any diocese not constitutionally created. Therefore the colonial bishoprics already founded, with the exception of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, sanctioned by acts of imperial parliament, and Jamaica, sanctioned by the local legislature, have no position in the eye of the law. The judgment is most sweeping in its consequences, since it renders all jurisdiction in such unsanctioned bishoprics, not only of metropolitans over bishops, but of bishops over the inferior clergy, invalid; so that in fact there is no jurisdiction at all, and the Bishop of Natal's clergy may, if he return, refuse to acknowledge his authority, just as he refuses to acknowledge that of the Bishop of Capetown. This places the Church of England in the colonies, with the single exception of Jamaica, in an entirely new position, making the authority of all bishops even to claim legally the title assigned, dependent upon acts of the legislature sanctioned by the queen.

Dr. Pusey has written an interesting letter on the decision of the privy council. He hails it as an indication that the Church of South Africa will soon be as free and as prosperous as the Scotch Episcopal Church and the Church of the United States. The Church, he thinks, is now freed from all complicity with Dr. Colenso, over whom, neither directly nor indirectly, it has any jurisdiction.

The trustees of the Colonial Bishopric's Fund, from which the salaries of the colonial bishops are for the most part paid, have announced that they are not prepared to pay the arrears of the salary of Bishop Colenso, and it is therefore expected that another legal contest may possibly take place.

MONASTICISM IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—The monastic institution called the Benedictine Brotherhood, or the "Order of English Benedictines," and founded by "Brother Ignatius," seems to root itself in the Anglican

Church. New features, mostly taken from the Roman Catholic orders, are developed almost every month. Among the latest of these new developments is the introduction of a "forty hours' prayer, with perpetual adoration of the blessed sacrament," which was for the first time commenced at the Norwich Monastery on April 29. It was announced that "the sacred host" would be "taken from the tabernacle and enthroned upon the altar," that the "adoration" would be conducted in silence, a certain number taking their turn upon the altar and to succeed one another, and that any person subscribing £1 for the new church which the brethren of the English Order of St. Benedict propose to erect in Norwich, would be prayed for during the forty hours.

The most celebrated convert whom Brother Ignatius has yet gained for his monkish ideas is Miss Sellou, who has come to Norwich to inaugurate a congregation of Benedictine Nuns. On Good Friday, when Brother Ignatius introduced for the first time the entire ceremonial of the Roman Catholic Church, the new convert was present at the service in her full robes as "Mother Abbess," an acolyte bearing her handsome pastoral staff, while she herself wore the Benedictine frock, scapular, and headdress. Miss Sellon, the foundress of "sisterhoods," has for years enjoyed in the Church of England a much higher and more widespread reputation than Brother Ignatius is likely to attain for some time to come, and her influence may be sufficient to build up within a short time the female branch of the English order.

Another order, consisting of boys, has been established in honor of and called after St. William. On one day in the forty hours' prayer above mentioned, one of the boys of the order knelt before the altar thirteen hours.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN GREAT BRITAIN.—By an unusual coincidence the upper courts of the three great divisions of Scottish Presbyterianism were this year sitting in Edinburgh at the same time. Usually the United Presbyterian Church meets about ten days in advance of the General Assemblies of the Established and the Free Churches. This year the meeting of all three has fallen in the same week, and probably half the Presbyterian ministers of Scotland had made their appearance in the Scottish capital.

The United Presbyterian Synod was opened on May 15th, and chose for their moderator the Rev. Mr. Marshall, of Coupar-Angus. The report on statistics read showed that the number of ministers belonging to the denomination was 580, and of elders 4.308; preachers, 102; students of divinity, 133; members, 170,590; average Sunday attendance, 199,101; congregational income, £178,858; income for missions and benevolence, £50,696; total income, including miscellaneous revenues, £232,316; average contributions of members, £1 6s 11d.; number of Sunday scholars, 71,084.

In the Free Church Assembly, which was opened on May 18th, the retiring moderator, Principal Fairbairn, seconded by the Earl of Dalhousie, proposed as moderator the Rev. Dr. James Begg, whom the noble earl applauded for his resistance to Popish doctrines and influences, and for the strictness of his Presbyterian sentiments. Said Lord Dalhousie: "I am sorry to say that we now see the Church of England holding a dangerous flirtation with Popery, and that late circumstances have brought under the public eye the fact that even in our Protestant, or rather so-called Protestant Churches, that wretched device, the confessional, has again been established. Anything more degrading to liberal-minded men, anything more detrimental to the virtue and harmony of society, never was invented by Satan himself than that system of the confessional which, it now appears, is rearing its head in the front of the Church of England. And if we look at home we see our true-blue Presbyterianism flirting with that section of the Church of which we all know we entertain no very pleasant memories."

Dr. Begg then delivered an address on the position and principles of the Free Church, characterized by strong expressions against the Church of Scotland, and still more the Church of England. He showed conclusively the happy results which had followed their separation from the State Church. He said:

> Ever since the disruption the contributions toward the Free Church have averaged about £350,000 a year, or £50,000 a year more than the revenue of the Church Establishment, including the value of manses and glebes. We would

thus not only have been false to truth, but, as it has turned out, immense pecuniary losers, apart from the disruption. The amount contributed to the Free Church since 1843 has been no less than about £7,000,000 sterling.

. The result of the opposite procedure on the part of those who remained in the established "Church of Scotland" had been very different. While our protest has never been answered, the settling of so sacred a matter as the ordination and induction of ministers is arranged now by a mere Act of Parliament, just as if ministers of Christ were only so many higher policemen. The Church has thus consented to merge herself so far into the State, and to become even in the most sacred matters only a part of one of the kingdoms of this world—all this, of course, to secure her endowments. In other words, she sells her own freedom and the kingship of Christ for pelf, and if the sinful and fatal concession thus made has not yet been driven to further issues by the civil courts it is only because an emergency has not yet arisen. Between obeying Christ and Cæsar the distance is infinite. The ministers of the Established Church, even though willing, cannot now obey Christ in settling ministers, except in so far as they are allowed to do so by Lord Aberdeen's Act, and that Act expressly excludes the will of the people, apart from mere technical reasons, as entitled to the least weight in a matter so important; so that both Church and people are now equally enslaved by the civil power. The Jews might, therefore, as well have claimed to be loyal to Christ when they arrayed him in a scarlet robe, and put a reed in his hands, and a crown of thorns upon his head, crying "Hail, king of the Jews!" at the very time when their conduct as well as their words said, "We have no king but Cæsar," as our modern churchmen are entitled to claim that they are loyal to him when in every case of debate they regulate their conduct by Acts of Parliament, and not by the Acts of the Apostles.

The most interesting feature in the cotemporaneous history of Scottish Presbyterianism is the union movement. In the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, the committee on the proposed union with the Free Church reported that the Reformed Presbyterian Church and English Presbyterian Churches had joined in the conferences, and so far as the negotiations—which were narrated at length—had gone, they found a general agreement in principle with some diversities of practice. As the joint committees thought it necessary to move with care and deliberation, they were not yet prepared with a final report, and asked reappointment. The Synod resolved to express their interest in the statements of the report, and their gratification to learn that the conferences had again been characterized by mutual frankness and brotherly confidence and affection, and to reappoint the committee to continue to prosecute the object. On May 19th the sittings of the Free Assembly and United Presbyterian Synod were suspended, that a conference of both bodies might be held to promote Christian union. The Moderators presided in turn, and addresses on the state of religion at home and abroad were delivered by Principal Fairbairn, of Glasgow, and Dr. Cairns, of Berwick-on-Tweed.

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was likewise opened on May 10th by Lords Belhaven and Stenton, her Majesty's Lords High Commissioners, who for the twenty-seventh time since 1831 have been appointed to represent the royal person in the Supreme Court of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Dr. Macfarlane, Minister of Duddingstone, was elected Moderator. The Assembly had on May 23d and 24th an interesting discussion on the subject of innovations in public worship. The question was brought up by overtures from the provincial Synod of Merse and Teviotdale, and from the Presbyteries of Glasgow, Aberdeen, and others, calling attention to the fact that innovations had been introduced into the public worship of certain congregations without presbyterial sanction, representing that the deliverance of last General Assembly had been interpreted by some as giving countenance to these innovations, and praying the Assembly to legislate in such a way as should be conducive to uniformity and peace. The innovations specially pointed at were: 1st, changed postures of worship—kneeling instead of standing to prayer, and standing instead of sitting to sing; 2d, the use of instrumental music in the service; 3d, the use of *quasi* Liturgies; and 4th, the private dispensation of the Communion. The two latter were more particularly pointed to by the opponents of change, while above

the question of the expediency of one or more of the changes was the question of the constitutional right of congregations to introduce them. The changed postures and organs have already found their way into several churches, but the only alleged case of the use of liturgical forms was Old Greyfriars, (Dr. Lees.) the minister of which had also introduced the practice of private communion. The deliverance of last Assembly, without striking at any of the innovations themselves, simply conferred a determination to put in force the laws of the Church in respect to any innovations whereby the harmony of particular congregations or the peace of the Church might be disturbed. The object of the overtures was to obtain a more distinct expression from the Assembly in disapprobation of these changes, or at least of the method taken of introducing them—namely, at the will of particular congregations, instead of, according to Presbyterian usage, obtaining the assent of their ecclesiastical superiors.

The debate was opened by Dr. Pirie, Professor of Divinity in Aberdeen, who moved a resolution, declaring that the introduction into congregations of changes on the long established forms of worship without the authority of Church courts, and under the pretense of congregational independence, was inconsistent with the principles of Presbyterian Church government, and might not only bring the Church into collision with the civil courts, but prove subversive of the Presbyterian constitution; and, while recommending the utmost tenderness to the feelings of unanimous congregations as to matters of form, enacting that all such arrangements should be regulated by the Presbytery of the bounds, whose decisions should be absolute until and unless finally reversed by the Assembly; and the General Assembly strictly prohibit all ministers and office-bearers from assuming independent jurisdiction in such matters as are inconsistent with the vows of submission pledged by them at ordination to the inferior courts, on pain of the highest of censures; and in the event of disobedience, the General Assembly further authorize and enjoin Presbyteries to proceed with and prosecute such censures to such conclusions as may seem essential for restoring the peace and asserting the constitution of the Church.

This subject was ably and thoroughly argued by Professors Stevenson and Crawford, of Edinburgh University, by Dr. Nisbet, Principal Tulloch, Dr. Norman Macleod, and Dr. Lee, and finally adopted by one hundred and seventy-three against one hundred and forty votes. Dr. Lee protested against the deliverance for himself, and those who should adhere to him. The resolution of the present Assembly is directly at variance with that of 1864, which tolerated all such changes as did not disturb the harmony of congregations. The result of the vote has created considerable sensation.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

FRANCE.

The French Government and the Pope.—The reaction against the claims put forth by the Pope in his late Encyclical is on the increase throughout Europe. Nowhere is it more significant than in France. Until the present year the government has always endeavored to avoid any disagreement with the Pope and the bishops, but this year the Minister of Worship made in the Senate a very significant speech against the claims of the Ultramontane party, severely attacking the Encyclical and the Council at Rome in 1863, and favoring the enforcement of the French laws against any encroachments of the hierarchy. Mr. Rouland showed up Ultramontanism in the most conclusive manner, and summed up his speech by the following:

> For me, the Encyclical of Pius IX. tends only to the openly avowed aim of Gregory XVI., to bar the way before modern civilization, under whatever name it may present itself. There are two systems which ruin religious sentiment, the revolutionary and the Ultramontane. The *first* denies all divine revelation, exalts human reason, leaves the passions uncurbed, tells the Pope, (whom I wish with all the energy of my convictions to maintain in Rome,) "The hour for exile is come; go forth into the Christian world and seek a shelter; forsake the Eternal City," . . . and when all begins to totter, a free Church in a free state will be decreed, in order the better to substitute indifference to faith! The *second*, the Ultramontane (from hatred of the one do not turn your eyes away from the perils of the other) exalts the pontifical power above the true state of things, denies the rights of the state,

even when the state merely interferes to maintain the national institutions and the public peace; alters, does violence to, our admirable religion, gives exigencies to her not her own, and doctrines of which she had never dreamt, and exposes her to become irreconcilable to the independence of the people, and to all legitimate liberty.

Mr. Rouland also gave the history of the *syllabus*, a copy of which had been in his hands for three years. It had been prepared by Bishop Gerbet, of Perpignan, and carried to Rome to be used at the nick of time against modern civilization, and to upset this small but estimable party of liberal Catholics. The time proved to be convenient, soon after the Franco-Italian Convention of September 15, 1864.

No less dissatisfied than with the Minister of Public Worship, the Roman Catholics are with the Minister of Public Instruction, who has made to the emperor an elaborate report on the condition of primary education in France, as compared with the leading Protestant countries. It appears from this report that there still are 881,800 children between seven and thirteen who are not taught to read; there are still forty per cent. who leave school in ignorance. In 1862, one third of the men of twenty years of age, when called to sign their names on the conscription list, were unable to do so. And twenty-eight per cent. of married men, and forty-three per cent. of married women, were not able to sign the wedding register.

The Ultramontane party found some consolation for the hostile attitude of the government in a speech made by Mr. Thiers on the Roman Question. Before the revolution of 1848 Thiers was regarded by the Ultramontane party as one of their most dangerous enemies. In his works he seemed to be a decided Voltairean; as a statesman he demanded, in 1846, that the Jesuits should be expelled from France. Since 1848, Thiers, like Guizot and most of the statesmen devoted to the interests of the family of Louis Philippe, have deemed it necessary to form an alliance with the Ultramontane party. Thiers, in his speech, undertook to censure the attitude of the French government as not favorable enough to the temporal power of the Pope, and proposed an amendment to the address to the crown, recognizing the necessity of maintaining the temporal power, if necessary, by French bayonets. He contended that the temporal sovereignty of the Pope is absolutely necessary to the existence of the Roman Catholic religion, and that therefore the people of the pontifical states must be refused the right to change their form of government. Mr. Thiers has thus cut himself loose from the entire progressive party of Europe, who are unanimous in demanding the abolition of the temporal power. He has gained on the other hand, for the first time in his life, the applause of the Ultramontanes, though by no means their confidence; for while they pronounce his political views to be correct, they are by no means satisfied that his theology has become orthodox. The amendment proposed by Thiers received eighty-four votes, a little less than one third of the total vote.

The Roman Catholic Church in England.—As no religious census is taken in England, it is impossible to state the exact membership of those religious denominations which do not provide themselves at their stated meetings for a return of the statistics of their Churches. As the Roman Catholic Church does not officially ascertain the number of her members, her numerical strength in England is a matter of controversy. The accession to the Roman Church of many men of high social position has made many, both Catholics and Protestants, believe that she has of late made considerable progress. This opinion, however, is not born out by facts. If we examine, for instance, the official statistics of marriages, we find that the following number of marriages were registered in Catholic Churches in 1859, 1860, 1861: In 1859, 7,756; in 1860, 7,800; in 1861, 7,782. Compared with the number registered in other Churches, these figures indicate a Catholic population of somewhat more than one million, a figure which is also in harmony with other statistics. If it is in the main correct, and of this we believe there can be no doubt, the Catholic population has increased in a less proportion than the aggregate population of the kingdom. In one respect only the Catholics stand at the head of the religious denominations of England: in the number of convicts furnished to the prisons. It appears, from official

documents laid before the English Parliament, that on January 1, 1864, the total prisons in England contained 27,307 prisoners, and that of this number no less than 5,538 were Catholics. Thus while the Catholics constitute about one twenty-fifth of the total population, one fifth of all the prisoners are Catholic.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Dr. Spiegel has made another valuable contribution to the literature on the Eastern Religions by a commentary on the Zendavesta. (*Commentar über das Avesta*, vol. 1. *Der Vendidad.* Leipsic, 1865.) Dr. Spiegel some years ago published a translation of the Vendidad, and in the prosecution of his study of the sacred books of the Parsees deemed it necessary to learn the Guzerati language, and to study the version of the Vendidad executed in that idiom by the Parsee Aspendiarjee Framjee. In his new commentary on the Vendidad he gives many corrections of his former views, derived from the study of the Guzerati version.

A very interesting phenomenon of the present age is the appearance of reformatory schools among the Mohammedans as well as the Hindoos. On the former an interesting essay has been published by H. Sherner, (*Die Mutaziliten oder die Freidenker in Islam.* Leipsic, 1865,) who believes that this youngest school of Mohammedan freethinkers bids fair to be more successful than their predecessors.

The important work on the History of the Greek Church by Dr. Pichler, lecturer on Roman Catholic Theology at the University of Munich, has been completed by the appearance of the second volume. (*Geschichte der Kirchlichen Trennung zwischen dem Orient und Occident.* Munich, 1865.) This volume treats, in separate chapters, of the Russian Church, the Hellenic Church, the Nestorians, the Armenians, the Jacobites, the Copts and Abyssinians, the Maronites, and the Modern Protestant Missions in the Levant. Then follows a Historico-Dogmatic Treatise of the Papacy in its antagonistic relation to the Eastern Church, consisting of three chapters: 1. The Primacy and the Church. 2. The Primacy and the Patriarchs. 3. The Primacy and the Dogma. In the last part of the volume are the different theories as to the extent of the papal power prevailing in the Roman Catholic Church since the beginning of the sixteenth century. The work of Dr. Pichler is pronounced by the most competent critics a work of superior excellence. A Greek journal, the "Klio," published at Trieste, says that Dr. Pichler is the first Roman Catholic theologian who, although firmly adhering to the Roman Catholic dogma, has impartially written the history of the great schism. Professor A. Ritschl, of Göttingen, the author of the work on the old Catholic Church, the New Evangelical Church of Berlin, the "Literarische Centralblatt," of Dr. Zarncke, and many other Protestant critics, regard the book as one of the most important productions of recent Catholic literature. The conciliatory spirit of the book toward the Greek Church has caused it to be put in the Roman Index of Prohibited Books, and the author has been summoned by Rome to submit to this sentence of condemnation. Several Ultramontane theologians of Germany, as Professor Hergenröther of Würtzburg, Professor Mittermüller, and others, have, at the same time, severely attacked him. To these Dr. Pichler has replied in a pamphlet entitled *An meine Kritiker*, (To my Critics,) in which he defends his work.

The eleventh volume of the Ecclesiastical Year Book of Matthes (*Kirchliche Chronik*, Altona, 1865) presents a brief outline of the Church history of the year 1864. The work is valuable, as far as the history of Germany and some other European countries is concerned, as it is the only periodical covering the ground; but as far as America is con-

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cerned it is more than worthless. On the religious condition of the United States it gives twenty lines, one half of which consists of the ecclesiastical statistics of Cincinnati, and the other half stating the re-election of Lincoln, the "liberation of the fugitive slaves" by the House of Representatives, and the abolition of slavery in Maryland.

Professor Hundeshagen, of Heidelberg, has published the first volume of an important work on the History of the Constitution of the Protestant Churches, principally those of Germany and Switzerland. (*Beiträge zur Kirchenverfassungsgeschichte und Kirchenpolitik, insbesondere des Protestantismus.* Wiesbaden, vol. 1, 1865.) The first volume contains three essays, treating, 1. Of "the religious and the moral element of Christian piety," and their "influence upon the development of the doctrine and the Church constitution of the earlier Protestantism." 2. Of the Reformation of Zuinglius and the Theocracy at Zurich. 3. Of the distinctive religious peculiarities of Lutheran and Reformed Protestantism, and their influence on Church constitution. Together these three essays present a history of Church Constitution until the end of the sixteenth century.

Simultaneously with the celebrated Codex Sinaiticus, Professor Tischendorf discovered, on his last literary journey, a complete copy of the Epistle of Barnabas, of which hitherto a considerable portion was unknown. The publication of the entire epistle has called forth a valuable monograph by Professor Weizsäcker, of Tubingen, entitled, *Zur kritik des Barnabasbriefes aur dem Codex Sinaiticus.* (Tubingen, 1864.) The author tries to prove that the Epistle was written shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem and after the Epistle to the Hebrews, and not, as has been recently asserted, under the Emperor Hadrian, to a congregation leaning toward Judaism.

The apologetic literature has received valuable contributions by a work from Professor Luthardt, of Leipsic, entitled "Apologetic Lectures on the Fundamental Truths of Christianity." (*Apologetische Vorträge über die Grundwahrheiten des Christenthums.* Leipsic, 1864.) In ten popular lectures the author refutes the views of modern infidelity concerning the Personal God, the Creation, Man, Religion, Revelation, the History of Revelation, Paganism and Judaism, the Person of Christ.

Of a more speculative character is a work from Professor Auberlen, of Basel, on Divine Revelation. (*Die Göttliche Offenbarung,* vol. 2, 1864.) The first volume of this work appeared in 1861; the second, published last year, treats of man as a religious being. The death of the author, which occurred at Basel on May 2, 1864, leaves this work incomplete. A biographical sketch of Auberlen, who was highly esteemed as a theological author, is added to the second volume of the above work.

A new work on the Constitution and Present Condition of all the Oriental Churches, has been published by Dr. Silbernagle, (Roman Catholic,) Professor of Ecclesiastical Law at the University in Munich. (*Verfassung und gegenwärtiger Bestand Sämmtlicher Kirchen des Orients.* Landshut, 1865.) The work seems to be more complete than any previous work, and at the same time commendable for accuracy.

Among the various editions of the celebrated Encyclical, of December 8, 1864, the one published at Cologne is especially valuable. (*Die Encyclica Sr. Heiligkeit des Papstes Pius IX.*) It contains the original text, printed after the official edition of Rome, a German translation, as well as the most important of the documents referred to in the Encyclical, namely, the Encyclical of November 9, 1846, the Allocutions of December 9, 1854, and of June 9, 1862. An introduction, which is said to have been written by a prominent Catholic theologian, attempts to refute the attacks which have been made upon the Encyclical from the stand-point of political liberty and modern civilization.

FRANCE.

The French *Academie des Sciences Morales et Politiques* proposed some time ago, as one of its periodical prize essays, "The Philosophy of St. Augustine, its Origin and Character, its Merits and Defects." The prize was won by Mr. Nourrisson, already well known to the literary world by monographs on Leibnitz, Bossuet, and Berulle. In his new work (*La Philosophie de Saint Augustin,* Paris, 1865, 2 vols.) Mr. Nourrison con-

tends that St. Augustine's influence was due not so much to his ecclesiastical character as to his metaphysical acumen, and that by maintaining the rights of liberty against the Manicheans while he upheld the claims of divine grace in opposition to the Pelagians, he proved himself the champion of philosophy. The first volume of Mr. Nourrisson's work contains a memoir of the bishop and a detailed exposition of his views on certainty, God, the soul, the world, and liberty. In the second we have an account of the principal sources from which Augustine borrowed his ideas, then comes an estimate of the influence which the Augustinian theories exercised, especially during the seventeenth century, and the last chapter is devoted to a critical discussion of these theories themselves. Mr. Nourrisson concludes by saying that cotemporary philosophy may still derive much profit from the writings of Augustine; for while many of the views they embody have been rejected as obsolete or erroneous, the Christian spirit which it is desirable to infuse into the speculations of the present day has nowhere been better exemplified than in the voluminous writings of the Bishop of Hippo.

A prominent writer of the "Liberal" (Rationalistic) school of French Protestantism, Th. Bost, contributes a new volume (*Le Protestantisme Libéral*, Paris, 1865) to the *Bibliothèque Philosophique*, in which he repudiates as a calumny the epithet *négateurs* given to his friends and to himself by the orthodox party. Every false idea, he remarks, is a negation, and therefore those who advocate such ideas are the true "deniers," not those who combat them. Mr. Bost maintains that the orthodox clergy of the French Protestant Churches differ widely in their views from the Protestant Church of the sixteenth century, and that if the primitive Huguenots were to reappear they would certainly be excommunicated. The difference between the liberal and the conservative sections of the present Church he regards as only a difference of more or less. Mr. Bost begins by pointing out the errors of Romanism; he then argues that the attempt to fix for ever the dogmatic boundaries of the Church is, on the part of orthodox Protestants, illogical and impossible; and he concludes by examining the principal religious questions of the day, interpreting them from the point of view of the new school, of which Mr. Colani and Réville are the chiefs.

Another volume of the *Bibliothèque Philosophique*, entitled *La Science de l'Invisible*, by Charles Lévêque, contains six essays or lectures on various points of psychology and theology. The author belongs to the "spiritualist" group of French philosophers, who defend against the Hegelians, Pantheists, and Materialists the personality of God and the immortality of the soul.

It would seem that, in the eyes of all candid men, the famous Encyclical of December 8, 1864, had for ever settled the question whether the Church of Rome is reconcilable with modern civilization and with the principles of civil liberty. Still there are a few enthusiasts among the Roman Catholics who pretend to believe in both the Church and in liberty. Among these belongs Abbé Bautain, who has just republished, in a volume entitled *La Religion et La Liberté*, a series of lectures, which were originally published a few weeks before the Revolution of 1848. The author has added some remarks on the nature and distinction of the two powers, spiritual and temporal, and also a sketch of the origin of political sovereignty. This last chapter is directed against the system of Rousseau.

A most important pamphlet on the Roman question has just been published by M. de Persigny, the intimate friend of the French emperor. The pamphlet is in the form of a letter to M. Troflong, President of the French Senate. M. de Persigny begins with stating that he has long had the presentiment that there was some grave secret at Rome, and that he resolved to go there and worm it out. He thinks he has wormed it out, and he gives the result to the world in the present pamphlet. He found, however, that the "great secret" was no secret after all, for "it was open as day" at Rome, and appeared to all eyes as clear as the light of the sun. It was simply the existence at Rome, long organized, of the enemies of France, and even now holding sway over all—popes, cardinals, religious orders, and governments. This party hates the civil legislation of France, and would, out of hatred of what it calls the revolutionary tendencies of France, imperil the secur-

ity of twenty popes. It has tried to bend to its yoke the clergy of France, and to overthrow the great work, nearly one hundred years old, of the French Revolution:

> Fancy, my dear President, by the side of the cardinals, a whole world of deacons, sub-deacons, monsignori, priests, monks, princes, nobles, advocates, and so forth, spread among scores of religious orders—those orders forming in some sort as many sections of a vast Council of State who study, judge, and decide in all the affairs of Catholicity—congregations of the holy office, the consistory, immunities, propaganda, the *index*, rites, etc. Fancy this administration of the spiritual government of the universe with a staff of three or four thousand *employés*, ecclesiastics or laymen, at Rome, and fifteen thousand agents or correspondents abroad; and if you bear in mind that all this hierarchy, all this vast organization, is moved by the same idea, you will not be astonished at the powerlessness of a pope, though he be the best and the most holy of men, to control such a mass. When a party which personifies the interests and the prejudices of another period fills every post and all the approaches of power, and holds dominion over all the public bodies, there is no sovereign in the world capable of turning back the tide of their passions. A prince may doubtless, like Pius IX., by his ineffable goodness, and the touching virtues with which he adorns the pontifical throne, lessen the friction of the violent machine which carries him on, but he cannot change its direction.

M. de Persigny conversed at Rome with Cardinal Antonelli and other eminent men, and expressed his opinions to them very freely. His opinion undoubtedly expresses, to a large extent, the views of the French emperor, and it may therefore foreshadow an attempt of solving the Roman question in accordance with these views. The passage recounting these conversations is, therefore, worth extracting. Persigny said to them:

> I fear much that you are cherishing strange delusions. You probably think that by doing nothing, proposing nothing, and consenting to nothing, you will greatly embarrass us; that, frightened at the prospect of the pope's departure from Rome, we shall end by renouncing the execution of the Convention. Perhaps you imagine, as many of you do not fear to say publicly, that the trouble caused by his departure may weaken public authority in France. Undeceive yourselves; never has a greater illusion entered the head of man. If you are insane enough to make the pope leave Rome, do so. You will be highly culpable in obliging this venerable pontiff to go again, at his age, into exile; but as you would prove by doing so that you neither wish, nor can, nor know how to do anything by yourselves, we shall arrange without you at Rome the affairs of the Papacy, and perhaps that would be the best way to solve the problem. Once you are gone, this is, in my opinion, the way things would inevitably pass. Nothing will be easier than to organize Rome according to the order of ideas which is to reconcile the interests of the holy see with the Italian sentiments of the population. In union with the Catholic powers and Italy herself, we shall establish at Rome a provisional government to administer the States of the Church in the name of the pope, and to introduce during his absence the necessary reforms. Under that government, which will reunite all the sympathies of Rome and of Italy, public order will not for a moment be disturbed. As at Naples and Florence, the conservative spirit of the population will master with ease the elements of disorder. Whether our troops are, or are not at Rome, we shall take, if need be, the necessary precautions to maintain tranquillity, and the Eternal City will await peaceably the day when it may please the holy father to return and resume in the seat of the Papacy the throne of his predecessors, relieved from all the causes which endangered its security. As for France, she will look with the utmost tranquillity on the departure of the pope and its consequences. The efforts you may make to agitate the French clergy, and through the clergy the nation, will be as vain as those you tried at the last elections. You had then, however, an excellent pretense of mistrust to offer the clergy. It was the presence in the Department of the Interior, to direct the elections, of the same man who had struck down the Association of St. Vincent de Paul. You indulged in the greatest illusions. In seconding from Rome the various elements of opposition supplied by the old parties you had no doubt of success. But if you had studied France better you would have known that wherever the clergy, forgetful of their duties, meddle with political contests, an effect is produced on public opinion contrary to their intentions—that whenever the priest deviates from his character of peace and charity he only irritates the minds of men against him. You may recollect the result; it was so contrary to your hopes, and the weakness of that part of the clergy which interfered in the elections was so complete, that the government thought it prudent not to publish the particulars.

It would nevertheless have rendered you a great service to have enlightened you on the state of France and on the degree of influence possessed by the clergy in political matters, but it would not have been just to wound the dignity of so respectable a body by rendering them responsible for the faults you made them commit. Think seriously on it. By endeavoring to rule the French clergy, and to oppose their duties to the Church to their duties to the State, by exercising a pressure on the bishops in order that in their turn they should press on the parish priests, take care that you do not strain the cord too much and break it. The most eminent men among the French clergy have already given you serious warnings. But if you commit the fault of carrying matters to extremity, if in place of coming to an understanding with Italy you force the pope to a new exile, be assured that the French clergy will not follow you in that hazardous course, and that the day you quit Rome will be the last of Ultramontanism in France.

M. de Persigny concludes thus:

Well, then, we are on the eve of the realization of the Emperor's words, that "he would not sacrifice Italy to the pope, nor the pope to Italy." Soon, by the side of United Italy—Italy free and independent—the Papacy, reconciled to the new kingdom, will exhibit the spectacle, so much desired, of the pope maintained in his independence, his dignity, and his sovereignty, and without the humiliation of being guarded by a foreign army, reigning over a contented and devoted people. Soon, in one word, one of the greatest problems of our epoch will be resolved, and then no praise and no homage will be enough for the great prince who, calm and unmoved amid so many passions, will have accomplished all these things for the glory of France.

Art. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

American Presbyterian and Theological Review, April, 1865. (New York.) 1. The Westminster Assembly. 2. The Messiah's Second Advent. 3. Missionary Interference at the Hawaiian Islands. 4. The Government of the Primitive Church. 5. Queen Candace. 6. The Hymns of the Church. 7. Schelling on the Characteristics of the different Christian Churches. 8. Duns Scotus as a Theologian and Philosopher. 9. Exegesis of Rom. ii, 18, and Phil. ii, 10.

Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1865. (Andover, Mass.) 1. Works on the Life of Christ. 2. More Recent Works on the Life of Christ. 3. The Permanence of Christianity in the Intention of its Founder. 4. Historical Studies in College. 5. The Scriptural Philosophy of Congregationalism and of Councils. 6. George Calixtus.

Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, April, 1865. (Philadelphia.) 1. The Structure of the Old Testament. 2. An Account of Extreme Unction. 3. Census of 1860. 4. Herbert Spencer's Philosophy; Atheism, Pantheism, and Materialism. 5. Principles of Church Union, and the Reunion of Old and New School Presbyterians.

Evangelical Quarterly Review, April, 1865. (Gettysburg, Pa.)—1. Dr. Luthardt's Contrast of the Two Generic Aspects of the World. 2. Sartorius's Holy Love of God—Translated from the German. 3. Elders—Translated from Zeller's Biblisches Wörterbuch. 4. Lutheran Hymnology. 5. The Hand of God in the War. 6. Politics and the Pulpit. 7. The United States Christian Commission. 8. The Poetry of the Bible.

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FREEWILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY, April, 1865. (Dover, N. H.)—1. The Republic as it will be. 2. The Poor an Essential Element in Civilized Society. 3. Eschatology. 4. Chattanooga, Improvements, Contrabands. 5. The Garden of Eden. 6. The Messiah's Last Forty Days on Earth. 7. The College and the University. 8. Remarks on Inspiration. 9. Herbert Spencer.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, April, 1865. (Boston.)—9. East and West. 10. The Appeal of Faith. 11. Christian Consolation. 12. Human Destiny. 13. Broken Lights. 14. Character and Overthrow of the Alexandrian Theology.

NEW ENGLANDER, April, 1865. (New Haven.)—1. The Conflict with Skepticism and Unbelief. Sixth Article: The Credibility of the Testimony of Jesus concerning Himself. 2. Did Christ Suffer as Divine? 3. The Christian Doctrine of Labor. 4. The Foundation of Moral Obligation. 5. Freedom of Will: Edwards and Whedon. 6. The Advancement of Christ's Kingdom by War. 7. Old Connecticut *vs.* The Atlantic Monthly. 8. The Hawaiian Islands.

The fifth article is candid, courteous, and able; but, as its system requires, terribly contradictory. A fear of occupying too much of our successive Quarterlies with this single topic prevents our analyzing and furnishing our answers to a large part of his counter views.

I. We will first state some of his opposing positions.

A. *Alternative or pluripotent causes are self-evidently an absurdity.* Thus he says:

> It is much as if a man, when confronted with the proposition that "two straight lines cannot inclose a space," should say, "Ah, but there are two kinds of straight lines, *uni-directed* straight lines, and *pluri-directed* straight lines, and while the former cannot inclose a space, the latter can easily do so." This being settled, it would be easy to charge his opponents with *assuming* that there is but one kind of straight line, thus making themselves ridiculous with a "paralogism."—P. 293.

B. The very "principle of causality" self-evidently excludes any other than a one solely possible effect:

> Who can wonder that Edwards did not attempt to prove that a cause, that is, a causal principle, is adequate to only one effect? No first principle is more truly self-evident than that. It makes no difference whether we are speaking of material substances or the powers of the soul; the *idea* of cause and effect is utterly subverted by supposing a cause without an effect truly and solely *its own.*—Pp. 294–5.

C. Alternativity is "a nothing," and its supposition implies "lawlessness."

> We may let go all this "alternativity" as a mere nothing. . . . There is no such thing as "alternative will." . . . The Will, as Whedon explains it, is lawless, because when acting under the strictest possible conditions of action it acts variably; in other words, because the Will, *at different times, acting under precisely the same conditions of action, is not restricted to the same issue.* A more complete definition of a lawless power could not be given.—Pp. 295, 299, 300.

Now if these three points are true, it is clear that the most fatalistic views of Edwards are absolutely true. There is no power whatever, there self-evidently can be no power whatever, for any cause or causal-

agent in its given circumstances to produce any other action or non-action than the one solely actual. There is no alternative but the given actual action; the principle of causality secures that that action shall not fail or be withheld, and it involves lawlessness to suppose that action not to result. Such statements stand in absolute contradiction to the claim made by him to holding any freedom of will different from Edwards, which he preposterously makes upon page 302.

II. We next give the points of his own view of freedom:

a. Freedom consists not in a power for one of several actions, but in a power for either ACTION *or* NON-ACTION:

> Consciousness knows nothing about "several volitions" standing together at the last moment of deliberation as candidates for the adoption of the Will. It seems to us that we are conscious of just this, that we *can put forth a certain contemplated volition* OR NOT. Consciousness stops with this simple negative, leaving our freedom to lie not between two or more choices, but between a particular choice and non-choice. . . . Thus, strictly speaking, the *alternatives* are never "I will" and "I will *not*," but "I will" and "I *not* will."—Pp. 292–3.

b. Freedom implies a double power in the same cause, namely, a power or powers for either a positive or negative sequent:

> We hold it to be the testimony of consciousness, that the soul has *power* to will, or to remain absolutely without willing. Even the circumstances that *secure* a volition secure it as a *free* volition, there being an unused power of *not willing.* This is not the power of "contrary *choice*," much less the power of alternative helter-skelter choice; it is the power of choice, with the possibility of non-choice. . . . If we should imagine a stream of water to possess Will, or the power of directing its own motion, it would not be essential to its freedom that it be able to run up hill, and sideways, as well as down hill. It would be sufficient if it had the power, in any circumstances whatever, of not running at all.—Pp. 300–1.

Now are not these various statements a complication of contradictions?

We are told in A and C that alternativity is self-evidently absurd; is a "nothing;" is "lawlessness;" and yet we are told in *a* that the will has power for either of two "alternatives," action or non-action; that is, the putting forth a given action or the withholding it. Nor is his own word "alternatives" here a slip of the pen. Something and nothing are differents and so alternatives. "To be or not to be," to do or not to do, to will or not to will, are often momentous alternatives. He holds, then, to "alternativity" just as truly as we do. On that point there is no difference. The differences between us are these: 1. We admit an indefinite number of alternatives; he admits but two. But that affects not our agreement in the actual existence of the alternativity itself.* 2. He secures by an absolute law the non-

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* "There is always an *alternative* to that which the mind decides on, with the conscious power of choosing either. . . . If you deny this *alternative power,*" etc.—*Beecher's Views on Theology.* This use of the word *alternative* did not originate,

usance of the power for the negative alternative; thus really nullifying the power and binding by a most absolute fatalism the will to the positive. He thus destroys the alternativity after having created it; says it and then unsays it.

Again we are told in *b* that there is in Will the double power of choice and non-choice; that there is at once the used power of choice and "an unused power of not willing;" and these differ just as the power in a stream of water of running and of "not running," that is, of standing still. But sure that is a plural power, a pluripotentia, a "pluripotent cause." And yet, in contradiction to this, (and in contradiction to Beecher and all who hold to "power of contrary choice,") he affirms very positively in A that "pluripotent causes" are as absurd as "pluridirected straight lines." He himself is a firm maintainer of a power for diverse "alternatives," namely, of action like a stream's descending, or non-action, as of a stream standing still; and yet he excludes a "pluripotent or alternative cause" from our possible conception. And this is not a mere incidental contradiction. He runs a fracture through the very bulk of his system, contradicting himself squarely in two. And now we say that the non-existence of a pluripotent or alternative cause is not like the non-existence of "a pluridirected straight line," axiomatic. It wants at any rate one test of axiomatic truth—Catholicity. It is not universally affirmed. On the contrary, the actual existence of "pluripotent or alternative cause" is not only affirmed by all freedomists, as Cicero, Chrysostom, and the entire Church of the first three centuries, Arminius, Wesley, Reed, and Dugald Stuart, but by that class of pseudo-freedomists like Beecher and Taylor, who first affirm a power of contrary choice and then bind it fast by an immutable fatalism, so that it can never be used by any actual or possible being. Nay, the existence of a "pluripotent cause" is affirmed as above by our reviewer himself. Directly in the face of his affirmation that this twofold causation is as impossible as a twofold rectilinearity, we affirm that, even upon his own admission, the "assuming" its impossibility is "a paralogism."

If the Will has in every act "an unused power of not willing," then the Will is pluripotent; it possesses at once two diverse powers. And then a "pluripotent cause" is not as absurd as "a pluridirected straight line." If the Will is capable of the "alternatives" of "I will and I not will," then it has "alternativity;" and "alternativity" is

as our readers will see, with the work reviewed. But Beecher nullified this *alternativity* by forthwith binding the will in a fatalistic law to a sole one of the (falsely so called) alternatives. Where by absolute law but one is choosable there are no alternatives.

not "a nothing." If it be "the testimony of consciousness that the soul has power to will or remain absolutely without willing," (so he says in *b*,) then there must be "a cause, that is, a causal principle, adequate to" more than "only one effect;" contrary to what he says in B. So one half his argument just refutes the other.

Our reviewer maintains that our alternativity of Will is "a lawless power." Law *restricts*, he asserts, in all cases to *one solely possible issue.* This he holds to be as true in the free agent as in the mechanical fabric. Nay, more. It is not like law upon mechanics imposed by divine Will upon the machine; he holds it as a *law in the nature of things*, lying upon the divine Will, and all other Wills actual or conceivable. And now where is he? How is it possible for even "an unused power" to exist for breaking that absolute Law? Is not that "unused power" stupendously "a lawless power?" And what becomes of all the talk about a difference between *certainty* and *necessity?* If all events are restricted to a sole shape and substance by a law whose opposite is inconceivable *chance*, are they not all equally *necessary;* and does not all *certainty* merge into *necessity?* And if that be not a pure and perfect fatalism, what is? If every event is secured by this absolute law, is not every actual sin committed under law to commit, law as absolute as binds two and two to be four? And would not the willing otherwise than such sin be a mad chance? In all such cases, that is, in every case of actual sin in the universe, would not the *not* so sinning, or the obeying God instead, be carelessness, causeless effect, absurd contingency, inconceivable chance? That is, to have obeyed God instead of sinning is as inconceivable an absurdity as a straight-crooked line. And this in every case of sin that ever occurs or can occur.

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, April, 1865. (London.)—1. The English Episcopates. 2. Shakspeare and the Bible. 3. The Last Duchess of Gordon. 4. French Religious Novels. 5. Hofmann and his Opponents. 6. A Plea and a Plan for Presbyterian Unity. 7. Psalms and Hymns. 8. Donaldson on the Apostolical Fathers. 9. An Examination of the Various Readings of 1 Tim. iii, 16. 10. German Theological Literature.

British Quarterly Review, April, 1865. (London.)—1. The Irish Church. 2. Homer and his Translators. 3. Doctrine of Atonement—Its Early History. 4. Lessons from the Cotton Famine. 5. Facts from Savage Life. 6. The French Bible. 7. The Economy of Capital—Foreign Trade. 8. The English Lakes. 9. History of Julius Cæsar. 10. Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

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CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, April, 1865. (London.) 1. Theology of Theodore Parker. 2. The Literary History of Aristotle. 3. Children's Employment Commission: Reports Second and Third. 4. Egerton's Tour through Spiti. 5. The Present Phase of Latitudinarianism. 6. The Pastoral Office. 7. The Zendavesta. 8. The Liturgical Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, April, 1865. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Taine's History of English Literature. 2. Heraldic Manuals. 3. The Australian Colonies. 4. Madame Roland. 5. Lecky's Influence of Rationalism. 6. The Church and Mosque of St. Sophia. 7. Memoirs of Dumont de Bostaquet. 8. Tuscan Sculpture. 9. Guizot's Meditations on Christianity. 10. The Law of Patents.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1865. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Galleries of the Louvre. 2. Classical Learning in France: The Great Printers Stephens. 3. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton's Later Novels and Collected Poems. 4. French Education. 5. Our Ships and Guns: their Defects and the Remedy. 6. Bishop of London's Fund. 7. Clerical Subscription. 8. Travels in Central Asia. 9. Libel and the Freedom of the Press. 10. Parliamentary Reform.

NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, February, 1865. (New York: Reprint.)—1. The Rise and Progress of the Scottish Tourist. 2. Epigrams. 3. Spain. 4. Tests in the English Universities. 5. Topography of the Chain of Mont Blanc. 6. Essays in Criticism. 7. The Holy Roman Empire. 8. John Leech.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, April, 1865. (New York: Reprint.)—1. The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte. 2. St. John's Gospel. 3. The State of English Law: Codification. 4. Modern Novelists: Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton. 5. Parliament and Reform. 6. The Canadian Confederacy.

German Reviews.

JAHRBUCHER FUR DEUTSCHE THEOLOGIE. (Annals of German Theology. First Number, 1865.)—1. PALMER, The Moral Theology of the Epistle of James. 2. NITZSCH, Patristics. 3. STEITZ, Historical Development of the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper in the Greek Church.

In the third article of the above number Dr. Steitz continues his very valuable researches on the History of the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper in the Greek Church. He takes up in succession Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Athanasius the Great, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzen, Macarius the Elder, and thus traces the history of this important doctrine from the beginning of the third to the end of the fourth century. The essay of Dr. Steitz is by far the completest treatise that has ever been written on the subject. He undertakes to prove that the opinions of Clement of Alexandria and of Origen were not merely their private opinions, but the opinion of the entire Greek Church at that time; and that the Apostolical Constitutions, Eusebius, the author of the dialogue "De Recta in Deum fide," Athanasius, Macarius, Gregory of Nazianzen, and Basil

the Great, in short, all the important writers of the Greek Church during this period, who wrote on the Lord's Supper, with the sole exception of Cyril of Jerusalem, adopted the "symbolical" view of Origen, and were by no means, as Roman Catholic writers have endeavored to prove, adherents of the doctrine of the "Real Presence." Dr. Steitz gives a translation of all the important passages in the writings of the above fathers, many of which could not be clearer and more emphatic in their rejection of the Roman Catholic doctrine. Here are a few. Clement of Alexandria says, (Pædag. I, c. 6): "Flesh he [the Saviour] calls frequently the Holy Ghost, by whom the flesh [of Christ] is prepared. Blood he calls in concealed ["parabolic"] speech the Logos, for the Logos is a rich blood poured out upon life. The mixture of both [that is, the union between the Spirit and the Logos] is the Lord, the nourishment of the minors." Eusebius (*De Scriptor. Theolog.* III, 12) thus defines the words of the Saviour in John vi: "Do not think that I say you must eat the very flesh with which I am clothed, nor think that I command you to drink the visible and bodily blood, but know well that the words which I have spoken to you are spirit and life. Therefore the words themselves and his speeches are the flesh and the blood, through which he who partakes of them, as though fed by a heavenly bread, is to have part in heavenly life."

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) Third Number, 1865.—1. RIEHM, On Messianic Prophecies. 2. NEES VON ESENBECK, Exegetical Remarks on Biblical Psychology. 3. DUSTERDICK, On 2 Cor. xi, xii. 4. VOGEL, On Gal. iii, 20. 5. LIPSIUS, Review of Weisse's "Philosophische Dogmatik." 6. HAMBERGER, Review of Culman's Christian Ethics. 7. DELITZSCH, A New Hebrew Translation of the New Testament.

The *Studien und Kritiken* is at present edited by Dr. Hundeshagen and Dr. Riehm, both Professors at the Theological Faculty of Heidelberg, assisted by Dr. Nitzsch, of Berlin, and Drs. Müller and Beyschlag, of Halle. Dr. Riehm, in the preface to the above number, announces that it will be continued in the same spirit in which the founders, Dr. Ullmann and Dr. Umbreit, used to conduct it.

DORPATER ZEITSCHRIFT FUR THEOLOGIE UND KIRCHE. (Dorpat Journal of Theology and Church.) First Number, 1865.—1. H. KURTZ, The Theology of the Psalms. 2. HANSEN, The Ecclesiastical Condition of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. 3. Reviews of Novikoff's Huss and Luther; Kramer's Life of Carl Ritter; Culman's, Neander's, and Wendt's Works on Christian Ethics; and Toling's Progressive Theology.

The Dorpat Journal occasionally acquaints us with recent works of Russian literature, a subject on which little is known in the remainder of Europe and in America. A greater prominence of this feature

would largely increase the importance of the journal for all scholars, as it thus might become the medium between Russia and other countries. In the above number we have an account of a Russian work on Huss and Luther, written from the stand-point of the Greek Church and of Panslavism, and therefore directed against the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches and the German nationality. The work was originally a prize essay, and completed in 1848; but it was not published until 1859, (at Moscow, in the Russian language, 2 vols.) The object of the author is to show that Huss fully agreed with the doctrines of the Greek Church, and that he was a patriotic champion of the Slavic race. The arguments of the author in support of his theory are very weak. Huss, it is true, was a very decided opponent of the Germans, especially those in Bohemia; but whether he had any national aspirations, in the sense of the nineteenth century, can neither be proved nor disputed, because neither his own works nor his cotemporaries say anything about it. The main argument of the author for maintaining an agreement between Huss and the Greek Church is an utterance of Huss that there are many Christians in Greece and India who do not recognize the Pope. ("*Non recurrunt Græci ad Papam de quibus absit credere quad singuli sine damnandi.*") From this the author infers that "Huss only combined the religious convictions planted in those regions (Bohemia and Moravia) by Saint Cyril and Saint Methodius, and that therefore he deemed it unnecessary to define more explicitly his relation to the Oriental Church." The judgment of the author on Luther is very severe, and he censures the great reformer no less than Roman Catholic theologians are accustomed to do. The work shows, however, a considerable acquaintance with the literature of Western Europe, and is interesting as one of the few Russian works which elaborately attempt to prove the superiority of the institutions of Eastern Europe over those of Western Europe.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (JOURNAL OF HISTORIC THEOLOGY.) Third Number, 1865.—1. NIPPOLD, A Review of Scholten's *De Leer der Hervormde Kerk*, (*Doctrine of the Reformed Church.*) 2. DR. EBRARD, *The Age of the Nobla Leiczon.* A Reply to Dr. Herzog.

The former article, filling nearly two hundred pages, gives the substance of one of the most celebrated theological works of Holland, the manual of systematic theology, by Dr. J. H. Scholten. This work, whose full title is "De Leer der Hervormde Kerk in hare grondbeginselen uit de bronnen voorgesteld en beoordeelt," or, "The Doctrine of the Reformed Church, set forth and examined from authentic sources," has passed through four editions, (Leyden, 1848,

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1850, 1855, 1861–62, 3 vols.,) and ever since been the object of the most animated controversy. The stand-point of the author is one of moderate, speculative rationalism.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE.—*March* 5.—1. ROSSEEUW ST. HILAIRE, Review of the History of France by Bonnechose. 2. E. DE GUERLE, Father Newman's Apology of Roman Catholicism. 3. REY, Radicalism at Geneva. 4. MONNIER, Compulsory Primary Instruction in Germany.

April 5.—1. MONNIER, Compulsory Primary Instruction in Germany. 2. BOIS, The Idea of God and its New Critics.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.—*January* 1, 1865.—2. RECLUS, Science—Of the Oscillations of the Soil. 3. KLACZKO, Poland and Denmark, (third article.) 5. TAINE, Italy and Italian Life, (second article: Monte Cassino.) 6. LAVELEYE, Commercial and Monetary Crises, (first article: The Money Article in England during the Last Fifty Years.)

January 15.—1. TAINE, Italy and Italian Life, (third article, Rome.) 2. DORA D'ISTRIA, The Servian Nationality. 3. LEVEQUE, The Last Days of Pagan Theology—Proclus and his god. 5. LAVELEYE, Commercial and Monetary Crises, (second article.) 6. BOISSIER, Cicero in his Public and Private Life.

February 1.—1. DUPONT-WHITE, Positivism, (first article: Its Causes.) 3. PERROT, The Kurds of the Haimaneh. 6. MAZADE, Michelet's Biblical Reveries. 7. JULES SIMON, Moral Statistics.

February 15.—1. ESQUIROS, England and English Life, (twenty-sixth article.) 3. DUPONT-WHITE, Positivism, (second article: Its Philosophical Inferiority.) 6. RECLUS, The War of Uruguay. 7. REVILLE, St. Irenæus and the Gnostics of his Times.

March 1.—2. BOISSIER, Cicero in his Public and Private Life. 6. REYBAUD, The American War and the Cotton Market.

March 15.—3. CARO, Cotemporary Philosophers—Theodore Jouffroy and his Works. 5. BIRAUT, The Cardinals Chiaramonti, Pacca, and Consalvi, on the Papacy. 6. JANET, Modern Skepticism—Pascal and Kant.

April 1.—3. O. D'HAUSSONVILLE, The Roman Church and the Negotiations on the Concordat, (1800–1814.) 5. RENAN, Egyptian Antiquities. 7. KLACZKO, Poland and Denmark. 10. The South American Congress and Peru.

April 15.—1. TAINE, Italy and Italian Life, (sixth article: The Churches and Roman Society.) 3. LAUGEL, The United States during the War, (second article.)

The article on the Modern Papacy, in the number of March 15, undertakes to prove by the writings of the Cardinals Chiaramonti, (who subsequently became Pope under the name of Pius IX.,) Consalvi, and Pacca, that at the beginning of the present century three of the leading spirits of the Catholic Church expressed the opinion that the Pope might lose his temporal power without disadvantage to the Church, and that the Church might reconcile herself with modern liberalism.

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Chiaramonti was Bishop of Imola when the three legations which the Pope had ceded to France, in virtue of the Treaty of Tolentino, were reunited with the Cisalpine Republic. The principal reforms to which the French Revolution had given rise had been introduced. While most of the bishops had fled when the French troops first took possession of the Romagna he remained at his post, and in 1797 astonished the world by publishing one of his sermons, in which he fully adhered to the principle of modern democracy and the republican form of government. He has no objection to make to the proclamation of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" as the basis of civil society. He accepts the principles propounded by a much more advanced liberalism than the one condemned in the late Encyclical of Pius IX., and expressly declares: "The democratic form of government adopted among us is not contrary to the maxims of the Gospel; on the contrary, it demands the sublime virtues which are only learned at the school of Jesus Christ." "Far be from you the narrow views of parties." "Let virtue, enlightened by reason, and finished by the Gospel, be the only foundation of our democracy." The Catholic historians are naturally but little edified at the liberalism of one of their Popes, though it was entirely repudiated as soon as Chiaramonti ascended the Papal throne, and some have entirely misrepresented its contents.

The Cardinals Consalvi and Pacca (in their *Memoirs*) speak of the possibility of the abolition of the temporal power, and clearly express the hope that, though unjust, such a measure would not be without its advantages to the Church. "The Pontiffs," says Pacca, "would henceforth devote all their care to the spiritual welfare of the faithful; the Church, deprived of the luster of wealth and of honors, would see those only enter the ministry who are guided by good motives; the Popes would no longer consult in the selection of their counselors birth and recommendations, and the crowd of ecclesiastical functionaries who crowd around the holy see would disappear."

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Verdict of Reason upon the Question of the Future Punishment of those who Die Impenitent. By Henry Martyn Dexter. 12mo., pp. 157. Boston: Nichols & Noyes. 1865.

Externally a very neat volume, internally a fresh and original train of thought upon an ancient subject. The author takes first the ground that Scripture is both sustained by reason, and is a true and

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necessary aid to reason in her office as "ultimate judge." Scripture being accepted as such aid, he shows on what principles we are to accept and interpret the dicta of Scripture. Among these principles he affirms that of two interpretations that must be preferred which is "least to our taste" and that which is "safest for man." He then examines the testimony of the Old Testament, of Christ and of the Apostles, and furnishes a large amount of indirect proofs from Scripture positions and language. He closes with reviewing objections, as well as the substitution of annihilation in the place of endless misery. The whole is a very acute and effective treatment of the subject.

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The Christ of the Gospels, and the Christ of Modern Criticism: Lectures on M. Rénan's "Vie de Jesus." By John Tulloch, D.D., Principal of the College of St. Mary, in the University of St. Andrew. Author of "Theism," "Leaders of the Reformation," etc. With an Introduction by Rev. I. W. Wiley, D.D. 12mo., pp. 266. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1865.

A series of graceful, scholarly, sometimes eloquent dissertations upon M. Rénan's brilliant but impious *Novel.* The book is of course too brief to deal in minute dissecting criticism on the mass of minuter points involved in the work. That belongs to books like "Ebrard on the Gospels," Lange's "Life of Christ," etc. But the general points are well put by Tulloch, and well developed.

In his first lecture Dr. Tulloch controverts the Positivist standpoint from which Rénan writes; the coolest possible assumption that any crossing of the ordinary course of nature by divine interposition is out of the question, not even worthy to be controverted. Lecture Second states and sustains the Christian view of the biblical miracles. Lectures Third and Fourth take up the question of the origin and integrity of the Gospels. Lectures Fifth and Sixth state the argument from the character of Jesus. The whole is initiated with an introduction by the editor, Dr. Wiley, written in a style quite equal to that of the author it introduces. The book is *made* in Poe & Hitchcock's handsomest style.

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Our Country: Its Trial and its Triumph. A Series of Discourses suggested by the Varying Events of the War for the Union. By George Peck, D.D. 12mo., pp. 300. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1865.

At leading points in our country's great struggle the author of the Discourses before us came forth to guide by his teachings, and sustain by his encouragement, the minds and hearts of his countrymen. The magnificence of our national heritage, the duty of loyalty, the trial of our freedom, the guilt of slavery, the danger of compromise, the impossibility of honest neutrality, the cruelty of a false peace, the beauty

of Christian benevolence in the midst of war, are the pregnant topics pertinently and eloquently unfolded. Dr. Peck exhibited a clear appreciation of the noble character of President Lincoln long before his tragic death had consecrated his character. The Church will welcome this volume from the hand of the venerated author.

A Commentary on the Lord's Prayer. By Rev. W. DENTON, M.A. Edited and Enlarged by Rev. HENRY J. FOX, M.A. Large 16mo., pp. 208. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1865.

Both for ministry and people a good manual to develop the spiritual wealth imbedded in this divine formula of prayer has been a felt need in our Methodist literature. Mr. Fox has selected an excellent English treatise on this subject, and has Americanized it and modernized it. The English volume consisted mainly, though not exclusively, of material gathered from the old commentators and homily-writers of Europe. Mr. Fox has added extracts from Guizot, Tholuck, Huntingdon, Williams, and others. The whole is ranged in the form of a commentary. It is a little treasury of the best thoughts of the best authors on "the prayer of prayers."

Life in Heaven. By the author of "Heaven our Home," and "Meet for Heaven." 12mo., pp. 273. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1865.

In the same beautiful style with the series we have noticed, both of composition and of external finish. The chapters are not doctrinal disquisitions. The doctrine is indeed the basis; but the superstructure is contemplation. Heaven as a blissful world, as a goal to which we travel, the joys of the arrival, the glorious society attained, and the blessed intercourse in the heavenly home, are the pervading topics of the book. They are presented in a pure, vivid, realizing style. They open before us those vistas revealed to us in the blessed word, enabling us to feel that there is a great result for which to live and labor.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Der Christus des Glaubens und der Christus der Geschichte. Von DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS. Small 8vo., pp. 240. Berlin. 1865.

STRAUSS once more! The rage for new Gospels of the Son of God caused Schleiermacher's disciples to overhaul their old copy books, and see if their illustrious master must remain denied of the privilege of having his say with the rest. At the time of the publication of his other posthumous works such meager shreds of his Lectures on the Life of Christ were discovered that his literary executors deemed it unjust to him to attempt a reproduction of them in print. About a

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year ago, however, the devoted disciples, by dint of a careful collation of the notes they had taken, elaborated a pretty reliable original text, and have published the same under the editorship of Rütenik. This appearing a little later than Strauss's last work, "Life of Jesus, for the German People," he now takes up the pen again for the purpose of showing up the untenableness of Schleiermacher's stand-point more fully than he was able in the just mentioned work to do. This is in truth no difficult task, for the fundamental contradictions of Schleiermacher's Theology and Soteriology affect his Christology to the very core. In addition to this the revered "Believer" often out-rationalizes the extremest Rationalists in his treatment of the documents of evangelical history. His account of the Resurrection will sufficiently illustrate his capacity for dealing with the Gospels. His idea of the said event is this. The sepulcher in which the body of Jesus was laid was not Joseph's newly-hewn tomb, but another private one in the garden where he was crucified. The body was merely deposited there temporarily, with the intention of removal to Joseph's tomb as soon as the Sabbath should be over. Matthew's guard of soldiers is all a fiction. Mary Magdalene's angels were persons commissioned by Joseph to remove the body; the emptiness of the grave, the rolled-back position of the stone, etc., merely consequences of the removal itself. Whether the reanimation of the supposed lifeless body was due to efforts put forth by these employes of Joseph on discovering signs of life in it he does not tell us. Strauss, who was himself one of Schleiermacher's auditors, says that in his earlier lectures he denied all human co-operation in the resuscitation, and attributed it to the influence of the cool vault in which he was first placed. The great stone made him little difficulty. The tomb had been left open Friday perhaps to dry, (!) and some of the garden owner's hired men coming along Sunday morning and finding the great stone rolled up before the door, exclaimed, (unconscious of what had taken place,) "What's that stone there for?" and rolled it away! About this time the crucified came to himself, rose, and finding his way providentially opened, walked out and showed himself to his disciples. Wherein such a dealing with the Gospel records is better than Strauss's it is hard to say.

The present criticism of Schleiermacher will unquestionably do good. It is keen and successful. It illustrates anew Strauss's undeniable ability in the line of showing up logical inconsistencies and subterfuges. It will show many, who piously abhor the no longer fashionable Rationalism of Strauss, but glory in the revered name of Schleiermacher, that they must logically either go to Strauss or return to evangelical orthodoxy. That will be a service to the cause of truth.

The closing sentence of the preface is interesting as characterizing the spirit by which Strauss confesses himself still to be actuated. "The illusion (*Wahn*) that Jesus can have been a man in the full sense of the word, and nevertheless have stood, as individual, above the whole race, is the chain which still closes the harbor of Christian theology against the high sea of rational science; *to burst this chain in sunder is the object of the present, as of all my former theological writings.*" And this man, avowing such aims, not even believing in a future life, *is a clergyman of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Wirtemberg in regular standing.*

Johann Albrecht Bengel, Lebensabriss, Character, etc. Nach Handschriftlichen Mittheilungen Dargestellt. Von Dr. Oscar Wachter. 8vo., pp. 558. Stuttgart. 1865.

Building tombs to the prophets has become of late the favorite occupation of the orthodox of Germany. The saints of the Protestant calendar never found such unqualified panegyrists in the palmiest days of the Church as now. A recent writer in Vilmar's "*Pastoral Theologische Blätter*" takes the ground that Luther was literally a PROPHET in the strict biblical sense of the word, and maintains that, while the other reformers can be understood as reformers, Luther can never be understood except in this light. It would scarcely be venturesome to assert that the last ten years have witnessed the publication of more biographical works relating to the founders and early fathers of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Germany than the fifty years preceding. Many of them have an exceedingly partisan character, and possess but little value; others belong to the best contributions of our time to the ever-increasing treasures of theological literature. The explanation of this remarkable passion for glorifying the dead is easy to all in any way familiar with the recent history and present state of the German Church.

The above-named biography of Bengel is valuable. The man was a character well worthy of study, and this book enables us to make his acquaintance with greater facility than any which have previously appeared. The chief reason of this excellence is, that it is for the most part Bengel himself who speaks. The custodians of the family archives have at last yielded up his diary, correspondence, sermons, meditations, etc., and extracts from these make up a good part of the work. Many curious facts have thus come to light, among others, that the great critic and arduous student was restricted lifelong to the use of one eye without ever betraying the fact even to his own wife! The entry is under date of April 23, 1748: Uno tantum oculo utor, inde ab annis pueritiæ meæ altero ne literas quidem distinguere valeo.

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Miraculi instar apud labores meos criticos. *Hoc, me quidem vivente nemini discendum. Ipsa uxor mea nescit.* This entry may be thought to reflect little honor on its author, but there are enough others which cause us to admire both his profound insight in divine things and the excellence of his personal character.

The work was projected by the hymnist Albert Knapp, but in consequence of his late decease transferred to Dr. Wächter, known at large only as the author of a small but bigoted defense of the Wirtemberg State Church in its recent persecutions of Dissenters, published two years ago. We can but join in the regret of the present editor, that the gifted Knapp was not permitted to accomplish his purpose. The present work embraces the following sections: 1. Sketch of Bengel's life, pp. 1–154; 2. Character, pp. 155–207; 3. Letters, pp. 208–359; 4. Bengel as Theologian, pp. 360–436; 5. His Departure, pp. 437–463. *Supplement*, Sermons, Hortatory Addresses and Poems. The fourth section reveals to us a strict Lutheran, dutifully accepting the dogma of Baptismal Regeneration and of the bodily Presence of Christ in the Eucharist; the supplement the fairer form of a wise and winning preacher of the word.

Die Geschichte Jesu nach Matthäus als Selbstbeweis ihrer Zuverlässigkeit betrachtet. Ein nachgelassenes Werk. Von THOMAS WIZENMANN. Detloff, Basel. 1864.

This is a posthumous work of a young author of the last century, who, had he but attained his threescore years and ten, might have figured in history as one of the most philosophical minds of his age. JACOBI styled him a thinker of the first order, before whose philosophical genius his own made willing obeisance. KANT praised his clearheadedness and lamented his early death. The above work may be conveniently described as a demonstration of the truth of the history recorded by the evangelists, by an application of the method employed by *Paley* in the "Horæ Paulinæ" to Matthew's Gospel. It is an acute and happy development of the *internal evidences* scattered through the first Gospel. The work was published under the supervision of *Klenker* in the year 1789, but has for a long time been as good as forgotten. It is now reproduced by the late Professor *Auberlen* of Basel, who has enriched it with an instructive introduction of thirty pages, and a supplement of over two hundred pages, containing all that seemed valuable in the writings left behind by the youthful author. These remains are of no small interest, being Pascal-like contributions to the philosophy and history of revelation. Many of them, despite their fragmentary and aphoristic form, are exceedingly fine, and one can but regret that such a mind should have been

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withdrawn from the German people at so critical a juncture in their history. Fundamental errors, however, are mingled with the truth; and despite his unusual faith in revelation, he might, had he lived, have injured the cause of Christ more than he could have served it. His conceptions of sin and atonement are decidedly shallow, and the in Wirtemberg endemic notion of a final restoration of all, Satan included, to the favor of God and blessedness of heaven, is a foundation doctrine in his theology. He even seems to think, that the grand aim of man's existence and history is simply the conversion of the devil and his angels. Wizenmann the apologist is excellent, Wizenmann the theologian a heretic.

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Dr. A. Neander's Katholicismus und Protestantismus. Herausgegeben von Herman Messner. Berlin: Wiegandt & Grieben. 1863.

This volume is the fourth of the series of Neander's valuable posthumous works, published under the general supervision of Dr. Julius Müller. It contains the substance of his lectures delivered at Berlin in reply to Möhler's *Symbolism.* Yet we have here more than a mere reply. Neander, having thoroughly studied the relations of the Catholic and Protestant Confessions before the appearance of Möhler's celebrated work, was fully prepared to discuss the fundamental differences between the two. The real point and value of the work before us is *that the author here shows the genesis and philosophy of the irreconcilable antagonism, together with the radical and inherent superiority of Protestantism to Catholicism.*

The book is divided into three parts: *Introduction, First and Second Divisions.* The introduction, after furnishing a sketch of the polemical history of Protestantism, directs attention to terms. The Romish Church arrogates entirely too much to itself when it assumes *Catholicity.* The only real *Catholic* Church is Protestantism. The Augsburg Confession commences with the principle that it contains the true doctrines of uncorrupted Catholicism. The ground thus taken can never be wrested from it. The first division embraces the great differences between the two Churches. These have their origin in the early sinful appropriation of Pagan corruptions by the Church. The Eastern and Western Churches betrayed great diversity, the former indulging in many speculations, while the latter addressed itself to practical theology and life. It was owing to the practical spirit of the Western mind that Protestantism arose as the force which opposed a system that was doing violence to the practical mind.

The *second* division is subdivided into eight chapters: 1. Tradition and Scripture; 2. The First State of Man; 3. The Present Nature of

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Man; 4. The Doctrine of Justification; 5. The Divine Law and Christian Perfection; 6. The Doctrine of the Church; 7. The Doctrine of the Sacraments; 8. The Doctrine of the Last Things. Under each of these topics we find the differences between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches clearly and fully stated. We then find the genetic development of the doctrines historically traced. Finally the author generalizes the arguments in favor of each, and establishes the great superiority of the Protestant interpretation of them all.

In the *sixth* chapter Neander combats the long-held assumption of the Catholics, that the Protestant Church is no Church at all, because neither Luther nor his successors performed miracles; for, say they, the power of working miracles must ever reside in a real Church. The reply to this charge is, that miracles are not needed in the history of the Church after that history has once fairly commenced; for the culmination and purpose of all miracles, as well as of all revelation, has already been reached in Christ. His epiphany and earthly existence constituted the greatest of miracles, all of which centered in him, and were perfected by him. Christianity needed the evidence of miracles because it was a new revelation, an original, creative, divine force brought into connection with the development of humanity. When the religion of Christ was once furnished with that evidence no new accessions to it were needed; the miracles became a permanent possession, which, neither for its own sake nor for the sake of the Church, required any additional number.

We hope it will not be long before this work will be translated into English. It richly deserves the attention of all theologians who may be interested in the points at issue between Catholicism and Protestantism. We know of no treatise which so successfully portrays the gradual growth of error in the Roman Church, and the necessity for that view of the doctrines of revelation which is presented by the Protestant Churches. Neander, in his other works, shows his rare power of *individualizing* character and truth. But in this he manifests equal skill in *generalization*. The editor, Licentiate Messner, of Berlin, had a difficult task before him when he set out to make a readable volume from the fragmentary and almost illegible notes of the lamented author. But the task has been well discharged; and Neander, though dead, is still speaking in defense of the cause which lay so near his heart.

Handbuch der Christlichen Sittenlehre. Von ADOLF WUTTKE. 2 Ausgabe. Vol. II. Berlin. 1865.

The second volume of this Manual of Christian Ethics justifies all the encomia which we pronounced upon the work in our last number.

Its stringent Lutheran stand-point is of course more prominent than in the first part. With the Formula Concordiæ he makes moral ability consequent upon baptism. His passing attacks upon "Methodism," pp. 227 and 335, we will forgive him, in consideration of his utter ignorance of what Methodism really teaches. We repeat our hearty acknowledgements of the unsurpassed excellences of the work.

Die Göttliche Offenbarung. Ein apologetischer Versuch. Von CARL A. AUBERLEN. Zweiter Band, (soweit er vom Verfasser druckfertig hinterlassen worden.) 8vo., pp. 143.) Basel. 1864.

Four days after finishing the editorial supervision of Wizenmann's work, on the 2d of May, 1864, Carl A. Auberlen, also a Wirtemberger by birth, well known in England and America through his work on Daniel and the Apocalypse, passed from earthly labors to another state. He too had projected an Apology of Revealed Religion, a work which was to be the grand fruit of his life; and he too was called away, leaving his task but half completed. The first volume, issued in 1861, we noticed at large soon after its appearance. The plan of the whole work, as then described, embraced three volumes; the first treating of the *Fact*, the second of the *Philosophy*, the third of the *History* of Revelation. The above-named issue is the beginning of the second volume, extending as far as he had elaborated before his death. He merely treats of man as one of the presuppositions of revelation, the section on Conscience being perhaps the most valuable of any. Beyond the circle of the author's more immediate ecclesiastical and doctrinal relatives, the work will attract little notice. The arch which promised to be so beautiful and strong is left a fragment, and must soon turn to a ruin. Such works sadden every thoughtful reader.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Know the Truth: A Critique on the Hamiltonian Theory of Limitation, including some Strictures upon the Theories of Rev. Henry L. Mansel and Mr. Herbert Spencer. By JESSE H. JONES. 12mo., pp. 225. Published for the author by Hurd & Houghton, New York. Boston: Nichols & Noyes. 1865.

Mr. Jones in this little volume essays, as his title indicates, to furnish an antidote to the evils produced in the public mind by the philosophies of Hamilton and Spencer. The former of these two philosophers, very much in accordance with the philosophy of Locke, affirming that all our legitimate knowledge is derived from the sense modified by the understanding, maintains that all our supposed ideas

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of the Infinite and the Absolute, of God, immortality, and freedom, are without the scope of knowledge proper. "We cannot know God" is his great maxim. The moment that we ascend into these empyrean regions we flounder amid contradictions which show that all those conceptions are the results, not so much of our mental powers as of our mental impotencies. At this point we seem to be landed by this philosophy into blank atheism. By what expedient does Hamilton save us from that dark result? For knowledge of God, which we cannot have, he here substitutes *faith*. Our belief may legitimately transcend our knowledge. We may not be able to know or conceive an object, and yet it may be real and true. God may be no object of knowledge or conception, and yet be none the less a legitimate object of belief. Mr. Spencer, accepting the doctrine of the unknowableness of the Absolute and its cognates, rejects with indignation Hamilton's expedient to escape from atheism. He solely acknowledges the actuality of an unknowable Absolute as the ground of all the phenomena of the universe. But to ascribe to that Absolute the attributes of intelligence, design, providence, he holds to be a pure gratuity. This Absolute is a pure blank characterless *power*. Hence he recognizes no God; all the dogmas of theology are fiction; theism is a phantom, and worship a transient folly.

Against these two philosophers Mr. Jones rallies the system of intuitionalism. Above the faculty of *sense*, which secures us merely the raw material of knowledge derived through the five senses, and above the faculty of understanding, which is limited to the task of arranging, classifying, and judging upon the material furnished by sense, he enthrones a *third* faculty, the intuition, or pure reason, by which we attain the legitimate possession of those truths that transcend the sense and understanding. And of these truths our knowledge is legitimate. It is in fact the surest of all knowledge. By sense and understanding I cognize this table upon which I write, and the legs upon which it is supported; but that cognition is not half so sure as that *two and two make four*, or that *space is infinite*, or *time is endless*. The four legs of the table may be demolished; but the fact that two and two make four no power can destroy. The table itself may be burned up, but the space it occupies forever remains irremovable and indestructible. The objects of sense are therefore contingent and transient; the objects of pure reason are necessary and permanent.

Mr. Jones brings the transcendental philosophy to bear upon Hamilton, Mansel, and Spencer, with a considerable degree of effect in the details of the argument. He avails himself of the labors of some of our best American thinkers, such as President Hopkins and Professor

Hickock. The philosophy of the latter especially, with its modifications and obvious improvements upon Kant, furnishes him with valuable material for the battle. At the same time he is an independent as well as a zealous Christian philosophical thinker. His style is idiomatic, earnest, generally clear, often fervid, and sometimes eloquent. It is wanting in chasteness and finish. Those who desire a treatment of the great philosophical question of the day, or rather we might say *the* question of past ages since man began to think, in brief compass, and as simple language as the subject admits, will find some aid in this volume.

Lectures on the Science of Language. Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in February, March, April, and May, 1863. By MAX MULLER, M. A., Fellow of all Souls College, Oxford: Correspondant de l'Institut de France. Second Series, with thirty-one illustrations. 12mo., pp. 622. New York: Charles Scribner. 1865. Published by arrangement with the author.

If any man thinks that comparative philology is a dry subject, and Max Müller an unattractive author, he commits two mistakes which it might conduce to his own enjoyment to correct. He might just as well say that geology is a humbug and Hugh Miller a bore, for there is a curious analogy between geology and philology, and to our view quite a resemblance, besides the name, between the Miller and the Müller. The writers resemble in their free, genial, elastic, buoyant spirit; in their rich, strong, everflowing eloquence; in their reverent and ever devout Christian spirit in a department where skepticism is nearly fashionable; though in the more intuitional piety of the Müller there may seem something a little less reliable than in the tight-laced puritanism of the Miller.

History, Biography, and Topography.

History of Julius Cæsar. Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 463. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865.

We suppose that this volume may be called in more than one sense an *imperial* octavo. It is stately in size, material, and type. Its title-page is preluded with an annunciation of authorized translations or editions for the ten nationalities of Europe, and one (for the Emperor seems not to recognize either Davis or Maximilian) for America. It opens with seven leaded pages of preface, closed with the signature "Napoleon." This first volume embraces but two books of the entire work; the first consisting of six, and the second of five

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chapters. The First Book embraces an introductory history of Rome to the close of the dictatorship of Sylla, which prepares us for the Cæsarian period. The Second Book brings us down to the period of the exile of Cicero. Of how many books the work is to consist still rests, we suppose, with the imperial pleasure. Ordinary mortals must wait for the developments of time and power.

A book is a book; but people refuse to see in the present volume a mere *book*, but hold it as an opera-glass through which to descry the Emperor of France. And, sooth to say, there may be justifications for this peculiar view. Cæsar in his majesty's hands is not Cæsar, but a sponge wherewith to efface the odium of a *coup d'etat;* or rather a brush wherewith to whitewash the bold measures with which successful and boundless ambition attains and maintains its objects. Under a defense and a eulogy of Cæsar are contained an exculpation and emblazonment of the Bonapartean *régime.* We suppose that the character of Cæsar is no enigma. To eyes without a squint it is a figure without distortion. He possessed endowments of intellect and person rarely vouchsafed to man. And with regard to the ethical verdict which history should pronounce, it may be too clearly, concisely, and incontrovertibly expressed, to permit the necessity of either assault or defense. He was a man *perfectly unscrupulous in attaining supreme power, but both magnanimous and beneficent in the use of his supremacy attained.* It is a very useless question which Mr. Bonaparte discusses, whether Cæsar *from the first* planned with perfect "*prescience*" the career by which he attained the *potestas summa.* Certainly he drew up no exact programme of the coming events. But it is plain that he was born in a position to look for the highest honors of the state, and with an ambition that laid no limits to the power he would grasp. For the attainment of that power he was ready to commit *all* the crime, and *no more* than the crime, that was precisely *necessary.* It may be very possible that the supremacy of Cæsar was the best condition of which Rome was then capable. That may be a justification of his firm exercise of a beneficent supremacy once attained; but it can make no ethical difference as to the character of the motives or the means. He still stands before us as a man who obtained the empire by villainy, and ruled it for the public good. So let the contradiction stand.

But the Emperor is anxious in behalf of certain Bonapartean antecedents to sanctify both sides of this antithesis, which he does by a style of ethics at once imperial and transcendental. His "aim is to prove that, when Providence raises up such men as Cæsar, Charlemagne, and Napoleon, it is to trace out to peoples the path they

ought to follow; to stamp with the seal of their genius a new era, and to accomplish in a few years the labor of many centuries. Happy the peoples who comprehend and follow them! woe to those who misunderstand and combat them! They do as the Jews did, they crucify their Messiah." Our respectable author here precisely reverses our own version of the Gospel history. The Jews would have joyfully accepted a Bonapartean Messiah. Such a Messiah it is, that, when Satan says, "All these things will I give thee if—" drops instantly upon a worshiping knee. And it is precisely because the man of Nazareth preferred to be God's Messiah, and not Satan's Messiah—that is, the Bonapartean Messiah—that the Jews rejected him. We suppose that few of the "peoples" will deny to our present Napoleon a true Messiahship after the Satanic model. But our recognition of his high "mission" in that line of transcendent but questionable characters, strangely permitted in the providential plan for good results, does not at all brighten the ethical estimate of his character. Men are not to be morally estimated by the good which Providence overrules their Satanic qualities to eventuate. God often damns "his workmen, but carries on his work." There can be no doubt that both Napoleons have verified the first half of the Cæsarian antithesis; how far the living one will verify the second, future history will decide.

It is unnecessary to deny that the book is written with intellectual ability. It is clear and manly in style; it abounds with reflections which, if often unfounded, (as being required by a false theory,) are sententiously expressed, and it abounds with proofs of scholarship seldom exhibited in royal authorship. Almost every important statement is verified by references to original authorities, and often with the very words of the author quoted. It is a superior specimen of that questionable class of histories which are not history for history's sake, but *history written to prove something.*

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Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero. By William Forsyth, M.A., Q.C., author of "Hortensius," "Napoleon at St. Helena," and "Sir Hudson Lowe," etc., and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In two volumes. With Illustrations. 12mo., 2 vols., pp. 364, 341. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1865.

Unlike the life of Cæsar just noticed, the present beautiful volumes are history for history's sake. It seems strange that so transparent a character as Cicero's should be misinterpreted, and still stranger that so loveable and so noble a character should be vilified even by a modern historical hand. The only full life of Cicero in our language, that written by Rev. Dr. Conyers Middleton, is written in a style of

positive idolatry; while Drumann and others have delighted in drawing his character in contemptible or odious colors. It is strange, but it is proof of the strong interest in a public character, that it cannot be contemplated, even in later ages, without intense partisan feeling. Beyond all question, Cato and Cicero were the two purest statesmen of a most depraved age. Surrounded by characters of the most intense and turbulent selfishness, Cicero, whatever his foibles and faults, was ever a true and lofty patriot. This, indeed, is most strikingly demonstrated by that very passage of his life upon which contempt so loves to dwell, his weeping and disconsolate banishment. That he was irresolute on some trying occasions, that the expressions of his grief were, according to our northern modern standard, excessive, is true. But he was not deficient in physical courage; he was pure from the vices of his time; his ambition was limited to the purest purpose of serving his country, and in the most trying times he displayed a statesmanship of the most commanding order. His genius wrought the Latin language to its highest power and beauty; and as specimens of architectural grandeur in oratory, availing themselves of the full power of the unsurpassed dignity of the Roman dialect, his orations as yet stand, and probably forever will stand, above all rivalry. His morality was almost Christian; and few statesmen, even of the present Christian age, can present a clearer record. We envy not the man who does not feel that *he wrongs humanity* who depreciates such a character.

Mr. Forsyth's book is, as he confesses, a labor of love. But it is not merely a passionate love for his hero; it is the artistic and ethic love for presenting his hero in the true lights of history. He takes his character as he finds him. He depicts him as he beholds him. He writes with a conscientious pen. His style is clear, pure, idiomatic; devoid of antithetic point, or measured rhetorical cadence. He exhibits a full mastery of his subject and of its literature. The amplitude of the materials, supplied, indeed, in a great degree, by the pen of Cicero himself, furnishes such a copiousness of narrative and picture, as fills his pages with an absorbing interest. On the whole, we may say that our language now possesses a suitable biography of the great Roman orator.

History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A., late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Two vols., 12mo., pp. 447, 501. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1865.

As a fresh investigation of an important period of the history of England, Mr. Froude's work has gained the profoundest respect of

the English public. It traverses a portion of history that, from the marked characters in the scene and the pregnant nature of the momentous events, is still a subject of partisan discussion, and will not soon lose an intense interest for the thoughtful mind. Mr. Froude does not adopt the judicial style of Macaulay, pronouncing as decisively as if his utterance were the ultimate of the matter. Said a living English statesman, "I wish I were half as sure of anything as Macaulay is of everything." Nor does he deal in the polished rhetoric which renders that historian so fascinating. In simpler, calmer, more inquiring style, Mr. Froude narrates the events, describes the manners, and pictures the characters of "merry old England." The work takes its place among the unquestioned standards of British history.

The Mother of the Wesleys: A Biography. By Rev. John Kirk. 12mo., pp. 398. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1865.

One of the most pleasing in the whole library of Methodist biographies. Susannah Wesley is styled by good authority the "mother of Methodism." There is consequently no little interest in tracing the parentage, girlhood, development and age of one destined to so high a title. Mr. Kirk has brought to his subject a spirit of thorough research, and has added some fresh information; yet he sifts the authenticity of traditions with a severe scrutiny. His purpose is history, and he is unseduced by the beauty of historic fiction. He mars some of our pleasure in flinging doubt over the genuineness of the picture of Mrs. Wesley in Dr. Stevens's history. He is very peremptory in a matter of opinion, namely, as to the Wesleyan character of the features presented in that picture. Mr. Kirk's style is full of vivacity, and we should certainly rather advise retrenchment in some parts, than an increase of exuberance. As it is, however, the American public are indebted to both author and publishers for a very interesting and valuable specimen of biography. Especially do we commend it to the attention of our feminine readers.

Belles-Lettres, Classical and Philological.

The Iliad of Homer rendered into Blank Verse. By Edward, Earl of Derby. Two vols., 12mo., pp. 430, 457. New York: Charles Scribner. 1865.

This able English statesman in 1862 printed, for private circulation only, a small volume of "Translations of Poems, Ancient and Modern," in which was included a version, in blank verse, of the First

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Book of the Iliad. It was "an attempt to infuse into an almost literal English version something of the spirit as well as the simplicity of the great original." "Pope's Iliad can hardly be considered as Homer's Iliad." And this old dictum, repeated by the earl, will be readily indorsed by any man who has read both Homer's and Pope's epics. A man will *feel* more as if he were reading Homer while perusing Scott's border poetry, than while reading anything ever written in Queen Anne's reign. The earl condemns every attempt to introduce the hexámeter into English poetry. The only measure that can sustain any in the case is the English blank verse, a confession as inevitable as it is humbling to our English tongue in the comparison. Probably the version of the earl is as near an equivalent for the original as our language will ever furnish. Perhaps the following, being the description of the wrath of archer Apollo, is an average specimen:

> Thus as he prayed, his prayer Apollo heard:
> Along Olympus' heights he passed, his heart
> Burning with wrath; behind his shoulders hung
> His bow and ample quiver; at his back
> Rattled the fateful arrows as he moved.
> Like the night-cloud he passed, and from afar
> He bent against the ships, and sped the bolt;
> And fierce and deadly twanged the silver bow.
> First on the mules and dogs, on man the last,
> Was poured the arrowy storm; and through the camp,
> Constant and numerous, blazed the funeral fires.

Household Poems. By Henry W. Longfellow. With Illustrations by John Gilbert, Birket Foster, and John Absolon. 24mo., pp. 96. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1865.

The pure and pensive genius of Longfellow may be safely welcomed to every "household" in the land. He has none of the worldly "quips and cranks," trifling with sacred things, and flippant about holy truths, of the autocrat. He is not, indeed, professedly a "religious poet." We do not remember that he often, if ever, writes what are really and truly "hymns." What there is of religion in his poetry is rather that of sentiment, than of experience such as we find in Watts or in Wesley. But, on the other hand, he is no pantheist, no Brahmin, no soulless rationalist, no sparkling sneerer. He dwells amid the circle of Christian truths, and they are to him full of beauty and power, both in heart and verse. He cherishes the blessed faith of the Christian ages. Sabbath, God, Church, Christ, immortality, retribution, duty, holy love, are themes that inspire his strains. Of the European and world-wide fame of such a poet Americans may be justly proud, and his poetry may be welcomed to

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the purest hearts and households of our land. The present little selection, we need not say, though a simple primer in a blue paper cover, is done up with perfect taste, for it is done by Ticknor & Fields.

Juvenile.

Carlton & Porter furnish us the following:

Little Aggie's Library; done up in a blue box and containing Matty's Hungry Missionary Box: Motherless Martha's Home; Hope On, or The House that Jack Built; Little Aggie's Fresh Snow-Drops.

The Babe and the Princess, and other Poems for Children, with illustrations.

Children's Book of Sermons. By G. P. Disosway.

Dora Hamilton; or, Sunshine and Shadow.

Facts for Boys and Girls. By Rev. R. Donkersley.

The Power of Kindness. By Mrs. H. C. Gardner.

Poppy's Spring Holidays.

An Infant Class Manual, Designed for Teachers of Infant Classes. By Pamela Belding. 24mo., pp. 344. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1864.

The Young Crusoe; or, Adventures of a Shipwrecked Boy. A Story for Boys. By Dr. Harley. Illustrated. Pp. 270. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1864.

Pamphlets.

Report of the New England Annual Conference for 1865 *on Church Reconstruction.*

The Report on Church Reconstruction adopted and published by this Conference, profoundly as we respect the authority whence it comes, we are not prepared wholly to indorse. It draws a dark picture of the Church South as apostate, hopeless of reformation, unworthy of aiding in the new *renaissance,* and unentitled to any recognition by us in the work. In other parts of the Church there are a few, and we think but a few, who take the other extreme, and boldly propose an offer from us of complete reunion, by our acceptance of the Southern bishops, and an incorporation of the legislative power into General Conference. All differences about slavery are to be treated as an "effete question;" all who would open discussion on such points are to be summarily put out of the way; and the "lacerated feelings"

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of the Southern Church are to be soothed and won by soft words and abundant concessions.

Now, with due deference to such advisers, and in perfect kindness to Southern Methodism, we must say that all this looks immensely like restoring the reign of old Northern subserviency to our Southern masters. We apprehend that such propositions, even if they had a chance of Southern acceptance, will gain no audience at present from the earnest antislavery men of the Church. Can we accept the rule of the Southern bishops? They can only be made our bishops by a General Conference election; and does any one suppose that Bishop Andrew and Bishop G. F. Pierce would receive such a vote? Would our young ministry be willing to bow their heads to their ordaining hands? And are we sure that all questions of oppression or freedom are "effete?" The Southern maintainers of the divine right of slavery were doubtless ultimately sincere, however unhappily they were originally brought to adopt these opinions. Can they, with self-respect, pretend to a sudden, convenient, ecclesiastical conversion to the doctrine of that New Rule just adopted by us as a test of membership? Can they come into an organization impregnated with an antislavery spirit, glorying in its antislavery history, claiming the fullest right for the freest expression of the principles of freedom? Is there not still deep danger that the Southern Church may be the advocate of the oppression of the colored race? And are the earnest and outspoken opponents of such oppression to be overslaughed as "clamorous stormers," in order that the new incomers may have an agreeable time? Can we even at present consent to subject the government of our Church to the vote of their ministry in our General Conference? To all these proposals we think there would be for some time to come, and from South quite as promptly as from North, a very decisive negative.

But, on the other hand, we pronounce no general unchristianizing ban, nor would we open any mission of destruction either upon the character or the organization of the Church South. As to unchristianizing them—God help us!—are we not all, even herein, sinners? How pure, in regard to slavery, has been our own Church? And how much purer in the same region, and under the same pressure, should we have been than Southern Methodism? Mark how the degree of purity has coincided with our geographical and political latitude. Had slavery existed over our whole country as densely and as despotically as in South Carolina, would the New England Conference have rung quite so clearly her peal of purity and freedom? Let us be destructive of the *sin;* but when it comes to the sinner, let us neither submit to his power nor decide his case before God.

While, therefore, we cannot consent to any policy of silence, or subjection to their rule, we can as little consent to any anathemas offering them up as "sacred to perdition." * And as to the organization of the Church South, our best conjecture is that so far from seeking to destroy it, we should find that at the end of fifteen ensuing years the highest net gain for religion and for Methodism throughout our land would accrue from sacredly respecting and conserving the Southern Church in its full strength. It is easy to destroy; and a very little destroying can prove very completely and finally destructive. Offer, without any airs of our own superiority, to that Church, disburdened of all need of apologizing for slavery, the hand of recognition and fellowship. Steadfastly avoid all interference with her equitable rights. Afford her all the means in our power to further her spiritual and secular interests. And, while it would doubtless be our bounden duty to accept all Churches and bodies of membership who positively desired admission into our Church, and promptly to fill every blank spot open for our occupancy, let us concede reciprocally the same right, and let us avoid seeking to weaken her where she has a just possession.† In a few years the leaders of the past, with all their virtues, misfortunes, or faults, will have gone, leaving a pensive memory behind them. Our heart feels little but tenderness toward them. God is their and our judge. But soon not

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* The consistency, at any rate, of this position with our antecedent views may appear from the following passage: "We see in a certain age and section a vast body of the Christian Church engaged in the practice and defense of slaveholding; we wonder to find that in other respects they exhibit the fruits of the Spirit in rich abundance, and we ask if such men are to be peremptorily unchristianized here, and utterly damned hereafter. Certainly not. It belongs indeed to the general Christian Church, as testimony against their great sin, to place them under the ban of exclusion from Christian fellowship, and leave them to God's wise judgment. So long as their light in other respects is not darkness, so long as their religion is in its place immensely better than none at all, we admit their true Christianity, burdened indeed by a sin that dwarfs its stature, and trims it of half its reward in glory."—*Whedon on the Will*, p. 352.

† "Another important duty which rests upon denominations recognizing each other as Christian Churches, is that of non-interference. When one Church has planted itself in a field which it is abundantly able to cultivate, it is a breach of the principles of unity for another denomination to contend for joint-occupation. This is a great evil, and one of constant occurrence. It often happens that one denomination organizes a Church in a village the population of which is barely sufficient for one Church, when another starts a rival Church, which can succeed only by drawing support from the other. When the field is the world, and so much land remains unoccupied, it is a great wrong thus to embarrass the operations of our fellow-Christians, and to burden the people with the support of two, three, or more Churches, where one would do more good than many."—*Princeton Review*, April, p. 287.

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only will they have departed, but the passions and the inducements to defend oppression will have also passed away. *Then* may there be a natural, a spontaneous, an equal, and a genuine reunion. May God speed that day! But in order to it let us avoid creating any new grounds of unnecessary offense.

We are unable to re-echo the complaint that our authorities have been too slow in the inauguration of a policy of Southern invasion. Precisely what our Episcopacy has done we do not know. If our bishops have taken proper measures to survey the ground, and occupy those posts that fairly open to our entrance, their duty seems to us fully performed. They have certainly no power to pledge the Northern Church to a reunion. That can be organically consummated only by the General Conference, and practically by the three-fourth vote of the Annual Conferences changing the ratio of representation. And we may here, by the way, note that when Lay Representation is adopted, and the proposed reunion is completed, it will be a rare few in the ministry in whose biographies it is to be recorded that they were once members of a General Conference. We have now fifty-nine Conferences, and with a reunion more than a hundred; with an unknown additional number if both colors are united. Is a single General Conference a practicable legislative body for so immense a Church? Will not two or three General Conferences, united by some federal bond, be ultimately necessary? If so, is there not a clear numerical argument for still leaving the Northern, Southern, and colored Churches in three separate organizations? Could not such a federal connection be established as to render interchange of ministers easy, and the conferring of pecuniary aid, especially upon the Afric-American organization, regular and normal?

We do not take share in the zeal for an immediate inauguration of a Church without regard to distinction of races, as races at present stand related. Much of the "wicked prejudice," to which so much objection is raised, lies not so much against color as against the present associations belonging to that color, arising from the degradation of the race, and against the present fitness of the colored race for association on equal terms with the whites. Hence we do not co-operate with the fast philanthropy that is eager to push a negro into position *because* he is a negro. We doubt not that there are negro gentlemen with whom we should feel honored to converse; negro preachers under whose ministry we could sit just as willingly as if their faces were white; negro bishops whom we would prefer to see in our chairs rather by far than Bishop Andrew. But we do not think it at present advisable that such organic arrangements should be made as

that such a ministry or such an episcopacy should take place. The true order of things, in order that the public mind may in due time be brought right, we think, is successively, emancipation, enfranchisement, education, and finally the political, ecclesiastical, and social treatment of every man according to his qualifications, and social intercourse precisely according to our individual tastes.

Whether the two races blend or not into a single Church, it is clearly our duty to stand in such protective and nurturing relations to all colored Methodism as shall make it an object of liberal benefaction, advocacy, and education. It is our duty to assert unceasingly and unanimously the right of the negro to citizenship and suffrage. This of negro suffrage is no question which the Southern States alone have a right to discuss. The Southern vote, to a great degree, rules Northern destiny ; and, we have a right to ask, who and what is the voter ? Congressmen elected by Southern votes, Presidents whose election the Southern vote influences, and perhaps decides, have their share in ruling North as well as South ; and has the North no right to ask who elects them to rule her ? We trample on the doctrine, even though President Andrew Johnson should affirm it, that negro suffrage is exclusively a Southern question. Besides, as Methodists we assert the right of hundreds of thousands of colored Methodists, and demand of the President, of Congress, of the Southern States, yes, and of some of our Northern States too, that they be enfranchised. The vote of a good and true man is to the entire country a priceless value, a property, and a protection. *Every good citizen has a right to the vote of every other good citizen as his safeguard and benefit.* We demand, then, as our own right, both as citizens and as Methodists, that every loyal colored man, and every loyal colored Methodist, *both North and South*, shall be enabled to vote for OUR security and well-being. Their right, and their right exercise of that right, is our right; and we are in their disfranchisement disfranchised, injured, and endangered. It is a question not of mere sectional interest, but of loyalty, republicanism, and humanity. But education is also the right of the colored American. As a Church it is our duty to aid them in the erection of higher institutions of learning, both for their laity and ministry. Our own institutions should be freely open to them. But especially should they be enabled to raise institutions, with a faculty of their own race, to train a ministry which shall moralize and elevate their laity. To this work the liberality of our laymen should be invited. And we most earnestly wish that at least one of the Biblical Institutes contemplated in our centenary effort could be one of this character.

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Discourse Delivered on the Day of the Funeral of President Lincoln, Wednesday, April 19, 1865, in St. Paul's M. E. Church, New York. By JOHN M'CLINTOCK, D.D., LL.D. Reported by J. T. Butts. New York: J. M. Bradstreet. 1865.

A Memorial Discourse on the Character and Career of Abraham Lincoln. Delivered in the North Russell-street Methodist Episcopal Church, Boston, Sunday, April 23, 1865. By GILBERT HAVEN. Boston: James P. Magee. 1865.

Since our last editorial converse with our readers the nation has been startled by one of the most extraordinary events in her history: the assassination of a President. The living Abraham Lincoln has, in the view of our nation, become ideal. We gaze upon his pensive features in picture as those of a consecrated being. They seem to plead for our pity, and stir the depths of our feelings with a sacred interest. The orations, sermons, and periodical essays upon his life, death, and character amount to a literature.

The sermons under notice are among the best of the class. Dr. M'Clintock's discourse deals in touches of pathos, thrilling incidents, and sketches of character, done in a style of great purity and beauty. Mr. Haven abounds with pathetic passages, with profound discussions, and broad contemplations of our national affairs and humanitarian interests, expressed in his graphic style.

Carlton & Porter have the following in press:

Reminiscences. Historical and Biographical, of Sixty-four Years in the Ministry. By Rev. HENRY BOEHM. Edited by Rev. J. B. WAKELEY.

Methodism Within the Bounds of the Erie Annual Conference of the M. E. Church. By Rev. SAMUEL GREGG.

Old Testament Characters. By the late JAMES FLOY, D.D.

Sabbath Psalter. A Selection of Psalms for Public and Family Worship. Compiled by Rev. HENRY J. FOX, A. M.

Edith Vernon's Life-Work.

Lilian. A Story of the Days of Martyrdom in England Three Hundred Years Ago.

Exiles in Babylon; or, The Children of Light. By A. L. O. E.

Notices of Loomis's Astronomy, and Phrasis, a Treatise on Languages, postponed for lack of room.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1865.

ART. I.—GUIZOT ON THE RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

Meditations sur l'Essence de la Religion Chretienne. Par M. GUIZOT. *Paris:* 1864.

Meditations on the Essence of Christianity, and on the Religious Questions of the Day. By M. GUIZOT. Translated from the French, under the superintendence of the Author. London: John Murray. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1865.

"THEY shall still bring forth fruit in old age," says the royal Hebrew author. Guizot is now about seventy-eight years old; his present work shows not a single symptom of intellectual declension; on the contrary, it is one of the best examples of his terse, strenuous style, of his manly good sense, and of that peculiar logical faculty for generalization which has been the characteristic power of his writings. He seems to belong to that limited class of great men, first-rate or encyclopedic minds, whose physical vigor, the occult basis perhaps of their mental force, not only allows of a large range of knowledge and labor, but of unabated power in extreme old age. In his youth he was a fertile writer, and on difficult subjects, as his "New Dictionary of French Synonyms" and many other productions show. At about twenty-seven he joined to his never intermitted literary labors the cares of political life, as "Secretary General of the Interior;" and later, in the Department of

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Justice. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, he went into exile with Louis XVIII., who kept him in office, and in his thirtieth year he was appointed Counselor of State. He now became more distinctly a "*doctrinaire;*" how could a mind like his be anything else? The fall of Decazes dismissed the young statesman and philosopher again to private life, and very fortunately, for now commenced that career of historico-philosophical labors which has given him his highest recognition in the learned world. He has not only produced many historical works, large and small, of original and inestimable importance, though some of them be but essays or brochures, but he has superintended the publication of "The Collection of Memoirs Relative to the History of England," twenty-six volumes, and "The Collection of Memoirs Relative to the History of France, from the Foundation of the Monarchy to the Thirteenth Century," with Dissertations and Notes, a great historical monument of more than thirty volumes. He resumed public life as a statesman in 1848, but did not abandon authorship. He has been a journalist, politician, cabinet minister, foreign embassador, professor, lecturer on history, (with a published "Cours d'Histoire Moderne" of five volumes,) and withal a steadfast but always considerate advocate of the religion of his fathers, a good but moderate Protestant, sharing in the councils and anniversary assemblies of his fellow-Huguenots. His political career, as minister under Louis Philippe, concluded his life as a statesman; it has since been consecrated to literature, social amenities, and religion. He ends his Preface to his present work with these words:

> I have passed thirty-five years of my life in struggling, on a bustling arena, for the establishment of political liberty and the maintenance of order as established by law. I have learned, in the labors and trials of this struggle, the real worth of Christian Faith and of Christian Liberty. God permits me, in the repose of my retreat, to consecrate to their cause what remains to me of life and strength. It is the most salutary favor and the greatest honor that I can receive from his goodness.

The immediate purpose of this work is to meet the exigency of Christianity presented in the latest form of skepticism. It treats of the "essence of Christianity," but in reference to "the religious questions of the day." These questions have

long been agitating Germany; they have appeared, in our day, like a sudden eruption in England; they have for some years been more or less rife in France; but in the latter country Rénan's "Life of Jesus" has been the signal of their more violent outbreak. Guizot presents himself among the contestants in behalf of the Christian faith, and he does so in the best possible manner. He hardly mentions the leaders of the opposition, or their works; he defers that necessity or courtesy to a later period in his task. The new skepticism is distinctly critical and historical; it must be met on historical and critical grounds, it cannot be effectually met otherwise. The perplexed inquirer will not, therefore, find in the present volume a direct solution of his difficulties; but he will find what, for the present, is better, a necessary preparation for their solution, a thorough clearing away of impediments. And more than this; for the modern critical skepticism proceeds tacitly or avowedly from certain preliminary assumptions, not at all in themselves historical, but giving inestimable plausibility or force to the historical or critical matters of fact which make up most of the data of its logic. The possibility or probability of miracles, the nature or degree of "inspiration," the "natural and the supernatural," are questions which lie in front of the controversy and cast their reflection over its whole perspective. To these Guizot now addresses himself; but his plan is comprehensive of the entire scope of the field of contest. He says:

> The *Meditations* will be divided into four series. In the first, which forms this volume, I explain and establish what constitutes, in my opinion, the essence of the Christian religion; that is to say, what those natural problems are that correspond with the fundamental dogmas that offer their solution, the supernatural facts upon which these same dogmas repose: Creation, Revelation, the Inspiration of the Scriptures, God according to the Biblical account, and Jesus according to the Gospel narrative. Next to the essence of the Christian religion comes its history; and this will be the subject of a second series of *Meditations*, in which I shall examine the authenticity of the Scriptures, the primary causes of the foundation of Christianity, Christian Faith, as it has always existed throughout its different ages and in spite of all its vicissitudes; the great religious crisis in the sixteenth century which divided the Church and Europe between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism; finally, those different antichristian crises which at different epochs and in different countries have set in question and

imperiled Christianity itself, but which dangers it has ever surmounted. The third *Meditation* will be consecrated to the study of the actual state of the Christian religion, its internal and external condition: I shall retrace the regeneration of Christianity which occurred among us at the commencement of the nineteenth century, both in the Church of Rome and in the Protestant Churches; the impulse imparted to it at the same epoch by the Spiritualistic Philosophy that then began again to flourish, and the movement in the contrary direction which showed itself very remarkably soon afterward in the resurrection of Materialism, of Pantheism, of Skepticism, and in works of historical criticism. I shall attempt to determine the idea, and consequently, in my opinion, the fundamental error of these different systems, the avowed and active enemies of Christianity. Finally, in the fourth series of these *Meditations* I shall endeavor to discriminate and to characterize the future destiny of the Christian religion, and to indicate by what course it is called upon to conquer completely and to sway morally this little corner of the universe termed by us our earth, in which unfold themselves the designs and power of God, just as, doubtless, they do in an infinity of worlds unknown to us.

The interesting spectacle is, then, here presented of one of the most commanding intellects of the age entering the arena of modern religious skepticism to accept, with the calmness of mature years and the vigor of the richest culture, all its challenges. Not only one of the most commanding intellects, but we may say the most commanding one, especially in the department of inquiry to which this first volume is devoted. As author of the "History of Civilization," Guizot is placed by our best authorities "at the head" of that school of modern writers which is distinguished "for historical generalization as well as powers of narration;"* and one of his cotemporaries, in a work crowned by the French Academy, has acknowledged that he has transformed historical literature.† He has done so by his rare power of logic, by the unrivaled manner in which he has exemplified the maxim that "history is philosophy teaching by example." A keener insight than that of Guizot, into the philosophy of historical questions, is not to be found within the lids of books, ancient or modern. The "religious questions of the day" are, as we have said, chiefly historical or critical; but it is not the historical or crit-

* Encyclopædia Britannica, last edition.

† Capefigue's History of Philippe Auguste: Preface.

ical scholar who can best meet them; he may best propound their difficulties, but he cannot best solve them; their solution must be made by the historical, the philosophical logician; and such is Guizot, pre-eminently above most if not all thinkers of our age.

His unexpected devotion to this great task, as the final work of his life, is not only gratefully interesting to the whole Christian world, but can hardly fail to excite much solicitude. There is somewhat of grave venture to the common Christian cause in it. His success or failure will be of serious importance to the issues of the contest. Such a man must leave the field with unquestionable trophies, or it would almost seem lost, temporarily at least. We close his first volume with calm assurance; we can hardly doubt that not its immediate but its final effect on the "Historical School" of religious thought, will be similar to that which his masterly work on "Civilization" has had on the historical literature of Europe.

Guizot begins at the beginning; he interrogates humanity, and finding that it has certain "natural religious problems," he proceeds to show that these problems, fundamental in humanity, correspond with the fundamental provisions or truths of Christianity. His method is therefore philosophically logical, as much so as that which leads the anatomist to infer, from man's organic structure, that the lungs are correlative to the air, the eye to light, the ear to sound, and that the author of man's organization must be the author of these corresponding provisions.

Guizot contends that, from the very origin of the human race, wherever man has existed or now exists, certain religious questions have been instinctive or spontaneous, and also irrepressible, in his nature.

> Whence does the world proceed, and whence does man appear in the midst of it? What is the origin of each, and whither does each tend? What are their beginning and their end? Laws there are which govern them; is there a legislator? Under the empire of these laws, man feels and calls himself free: is he so in reality? How is his liberty compatible with the laws which govern him and the world? Is he a passive instrument of fate, or a responsible agent? What are the ties and relations which connect him with the Legislator of the world? The world and man himself present a strange and painful spectacle. Good and evil,

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> both moral and physical, order and disorder, joy and sorrow, are intimately blended and yet in continual antagonism. Whence come this commingling and this strife? Is good or is evil the condition and the law of man and of the world? If good, how then has evil found admission? Wherefore suffering and death? Why this moral disorder; the calamities which so frequently befall the good, and the prosperity, so abhorrent to our feelings, which attends the wicked? Is this the normal and definitive state of man and of the world? Man is conscious that he is at the same time great and little, strong and feeble, powerful and impotent. He finds in himself matter for admiration and for love, and yet he suffices not to himself in any respect; he seeks an aid, a support, beyond and above himself: he asks, he invokes, he prays. What mean these inward disquietudes, these alternate impulses of pride and weakness? Have they, or not, a meaning and an object? Why prayer? Such are the natural problems, now dimly felt, now clearly defined, which in all ages and among all nations, in every form and in every degree of civilization, by instinct or by reflection, have arisen, and still arise, in the human mind. I indicate only the greatest, the most apparent: I might recall many others which are connected with them.

These "problems" are the foundation of all the religions of history. They are not only natural to man, but they are peculiar to him, because a moral nature is peculiar to him. "Animals," as Chateaubriand says, "are not troubled with those hopes which fill the heart of man: the spot on which they tread yields them all the happiness of which they are susceptible: a little grass satisfies the sheep; a little blood gluts the tiger. The only creature that looks beyond himself, and is not all in all to himself, is man."

The moral system, or religion, which best meets these instinctive demands of the soul in their most normal form, must be the best, must be the true religion. If essential Christianity meets them, then is it true; as veritable a provision for the soul as the atmosphere is for the lungs, as light for the eye. Nor does this view of the subject justify the attempt of many really noble minds, to escape the anxieties of a religious crisis like the present by cherishing merely religious sentimentalities. Says our author:

> I cannot contemplate unmoved the troubles of lofty minds, seeking in the religious sentiment alone a refuge against doubt and impiety. It is well to preserve, in the shipwreck of faith and the chaos of thought, the great instincts of our nature, and not to lose sight of the sublime requirements which remain unsatisfied.

> I know not to what extent men of eminent minds may thus compensate, by their sincerity and fervor of sentiment, for the void in their belief; but let them not deceive themselves; barren aspirations and specious doubts satisfy a man as little as to his future spiritual interests as with respect to his condition in the present life; the natural problems to which I have alluded will ever be the great weight pressing upon the soul, and religious sentiment will never alone suffice to be the religion of mankind.

Hence we come to the necessity of religious doctrines, of real *dogmas*, and our author's views of this fact are in his best style of philosophical thought. He says:

> To many this word imports an imperious necessity to believe, at once offending and disquieting. Singular contrast! On all sides we seek for principles, and we take alarm at dogmas. This sentiment, however absurd in itself, is in no way strange; Christian dogmas have served as motive and pretext for so much iniquity, so many acts of oppression and cruelty, that their very name has become tainted and suspected. The word bears the penalty of the reminiscences which it awakes: and justly. All attacks upon the liberty of conscience, all employment of force to extirpate or to impose religious belief, is, and ever has been, an iniquitous and tyrannical act. It will constitute the glory of our time to have discarded this pretension: nevertheless it yet exists, with persistency, in certain states, in certain laws, in certain recesses of the human soul and of Christian society; and there is, and ever will be, need to watch and to combat it, to render its banishment unconditional and without appeal. Subdued, however, it is: civil freedom in matters of faith and religious life has become a fundamental principle of civilization and of law. These questions, affecting the relations of man to God, are no longer discussed or adjusted in the arena and by a recourse to the hand of political and executive power; but they are transported to the sphere of the intellect and left to the uncontrolled working of the mind itself. But again, in this sphere of intellect, these questions still start up and call loudly for their peculiar solution—that is, for the fundamental facts and ideas, the principles in effect which their nature requires. The Christian religion has its own principles, which constitute the rational basis of the faith it inculcates and the life which it enjoins. These are termed its dogmas. The Christian dogmas are the principles of the Christian religion, and the Christian solutions of the problems of natural religion. Let men of a serious mind, who have not entirely rejected the Christian religion, and who still admire it, while denying its fundamental dogmas, beware of this: the flowers whose perfume captivates them will quickly fade, the fruits they delight in will soon cease to grow when the ax shall have been applied to the roots of the tree that bears them.
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> For myself, arrived at the term of a long life, one of labor, of

reflection, and of trials, of trials in thought as well as in action, I am convinced that the Christian dogmas are the legitimate and satisfactory solutions of those religious problems which, as I have said, nature suggests and man carries in his own breast, and from which he cannot escape.

The Christian dogmas meet the demands of the human soul and the doctrines of no other system do so, except as they correspond with the teachings of Revelation. The dogma of Creation attests, says M. Guizot, the existence of God as Creator and Legislator, and it attests also the link which unites man with God. The dogma of Providence explains and justifies prayer, that instinctive recourse of man to the living God, to that Supreme Power which is ever present with him in life, and which influences his destiny. The dogma of Original Sin, or the Fall of Man, accounts for the presence of evil and disorder in mankind and in the world. The dogmas of the Incarnation and of Redemption rescue man from the consequences of evil, and open to him a prospect, in another life, of the re-establishment of order. Unquestionably, the system is grand, complete, well connected, and forcible: it answers to the requirements of the human soul, removes the burden which oppresses it, imparts the strength which it needs, and the satisfaction to which it aspires. Has it a rightful claim to all this power? Is its influence legitimate, as well as efficacious?

These dogmas are now examined. The question of Creation, with its corollaries of divine causality and the relation of rational creatures to the Creator, is handled with great ability. The theories of "the eternity of the world" and of "spontaneous generation," melt away under the concentrated light of logic and science which a brief but conclusive chapter pours upon them. The dogma of providence is consequent on that of creation, and the sublime right and duty of prayer rises out of both. Guizot is emphatic on these points:

> I express my meaning without hesitation. Whoever accepts as a satisfactory explanation the theory of fatality and chance, does not truly believe in God. Whoever believes truly in God, relies upon Providence. God is not an expedient, invented to explain the first link in the chain of causation, an actor called to open by creation the drama of the world, then to relapse into a state of inert uselessness. By the very fact of his existence, God is present with his work, and sustains it. Providence is the natural and necessary development of God's existence; his constant presence

and permanent action in creation. The universal and insuperable instinct which leads man to prayer, is in harmony with this great fact; he who believes in God cannot but have recourse to him and pray to him. Objections are raised to the name itself of God. He acts, it is said, only by general and permanent laws: how can we implore his interference in favor of our special and exceptional desires? He is immutable, ever perfect, and ever the same; how is it conceivable that he lends himself to the fickleness of human sentiments and wishes? The prayer which ascends to him is forgetful of his real nature. Men have treated the attributes of God as furnishing an objection to his providence. This objection, so often repeated, never fails to astonish me. The majority of those who urge it assert at the same time that God is incomprehensible, and that we cannot penetrate the secret of his nature. What then is this but to pretend to comprehend God? and by what right do they oppose his nature to his providence, if his nature is to us an impenetrable mystery? I refrain from reproaching them for their ambition; ambition is the privilege and the glory of man; but in retaining it, let them not overlook its legitimate limits. There is only this alternative: either man must cease to believe in God, because he cannot comprehend him, or in effect admit his incomprehensibility, and still at the same time believe in him. He cannot pass and repass incessantly from one system to the other, now declaring God to be incomprehensible; now speaking of him, of his nature and his attributes, as if he were within the province of human science. Great as is the question of providence, the one I have here to consider is still greater, for it is the question of the very existence of God; and the fundamental inquiry is to know whether he exists, or does not exist. God is at once light and mystery: in intimate relation with man, and yet beyond the limits of his knowledge. I shall presently endeavor to mark the limit at which human knowledge stops, and indicate its proper sphere; but this I at once assume as certain: whoever, believing in God and speaking of him as incomprehensible, yet persists in endeavoring to define him scientifically, and seeks to penetrate the mystery, which he has yet admitted, is in great risk of destroying his own belief, and of setting God aside, which is one way of denying him.

Nor does the scientific postulate that the world is governed by general laws, interfere with the dogma of Providence and the reasonableness of prayer, as viewed from the standpoint of our author. It is true that the providence of God presides over the order of the world which he governs by general and permanent laws: these laws would be more accurately designated by another name: they are the will of God, continually acting upon the world, for not only the laws but the Lawgiver are there ever present. But when God created man,

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he created him different from the physical world: free, and a moral agent; and hence there is a fundamental difference between the action of God on the physical world, and his action on man. Admitting man's moral freedom, it cannot be said that God governs mankind at large by general and permanent laws; for what would this be but to ignore or annul the liberty granted to man, that is to to say, to misconceive and mutilate the work of God himself. Man exercises a free determination, and in his own life actually gives birth to events which are not the result of any general and external laws. Divine Providence watches the operations of man's volition, and records the manner in which it has been exercised. It does not treat man as it deals with the stars in heaven and the waves of the ocean, which have neither thought nor will; with man it has other relations than with nature, and employs a different mode of action.

This is sound logic, but we could wish that the vindication of prayer had been carried further. It is one of the most distinctive facts of religion as distinguished from mere ethics; it involves, directly or indirectly, all the peculiar principles and almost all the logical difficulties of essential Christianity: a successful vindication of prayer would lay prostrate most of the "religious questions of the day."

A comprehensive view of humanity must take in its three forms of life, physical, intellectual, and moral, and their serial relation. Man's physical life is evidently but the material basis of something higher, of his intellectual being; the former he shares with the brutes that perish, in the latter is his first distinction as a superior existence, the beginning of his real humanity. Yet this grand distinction is but secondary to something still higher, his moral constitution; this is the culmination of humanity. No one questions that the physical world is adapted to man's physical being; no one doubts that his intellectual constitution has also its normal provisions, and that the constitution of the universe is in harmonious relation with it; shall we then doubt that his moral faculties and wants, his highest nature, that which surmounts all else in humanity, is left unprovided for in the constitution of the universe?—that his moral freedom, at the foundation of all distinctions of right and wrong—that Providence, or to return

to the particular fact under consideration, that prayer, the summary fact of devotion or religion, is impossible by reason of the constitution of what is called "Nature," or by what are called the attributes of God? Shall we admit that all things requisite for his physical and intellectual forms of being are amply provided, but that his higher nature, for which these are subsidiary, can find only an impotent conclusion for the scheme of the universe?

"Your God is omniscient," says the skeptic, "why then inform him of your wants in prayer?" We reply, It is this very omniscience, or wisdom of God, that led him to appoint prayer, not as a means of informing himself of our wants, but as a means of bringing us to see them, and of bringing us into communion with himself; in other words, for a sublime ulterior purpose, a great final cause, our moral improvement. Does he not know our physical wants, and could he not by his other attribute of omnipotence supply them, as he did manna to the Hebrews? Does he not know our intellectual wants, and could he not have endowed man with the faculty of intuition in all knowledge? But he has conditioned the physical and intellectual life of the race on labor of body and mind because he saw that man's co-operation with himself in these respects would be salutary to both body and mind. This is the obvious scheme of "Nature." And God's so-called attribute of immutability does not interfere with, but sustains inexorably this arrangement; for his immutability does not imply unchangeableness of act, or administration, but unchangeableness of the fundamental principles of his administration. The analogy extends to his moral economy, and vindicates prayer with all other functions of man's moral nature. The doctrine of fixed laws interferes not with the one case any more than with the other. In constructing the system of the world for humanity, and, ultimately, for man's highest, that is to say, his moral well-being, the Creator, we are compelled to assume, has adapted the laws of nature not only to man's physical and mental constitution, but supremely to his moral constitution. We need not then suppose a miracle to be necessary for his answer to prayer, for, as he made man to pray, could he not so construct his laws as to correspond with this fact, as he has constructed the laws of his physical and intellectual economies

to correspond with human labor and study? The chain of the electrical machine, says Chalmers, shows no effect of the current in its intermediate links, but its power is felt in the last link held by the hand; so, in answer to prayer, God may transmit through the whole series of secondary causes his own omnipotent energy, without apparently disturbing the links of the series, for the first of these is held in his own right hand, the last of them in the uplifted praying hand. Our Atlantic steamers sometimes find their way obstructed near the coast by a vast range of floating ice; if, in venturing to pass through it, they perceive the attempt to be impossible, they must back out through the channel they have made by their movement into it; they cannot turn around; but the engineer has only to put his hand upon the complicated machinery and the motion of the mighty craft is reversed; she glides safely again into clear waters, yet every part of the machinery operates as regularly as before; no violence is done to its mechanism. Can man thus adapt his contrivances to his ends, and yet the Almighty Maker of the universe not find it possible to construct his machinery of causes and effects in such manner that he can, without what we call a miracle, or an apparent violation of natural laws, reverse, in answer to prayer, what would otherwise have been an inevitable result? Miraculous effects of prayer are not then necessary to vindicate its legitimateness. But if, for some anomalous purpose, it be found expedient occasionally that such effects should attend it, can we not suppose that the Infinite Architect can produce even these without confounding his system?

Our limits will not allow us to follow M. Guizot through all his lucid review of the Christian dogmas; we must delay, however, a few minutes, on his treatment of another, the most offensive one to modern doubt, what he calls "original sin." He asks:

> In what does this dogma consist? What are the elements and the essential facts which constitute it, and upon which it is founded? The dogma of original sin implies and affirms these propositions: 1. That God, in creating man, has created him an agent, moral, free, and fallible; 2. That the will of God is the moral law of man, and obedience to the will of God is the duty of man, inasmuch as he is a moral and free agent; 3. That, by an act of his own free will, man has knowingly failed in his duty by diso-

beying the law of God; 4. That the free man is a responsible being, and that disobedience to the law of God has justly entailed on him punishment; 5. That that responsibility and that punishment are hereditary, and that the fault of the first man has weighed and does weigh upon the human race.

Such is the teaching of Christianity on this fundamental question, and is it not accordant with the profoundest views of the constitution of human nature and with the soundest interpretation of the moral history of the world? M. Guizot is not sufficiently clear in his last proposition. It might be construed as affirming the old doctrine of the "imputation" of Adam's guilt to his posterity; aside from this liability, the doctrine of his postulates is not only scriptural but a dogma of natural theology itself. That man is morally depraved is a fact of universal history; that this moral condition is hereditary, is a fact analogical with both physiological and psychological facts of our nature. Physical qualities are transmissible, physical maladies are notedly so; mental qualities and mental maladies are unquestionably so. Theology, in asserting original sin, but follows up this analogy into the moral being of man. Why then should it be repelled by the arrogance of philosophy, for so philosophical a rationale of a historical problem, the universality of moral defect in human nature? But it not only thus solves the problem of this universal fact; it, and it alone, accepts and provides for all the grave consequences of that fact. While it teaches that, on a plan of creation by which human nature is hereditary, all human beings come into the world with moral defect and danger, it teaches also that God could not with justice (to say nothing of mercy) have allowed this plan to operate, by the propagation of the race, after the fall of its first progenitor, without making full provision for its redemption, a provision which should leave man's responsibility, for his actual condition, precisely where was the responsibility of his original fall; namely, in his own free agency. According to a just interpretation of Christianity, no dying child or idiot, or any one else who has not virtually rejected the provided redemption, will be held responsible for "original sin." The pagan, even, who has never heard of the Christian redemption, is lost at last, if lost at all, only because he has not used rightly what light is given him, the light given to all

men to profit withal, and given by virtue of the "redemption that is in Jesus."

Precisely here Christianity presents a phase of sublime philosophy, that may well challenge the attention and admiration of honest thinkers. It stands, we repeat, before the terrible problem of evil, by the very side of skeptical philosophy; that problem being a fact equally undeniable to either. But how differently they contemplate it! To the latter it is the most appalling of facts, and its reconciliation with the doctrine of the absolute perfection of the Creator the most baffling of impossibilities; for, unlike Christianity, philosophy has no offsetting doctrine of redemption. Christianity not only admits the terrible fact, but gives its history, and if we may so say, even its natural history, and superadds a divine economy of redemption and probation by which the existence of the terrible fact is made reconcilable with the divine goodness, the safety of all souls made possible, and, as Wesley taught, the ultimate welfare of the moral universe enhanced. Christianity thus throws from its cross of light radiations which illuminate and beautify the ominous cloud that otherwise must have darkened, to human contemplation, the whole universe, hiding in the blackness of darkness even the throne of God. It teaches that in order that man might be human it was necessary that he should be created a free moral agent; that this moral freedom necessarily implies the possibility of his moral fall; that this possibility has become an actual fact; and that the propagation of the human race, being governed like all the rest of the organic world, by laws of hereditary transmission, the effect of the fall has tainted the whole race. But it pauses not here; skeptical philosophy may go even thus far with it, and admit that its view of the case is strikingly plausible or even philosophical; but at this point skeptical philosophy, if it passes on, leaves what light lingers at the entrance of the abyss of the problem, and descends at every step into deeper darkness; while Christianity bears an ever-increasing illumination into the depths, vindicating the goodness of God and the safety of man by its doctrine of a redemptive economy, a provision without which it would have been an infinite injustice and cruelty for the Creator to have permitted the human race to have continued after the lapse of its head, without

which all dying irresponsible persons, children, idiots, etc., would be inculpable victims of the divine severity, eternal impeachments of the divine throne; without which, in fine, all humanity would be wrecked, and the moral system of the world be not only an insoluble mystery but a failure, nay worse, a commingled tragedy and farce. Christianity does all this, we repeat, by its one great and yet most rejected *peculiarity*, its doctrine of atonement. On no other standpoint can human reason contemplate the problem of evil without staggering and falling with despair. The "foolishness of God is," then, "wiser than the wisdom of men;" and the "foolishness of preaching," of apostolic teaching, "is the wisdom and the power of God."

But we must pass on. M. Guizot has a brilliant chapter on the "supernatural," or rather the modern revolt of philosophy from it. He shows that belief in the supernatural is instinctive in humanity; necessary to the reason, as much so as the idea of the infinite is the necessary correlative of the idea of the finite; that it is therefore more rational than unbelief in it; that it is essential not only to the natural demands of the soul, but to the authority of any religious system whatever. We cannot now follow his reasoning in detail, but must not omit one important admonitory passage on the fallacious religious position of those who deny it.

> It is condemned for its very name's sake. Nothing is or can be, it is said, beyond and above nature. Nature is one and complete; everything is comprised in it; in it, of necessity, all things cohere, enchain, and develop themselves. We are here in thorough pantheism, that is to say, in absolute atheism. I do not hesitate to give to pantheism its real name. Among the men who at the present day declare themselves the opponents of the supernatural, most, certainly, do not believe that they are nor do they desire to be atheists. But let me tell them that they are leading others whither they neither think nor wish themselves to go. The negation of the supernatural, and that in the name of the unity and universality of nature, is pantheism, and pantheism is nothing more nor less than atheism. In the sequel of these Meditations, when I come to speak particularly of the actual state of the Christian religion, and of the different systems which combat it, I will in this respect justify my assertion; at present, I have to repel direct attacks upon the supernatural—attacks less fundamental than those of pantheism, but not less serious, for in truth, whether men know it or not, and whether they mean it or not, all attacks in this

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warfare reach the same object, and as soon as the supernatural is the aim it is religion itself that receives the shaft.

On miracles our author has some important remarks. Of course Hume's notable sophism contains the gist of the skeptical argument. M. Guizot thus discusses it:

> "It is experience only," says Hume, "which gives authority to human testimony; and it is the same experience which assures us of the laws of nature. When therefore these two kinds of experience are contrary, we have nothing to do but subtract the one from the other, and embrace an opinion, either on one side or the other, with that assurance which arises from the remainder. But according to the principles here explained, this subtraction, with regard to all popular religions, amounts to an entire annihilation: and therefore we may establish it as a maxim, that no human testimony can have such force as to prove a miracle, and make it a just foundation for any such system of religion." It is in this reasoning of Hume that the opponents of miracles shut themselves up, as in an impregnable fortress, to refuse them all credence. What confusion of facts and ideas! What a superficial solution of one of the grandest problems of our nature! What! a simple operation of arithmetic with respect to two experimental observations, estimated in ciphers, is to decide the question whether the universal belief of the race of man in the supernatural is well-founded or simply absurd; whether God only acts upon the world and upon man by laws established once for all, or whether he still continues to make, in the exercise of his power, use of his liberty! Not only does the skeptic Hume here show himself unconscious of the grandeur of the problem, he mistakes even in the motives upon which he founds his shallow conclusion; for it is not from human experience alone that human testimony draws her authority; this authority has sources more profound and a worth anterior to experience; it is one of the natural bonds, one of the spontaneous sympathies which unite with one another men and the generations of men. Is it by virtue of experience that the child trusts to the words of its mother, that it has faith in all she tells it? The mutual trust that men repose in what they say or transmit to each other is an instinct, primitive, spontaneous, which experience confirms or shakes, sets up again or sets bounds to, but which experience does not originate. I find in the same essay of Hume this other passage: "The passion of surprise and wonder, arising from miracles, being an agreeable emotion, gives a sensible tendency toward the belief of those events from which it is derived." Thus, if we are to credit Hume, it is merely for his pleasure, for the diversion of the imaginative faculty, that man believes in the supernatural; and beneath this impression—though real, still only of a secondary nature—which does no more than skim the surface of the human soul, the philosopher has no glimpse at all of the profound instincts and superior requisitions which have

sway over him. But why an attack of this character, so indirect and little complete? Why should Hume limit himself to the proposition that miracles can never be historically proved, instead of at once affirming the impossibility of miracles themselves? This is what the opponents of the supernatural virtually think; and it is because they commence by regarding miracles as impossible that they apply themselves to destroy the value of the evidences by which they are supported. If the evidence which surrounds the cradle of Christianity, if the fourth, if even the tenth part of it were adduced in support of facts of a nature extraordinary, unexpected, or unheard of, but still not having a character positively supernatural, the proof would be accepted as unexceptionable; the facts for certain. In appearance, it is merely the proof by witnesses of the supernatural that is contested; whereas, in reality, the very possibility of the thing is denied that is sought to be proved. The question ought to be put as it really is, instead of such a solution being offered as is a mere evasion.

The chapter on inspiration will attract most attention in these times, and will probably prove most unsatisfactory to readers who have followed the author thus far with unalloyed pleasure. With most of our highest theological authorities, (of all ages, not excepting Jerome, the great Catholic authority of the Vulgate,) he disowns the hypothesis of complete verbal inspiration as taught by Gaussen and some other "pious and learned men." In his estimation it "gravely compromises revelation" by assuming untenable grounds, and challenging irrelevant arguments against the claims of the Bible. He believes in a "plenary inspiration," but plenary only in respect to the one design of revelation, namely, the communication of religious truth. The sacred writers were divinely and infallibly taught the doctrines they were to teach, but were left to their own peculiarities of style, (good or defective,) to their own knowledge about all collateral or natural subjects to which they may allude for illustration, and therefore philological or scientific assaults on the Bible ought not to affect the authority of its religious teachings.* It is perceptible at a glance what advantage this standpoint affords against scientific cavilers. Geology as against Moses is of no importance to M. Guizot; his only question is, Does Moses teach a true theology? God, according to our author, selected certain men to communicate

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* The American edition of the Meditations gives a valuable note, from Prof. Lewis, on Guizot's theory.

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to the world certain essential religious truths; he endowed these men with plenary knowledge of these truths, but bade them go and teach them as best they could. They possessed divine truth and divine authority, but also their essential humanity and their individual characteristics, and the latter must necessarily affect their style. Obviously it was impossible for their communication of the truth to be made to the world without forms of style and illustration borrowed from the current thoughts of the world; these being on many scientific questions erroneous, could not, according to M. Guizot, be corrected without a departure from the great mission of the writers, the revelation of religious truth; and the deviation must have been an immense, it may be said, an impracticable one. For example, if Moses, in teaching the divine creation of the world and man's consequent relations to the Creator, had paused to give a correct cosmological and cosmographical theory, he must have shocked and upset all the current ideas on the subject; and he must have done more, he must have given a more or less systematic demonstration of the correct theory, entering into its facts and proofs much more than our early geologists had to do, in order to get a hearing for their new theories; thus his task must have been chiefly the discussion of natural science or philological laws, in order to prepare the world to receive his religious dogmas in a precisely correct garb of verbal style or scientific illustration. What would the Bible have become in such a case? To have made all its astronomical allusions in accordance with true science rather than the popular ideas, it must either have shocked the opinions of the times, and thereby provoked its own rejection, or given the demonstration of the Copernican theory; and in order to give this, it must necessarily first have given a system of mathematics beginning with Euclid and reaching to the Calculus; and not only this, it must have secured the education of the people up to a point where such a recondite record could be intelligible to them.

The Bible then must not, contends M. Guizot, be held amenable to the bar of natural science. The only legitimate question is, Does it teach religious truth, whatever may be the personal characteristics of style or allusion in its various inspired writers? M. Guizot's hypothesis is certainly a very

convenient one; were it exempt from some grave liabilities it would prove very acceptable to biblical critics in these days of agitation on the difficult question of Inspiration. Whatever objections may be alleged against it as a theory, it leaves him clear in the assertion of the infallible revelation of essential religious truth.

Having thus cleared his way through these fundamental preliminaries, our author reaches naturally the questions: What *is* the religious truth taught by these inspired writers? And does it appear divinely compatible with man's wants and welfare? Here is the gist of the whole matter. And now with two long and luminous "Meditations" the volume concludes, virtually answering these questions. The first, on "God according to the Bible," details the revelations of the character and government of God in five sections, entitled, "God and Abraham," "God and Moses," "God and the Kings," "God and the Prophets," and finally the "Expectation of the Messiah." The last "Meditation" is on "Jesus Christ according to the Gospel," and comprises seven sections: Christ and his Apostles, his Precepts, his Miracles, Christ and the Jews and Gentiles, Christ and Woman, Christ and Children, Christ Himself. The last three topics are treated with special eloquence. In these Guizot shows that Christ in his teachings, especially as regards the position of woman and the treatment of childhood, laid down the very basis of true social order and human progress, a basis that can never be shaken away from beneath the human race. The reader is surprised by the fertility and relevancy of all these topics, as arguments in the controversy. Accustomed to hear them incessantly discussed as practical ethics, we have almost ceased to appreciate them as "evidences." Under the brilliant pen of M. Guizot they break forth afresh with light, and shed dazzling reflections on all the field of discussion.

As "Meditations" his book avoids the repulsive characteristics of controversial works; its tone has been pronounced not only devout but devotional. With that peculiar perspicacity and flexibility which fits the French language so pre-eminently for conversational style, and yet for the subtlest expression of philosophic thought, he treats the most difficult subjects with a facility that not only renders the book intelligible but

exceedingly entertaining.* It should be a popular work, for though profoundly thoughtful, its style is at once simple and elegant, and its logic is addressed to the common-sense and to the common moral instincts of men. It conducts both the philosopher and the common reader into the very sanctuary of revealed truth, over a path every step of which is felt to be on sure ground, and the collateral critical difficulties of the controversy, though as yet hardly touched, are seen to be but collateral; not obstructions in its direct path, though perceptible along its margin. Hereafter the author, if he lives to complete his plan, will retrace that path, and examine these lateral difficulties at leisure and in security. We shall salute his reappearance with heartiest welcome.

"The religious questions of the day," what will come of them? Few students of Christianity, assailants or advocates, can fail eagerly to ask themselves this question. Are we indeed approaching that revolution, advocated by Coleridge in the "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit," and predicted by the good and thoughtful Arnold, when the refutation of the infallible authority of the Bible is, according to the language of the latter, to give a shock to the Christian world equal to that which was given to European Christendom by the refutation of the "infallibility" of the Church of Rome? We fear it not. That this destructive work of historical criticism will go on for some time we doubt not; that the progress of natural science will still be attended with hostility to Christianity we doubt not; but we fear not the result. If Christianity is well founded, these searching investigations of its very foundations will result in its better, we sometimes think, its final vindication; if it is not well founded, none more than Christians (enlightened ones at least) should welcome the demonstration of its unsoundness. It is Christianity, not as a traditional system, but Christianity as a system of truth that we cling to; give us the truth whatsoever it is, whithersoever it leads, is the cry of all sincere Christian souls. And, what is more relevant to be said, it is Christianity itself that has taught us to utter this demand. What could be a stronger moral proof that Christianity is itself the truth? The spirit of the truth can live only in the

* We speak of the original; the translation, though "by authority" of the author, is quite defective.

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form of the truth; at least a body of lies can never incarnate the soul of truth.

Several peculiar characteristics are noteworthy in this great modern reinvestigation of Christianity. It practically repudiates the old virulence of skepticism. The sarcastic audacity of Voltaire and his associates of the French infidelity, the malignant irony of Gibbon, the cool but frivolous sophistry of Hume, the vulgar violence of Paine, are no longer deemed befitting the sad and solemn work of killing and burying a religion which has so long been the comfort of desolate men, the hope of so many broken hearts, the guardian of the sanctity of so many virtuous homes, the peaceful relief of so many troubled consciences, the pillow of so many dying heads. The opponents of Christianity may ravage, with revolution and war, the upper Rome, but they dare not enter its Catacombs with unsandaled feet and ribald irreverence; they may break down the stately and corrupt hierarchies, but they cannot carry the desolating ax into the humble Christian household, and strike down the family altar with nothing but the ancestral Bible upon it; they may drive from priestly confessionals broken-hearted penitents, but they dare not bid them rise from their knees before their God and Redeemer, and send them forth to dry their tears and stifle their consciences amid the frivolities and vices of the world from which they have recoiled with smitten souls. No, these sacrilegious things cannot now be done; and these things not being done, Christianity cannot be destroyed; to be afraid to do them is, in a great measure, to concede essential Christianity.

More than this; the old tone of hostility is not only abandoned, but a singular courtesy, almost compliment itself, has taken its place. No man has written finer eulogies on the human character of Christ than Rénan, and he predicts the general and permanent triumph of, at least, the ethical teachings of the wonderful Nazarene. We are not disposed to suspect this concession as the strategy of an enemy; it is the candid though extorted acknowledgment of a self-respectful, scholarly man. The curt and peremptory Strauss dares not to assume the temper of the elder infidelity. The British "reviewers and essayists" and Colenso claim the name and character of Christians. Niebuhr, the chief exponent of the new

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historical criticism, lamented sincerely what he deemed its necessary applications to the Biblical writings, and recoiled from educating his son in his own principles. The Spencers and Mills of the new philosophy address themselves to Christianity with the amenity of scholars and gentlemen, if not of partial Christians.

We repeat, that we dare not accuse of simulation this new temper of the opponents of Christianity. Indirectly it may do harm by giving greater plausibility to their attacks; but, nevertheless, we accept it as a significant presage of the issue of the contest. The essential spirit and essential ethics of the Christian religion are unassailed and unassailable before these men; and that is a grand fact; for while that fact stands their assaults can never be fatal. In other words, skepticism itself has come at last to discover, in the increasing light and moral discernment of the ages, that if the historical and dogmatic claims of Christianity may be questioned, yet that for which alone its historical and dogmatic facts are claimed, namely, its inner and outer personal life, its temper and its morals, are henceforth and forever invincible and unquestionable. This is an old truth on the very face of the Bible, but it has never till now been admitted in this wise.

Were a candid and thoughtful heathen, like Confucius, Socrates, or Plutarch, to ask any Christian of common intelligence for a statement of the essential character of Christianity, not so much of its historical facts, or dogmatic or technical peculiarities as of its essential principles of moral life, inner and outer, he would be likely to cite the Moral Law, or Ten Commandments, as its "morality," the Sermon on the Mount as its "piety," the Lord's Prayer as its virtual "liturgy;" he might add St. Paul's chapter on charity as a further illustration, and finally sum up his statement with Christ's compendium of the whole law, to love God supremely and our neighbor as ourselves. What would such a heathen reply? What but that this is truth itself? that nothing could be better? And his reply would not be on the authority of his own heathen faith, for it has taught him nothing equal to it, but on the authority of his moral sense thus appealed to by perfect, though new truth. No candid infidel will deny that such a statement is essential truth; that, if all the world should

live according to it, the world would be as morally good and happy as it could be; nay, moreover, that if this is not the only true religion, but the latter is yet to be discovered or revealed, it can never be better than this for all the moral needs of mankind. What is this concession, then, but an admission that Christianity must be the true religion, in respect at least to its essential moral life? And, we repeat, that all its historical and dogmatic claims are but subsidiary to this.

Such, we believe, is the conclusion to which even the skeptical investigations of our age are tending, unwittingly it may be, but surely. And this is much; but it will not suffice. A true Christian must demand more, for with M. Guizot, he knows that the so-called dogmas of his religion are but its "principles," and these he cannot waive. To him they are the very basis of the ethical system which might extort such concessions from the candid skeptical or pagan philosopher. But let him be reminded that this essential connection, of the one with the other, is a chief ground for his hope that, the one being conceded so remarkably by his present opponents, will at last compel the concession of the other. Let the essential doctrines of Christianity be abandoned and its historical authority denied, how long will its conceded spirit and morals remain? How soon will all true devotion die, and its very assemblies dissolve under the loss? How long will the activities of Christian charity survive? How long anything, specially Christian in spirit or morals? If, then, this new skepticism, new in temper at least, with its admiring acknowledgment of practical Christianity, should push its triumphs far enough, it will demonstrate the inseparable connection of Christian doctrine with Christian life; the world will witness that demonstration; reaction will follow, impelled by all the moral needs and instincts of men; and Christianity, not only in its ethics, but in all that is essential to its ethics, will again rise, as it has so often from its worst adversities, to triumphant ascendency.

Mr. Herbert Spencer has an elaborate and very striking chapter on "Rhythm," or "The Law of Oscillations," in nature, and extends it to the intellectual and moral worlds, showing that not only the planets, the tides, the seasons, etc., but systems of philosophical speculation, of artistic taste, of politics, of religious

thought, and also that religious popular feeling, are perpetually changing and reproducing themselves. Periods of religious doubt or general apathy always give way again to periods of faith and fervor. We may doubt whether his generalization is true of all religions, especially of the great oriental systems, which, having no substantially true foundations in human nature, do not so much decline and revive again, as give way to new forms of faith, as Mohammedism to Buddhism in much of the East, the system of Zoroaster and the Sabaism of Arabia to the system of Mohammed. The Greek mythology can never revive in Southern Europe against Christianity. But the law does hold good in systems which have a certain amount of vital religious truth, for the truth can never die; if buried it is buried alive, and comes forth again, sometimes with the suddenness of a divine resurrection. Christianity, especially, has again and again shown this vitality. In the Reformation, Apostolic Christianity burst from its entombment of more than a thousand years. Voltaire predicted that, in a generation from his age, Christianity would be abolished throughout the civilized world; it was formally abolished in France, but could not be repressed. Edelman and Reimarus had hardly begun the Neological controversy in Germany, from which all the continental Rationalism has sprung, when Wesley began Methodism in England, and projected a new and world-wide movement of Christianity. Rationalism declined in Germany, Methodism has not yet shown serious declension anywhere. The new controversy is analogous to the old Rationalism; it will, we doubt not, have an analogous history. The English Infidelity of the last century, represented by the mightiest giants of speculative unbelief in modern times, Bolingbroke, Hume, and Gibbon, threatened the whole prospects of British Christianity. Watt's declaration, that religion was "dying out" in the world, is well known. Butler published in 1736 the greatest defense of Christianity that philosophy has produced to save the sinking cause, declaring in his Preface that it was "taken for granted that Christianity was no longer a subject of inquiry, but was at length discovered to be fictitious." The great "Analogy" had apparently little effect on the general unbelief and demoralization; but, only three years later, dates a new epoch of the religious world; and

in less than fifteen years, while Butler still lived, the whole United Kingdom was astir with the Methodistic revival; Wesley, Whitefield, and their co-laborers, were sounding the trumpets of the Gospel in almost every town and village, and through all the British colonies of North America from Maine to Georgia; the most effective movement of evangelical religion since the apostolic age had broken forth, and in our day continues its march toward most of the ends of the world. Let us not, then, fear the issue of the present contest.

But let us not disguise the gravity of this new trial of Christianity. In some respects it is the most serious crisis that our faith has ever known. To intelligent, and especially to studious Christians, it is, perhaps, the most perilous ordeal that ever tried the personal faith of the Church. Christianity has never been without some great form of trial: persecution and martyrdom in its primitive ages; terrible distortions of opinion, mysticism, priestly supremacy and oppression, during its medieval history; contentions and the shaking of the nations at the outbreak of the Reformation; but in none of these trials was personal faith in essential Christianity seriously disturbed; in none of them were its historical facts or dogmatic truths formidably assailed; through all of them men believed with the confidence of children. To-day our most advanced intelligence is appealed to by unbelief, and the appeal is made with amenity and compliment, made, if we may so say, by christianized skepticism. Persecution and martyrdom imposed no such dangerous trial; they tended to confirm faith and produce Christian saintliness and heroism. The trial of our age is insidious, enervating, and disarming, snatching from us some of our own best weapons; while felt generally, it can be mastered only by the few who have scientific competence to investigate its scientific logic. But the strongest security of Christianity is in the religious consciousness of its followers, and this may be as profound in the illiterate as in the cultivated. There is in this moral consciousness an inestimable and a legitimate wisdom, a wonderful discernment, we might almost say, intuition. Schleiermacher founded upon it the reaction against German Rationalism, which has saved from utter infidelity the Protestantism of Europe. The Methodistic movement was founded by Wesley in the same great moral force.

It is the basis of Guizot's high argument. The devout soul feels the legitimateness, the truthfulness of its spiritual life; it knows that to be contrite for sin, to be "meek and lowly in heart," to be pure, and patient, and truthful, and charitable, to "watch and pray," to "walk humbly, do justly, love mercy," and to keep itself "unspotted from the world," is assuredly right; and it finds, moreover, that in order to do so it must live by "faith on the Son of God." Its spiritual life thus spontaneously leads it into all essential truth, be it dogmatic or ethical. This is God's method of saving the world, and it is divinely wise. Let then all good men who are troubled by the "religious questions of the day" find here their refuge; they cannot be fatally endangered here. Let them "perfect holiness in the fear of God," for this is the highest significance of their religion, and with this will certainly co-exist all essential orthodoxy, and from it will assuredly come a safe death and eternal life. And let all skeptics know that they can never shake away the foundations of Christianity till they can shake away this religious consciousness, this foundation of the moral world.

ART. II.—THE GREEK CHURCH, CONSIDERED PARTICULARLY IN ITS RELATION TO THE LATIN.

[ARTICLE SECOND.]

WHEN Constantine transferred his throne from the Tiber to the Bosphorus, and with imperial fondness built up a grand Christian capital, New Rome, that should outrival Old Rome, the pagan capital, and secured for the East a fair competition with the West, the Greek Church soon equaled and then surpassed the Latin Church. Of eighteen hundred bishops, one thousand were seated in the Greek, and eight hundred in the Latin provinces of the empire. The eyes of the Christian world were turned toward Constantinople rather than Rome. But the glory of the Eastern Empire waned at length; after the lapse of centuries the crescent triumphed over the cross. The finest Christian temples in the world were transformed into Mohammedan mosques; and for centuries an Ottoman

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despotism, enslaving the Greek Church, has ruled in the palace of the Eastern Cæsars.

On the contrary, the Latin Church was saved by Pepin from the grasp of the barbarian invader, was nourished by the favor of Charlemagne, and has grown up to its present stature by the royal patronage of the West.

But what the Greek Church has needed to place her in favorable competition with the Latin, namely, national protection, is now supplied by Russia. If the Eastern Church by its prevailing history and literature is Greek, numerically and politically it is to-day Sclavonic. Russia is the great national protector of the Greek Church; and Russia is "the coming nation" of Europe. No European nation compares with it in extent of territory, in population, in the variety and amplitude of its resources. In Northwestern America, in Europe and in Asia, are vast dominions of the Russian Czar, and the steady march of his empire south and eastward does by no means escape the eagle glance or anxious regard of Napoleon, whom the Latin Church flatters with the title which she conferred upon Clovis, and ever since upon the faithful kings of France, "eldest son of the Church," and in whom she would fain behold a second Charlemagne. This competition has been developing gradually and significantly in the East since 1850. It is easy to see, from what has been already said, how Russia would feel disposed toward Turkey and the East. More than two hundred years ago, "Alexis, the Czar, was formally addressed as the New Cæsar of the Empire of Orthodoxy." (Travels of Macarius, p. 770.) The Greek Church everywhere is willing to regard the Czar as the champion. Herein is unvailed the great secret of the prompt support which he has recently received throughout Russia in subduing the Roman Catholic rebellion in Poland. This rebellion was a renewal of the old strife for mastery between the Greek and Roman Churches in Poland and Russia, more than two centuries ago. Toward Turkey not only imperial pride and pecuniary interest prompt the Russian Czar, but also a twofold historic and religious interest. The Moslem invasion of Russia in the fourteenth century, which proved well nigh successful, can never be forgotten by the nation. Indeed, to the present day, the memory is preserved by a Greek cross planted on a crescent

on the top of every Russian church, in every town which was subjected to the Moslem yoke of the Tartar. (King's Greek Church in Russia, p. 24.) Russia cannot forget that once the Moslems despoiled Astrakan and Kasan and the Crimea, and for long years made them tributaries; that as early as the ninth century, Russia stretched to the Euxine, "and the future site of Sebastopol became Russian ground in the days of the first Christian Czar;" that when in the sixteenth century Ivan IV., "John the Terrible," lifted up the degraded empire, and broke the power of the old masters, he could recover only Astrakan and Kasan, and that another great struggle was necessary to regain the Crimea.

Impressed by these memories, Russia can never contemplate with satisfaction the Moslem possession of Turkey. But more than this, Russia received her national religion from Constantinople, a city then recognized as the head of all Eastern Christendom. And now Constantinople is a Moslem capital! St. Sophia, the glory of all Eastern Christendom, seemed a paradise to the surprised and enraptured representatives whom Vladimir commissioned to examine the Greek faith and report. And now St. Sophia is a Mohammedan mosque! But more than this, Ivan III., Czar of Russia, married, in 1467, Sophia "the fair," daughter of the last Palæologus, and so inherited not only the ceremonial of the Byzantine empire, but valid pretension to the throne of the Eastern Cæsar; and now that throne is occupied by a usurper, at once a Turk and an Infidel!

In addition to this, the Greek Church of Constantinople would naturally look to Russia for protection. The importance of this great metropolis tempts the ambition and the cupidity of Russia, as well as of France and England. Since Gibbon's enthusiastic description, thrice repeated, every student is familiar with the unrivaled situation of Constantinople; and no traveler can visit it without confirming, by his own observation, the truthfulness of the historian: "The prospect of beauty, of safety, and of wealth, united in a single spot, was sufficient to justify the choice of Constantine. Standing upon two continents, approached by two gateways, the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, the prince who shall possess these important passages can always shut them against a naval enemy and open them to the fleets of commerce." (Gibbon,

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chap. xvii.) One can scarcely behold it and not feel, in the language of a more recent historian, that "the spot is destined to be, what it seems more and more likely to be, both historically and politically, the Gordian knot of the world." This is well understood by the Russian Czar, as well as the Western Powers of Europe. Hence it is most naturally an inviting field for European politics. The traveler is not surprised at seeing the national emblems of the great powers displayed in "Stambul" of the Turks, "*εις την πολην*" of the Greeks, "a city whose history is by no means yet concluded." It is easy to see how, out of this, grew the recent war of the Crimea.

Again, Constantinople has an immediate and important relation with Syria and Egypt, and they with the more distant East. By some strange but mighty attraction, nations west and east are drawn toward Jerusalem. Here, no less than at Constantinople, European politicians are active and watchful: doubtless for this reason among others, that Jerusalem, prior to the Mohammedan conquest, possessed a history of profound interest to all Christendom; an interest revived by the holy wars which Europe maintained for four hundred years, at the sacrifice of millions of lives and treasure, to regain the Holy Sepulcher, and deliver the Holy Land from infidel oppression; an interest magnified by the belief of European nations that there is in store for the Holy City and for Palestine a future of profound moment to the world. With this, unquestionably, there is an ecclesiastical element intimately related, which, in such a city and such a country, could not be otherwise than effective. This element is valued by statesmen now as highly as in the times of the Crusades; and state policy in the north and in the west is ambitious to gain control of this, that it may wield the ecclesiastical influence in behalf of the State and the Church. Russia is represented as the head of the Greek Church in Jerusalem; France represents the Latin. Throughout Syria the Greeks, who are the most numerous of the Christian sects, look to Russia as their national protector. Russian influence is exercised everywhere, and "Russian gold is profusely expended in the erection and decoration of their sacred edifices, and in the support of schools." (Murray, vol. i, xliv.)

On the other hand there exists in Paris an "Association for

establishing Christian Schools in the East," displaying a particular zeal, and in which not only the Roman priests, but also prominent French statesmen, take an active part. An organization also has been established called "The Association of the Holy Sepulcher," for supporting the Roman Missions in Palestine. Long ago the Maronites were secured by the Roman Church. These later missions have been employed in proselyting among the Greeks and Jacobites, and forming papal schismatic Churches, called the Greek Catholic and Syrian Catholic. These Jesuitic missionaries have been much more anxious to secure nominal submission to the Pope, than to effect a change of faith and practice. Each influence, the Frank and the Russian, is earnestly exerted to promote the interest of the Church and the State which it represents. How steadily and sternly the conflict has been waged for years, every observant traveler and reader very well knows. While the war in the Crimea continued, this conflict between the Greeks and the Latins in Palestine was suspended. Had Russia conquered, it is believed by many statesmen, and by Englishmen sometimes openly asserted, that "the Syrian crisis would have been precipitated, and European influence would have rapidly ebbed from Jerusalem." But the Crimean war was not decisive for Constantinople or Jerusalem, and at its close the strife in the Holy Land was renewed. As an illustration: before the war, as early as 1853, the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was in a ruinous condition. The Greeks and the Latins own each a part of the church. The question arose, Who should repair the dome? In the East, he who repairs a building acquires a claim almost amounting to the right of property. Hence Russia and France each demanded the privilege, the one in behalf of the Greek Church, the other in behalf of the Latin. Neither would yield to the other. Turkey offered to end the strife by doing it herself; but neither would yield to Turkey. The Crimean war broke out, some say, from this strife; doubtless involving it. The disputants at Jerusalem quietly awaited the result. When the war ended indecisively the dispute revived, and the dome was not repaired; and so it continued at least when we saw it, a year after the close of the Crimean contest. The French Government through its envoy, M. de Thouvenel, renewed the

Latin claim to the cupola. The Russian agent reasserted the claim of the Greek Church. Who can believe that the mere repair of this church dome is the ultimate thought with either nation or either Church? Who does not believe that the dispute looks much further? But the inquiry will readily arise, Why should England incline toward France rather than Russia in this rivalry, which really involves so much ecclesiastically and politically? Let an Englishman furnish the reply: "The preponderance of the Greek Church is the preponderance of Russia in the East; and the first exercise of Russian supremacy in the East would be to bar out England from India. Better then that any other power than Russia should have sway in Syria and Egypt." (North British Rev., 1858.)

This answer immediately throws light upon a number of movements which have had a politico-ecclesiastical bearing, and which otherwise would seem inexplicable: The Western sympathy and support of Turkey, the Crimean war, the Western alliance against Russia, the Western policy in Syria and Egypt, the Western sympathy for Poland against Russia, the Western jealousy of Russia in her friendship toward the United States, and the Western policy in Greece. Greece, it is well known, had revolted against Mohammedan Turkey, gained her civil freedom, and finally her ecclesiastical independence. Three parties exist among the people. The English party esteems the personal merits of the royal family of England, and believe that any English prince would readily admit the Ionian Islands into the kingdom of Greece; the French party admires Napoleon, and would sooner trust his policy and ability; while the third party, which holds the faith of the Greek Church, and is the most numerous, looks to the Russian empire for support, and, like the orthodox Greeks everywhere in the East, would hail the Russian Czar as their protector. But here again the Western alliance foiled the wish of the Russian party by the choice of Otho as king. England, caring, as usual, for material interest chiefly, and but slightly for religious consequences, allowed a prince to be selected who was a Roman Catholic, and from his boyhood had been intended for a cardinal, till a more immediate good fortune met him in the way and diverted his course. It is unquestionable that but for the military protection of the French emperor

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for the last ten years the Papacy would have been despoiled of its temporal authority, the tiara would have been torn from the papal brow, and Italy and Rome would to-day rejoice in long-sought civil freedom.

This suggests another counterpoise of the Greek Church to the Roman. The Roman Church has asserted, and recently confirmed the assertion in full convention, that temporal sovereignty is essential to spiritual authority. In a word, that a Church cannot be national without civil control. But the Greek Church is national in some countries, as Russia and Greece, though by no internal necessity; for in other countries, as Turkey and Egypt, it is not national. Yet in Russia and Georgia and Greece it does not possess temporal authority; indeed it discards it.

Again, the ecclesiastical order of the Greek Church, though conservative, is not inflexible and unchangeable like the Roman hierarchy; but yields to circumstances, and may change, if policy or progress require. Accordingly, the Russian Church, which was at first under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, when it became well established and strong became independent without shock or violence. Then for more than a century, from A. D. 1587 to 1700, it had at its head a Russian patriarch. When at length it was deemed desirable to dispense with the patriarchate, in 1700, a synod was formed; and the government of the Russian Church became synodical; yet nowhere is the Church more thoroughly Greek, and nowhere is the Government more strongly devoted to the Church.

At the beginning of the present century the Church in Greece was subject to Constantinople. But when the State became free the Church desired its own independence, and at length secured it; and the fundamental law of the land, according to the second article of the Constitution of 1844, declares:

> The Orthodox Church of Greece, acknowledging our Lord Jesus Christ as head, is inseparably united in doctrine to the Great Church of Constantinople, and every other Church of Christ that holds the same faith, observing precisely as they do both the holy canons of the apostles and councils, and the holy traditions; yet it is independent, exercising its sovereign functions free from

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the control of every other Church, and governed by a holy synod of prelates.

The ecclesiastical independence of Greece "was not indeed so easily effected as that of Russia, because the civil status of Greece, which had been revolutionary, cast suspicion upon the ecclesiastical movement, and made it appear to the interested view of Anthimos, patriarch of Constantinople, schismatic. This prejudice the Turkish Government favored. But the claims of Anthimos, made too much in the spirit of Rome, were rejected by the Synod of Greece, and the Church of Constantinople prudently recognized the Holy Synod as well as the ecclesiastical independence of Greece. Every other branch of the Orthodox Church made the same recognition, and the Church government became synodical in Greece as well as in Russia.

The Greek Church, at the period of its separation from the Roman, eight hundred years ago, consisted of four independent groups, namely: 1, Constantinople; 2, Alexandria; 3, Antioch; 4, Jerusalem. It has increased by additions and subdivisions to ten independent groups, namely: the four just named; 5, Russian Church; 6, Church of the Isle of Cyprus; 7, Greek Church in Austria; 8, Church of Mount Sinai; 9, Church of Montenegro; 10, Hellenic Church in the kingdom of Greece. Other provinces are moving toward independency as they increase in strength. If these movements succeed, as they probably will at no distant day, the Greek Church will consist of fifteen independent groups "inseparably united in doctrine to the Great Church of Constantinople, and every other Church of Christ that holds the same faith, yet independent; exercising its sovereign functions free from the control of every other Church." By this bond of a common faith these different groups are bound together as closely and as strongly as is the Latin Church by a common submission to the Pope.

For eight centuries the Greek Church has maintained an ecclesiastical counterpoise against the Roman hierarchy, thus preventing the Papacy from subjecting the East. Bulgaria, and Servia and Wallachia along the Lower Danube, Greece and the Ionian Isles, the vast regions of Russia and the Aleutian Isles and Georgia, with the Greek Churches in Egypt, Syria, and Turkey, have been preserved from Romanism.

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And to-day these orthodox Greeks, whom the Church of Rome dare not call heretical, but whom Pius IX. addressed as "Easterns who indeed serve Christ, but are aliens from the holy throne of the Apostle Peter," sustain their synodical or patriarchal governments, presenting a vast barrier to the encroachments of the Papacy. The ecclesiastical voice from St. Petersburgh, though not as ambitious, is as strong and self-reliant as from the Vatican at Rome. And when, recently, Pius IX. wrote to the Eastern Christians as Sovereign Pontiff of the Papal Church, the reply from the East was, "An Encyclic Epistle of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church to the faithful everywhere;" and this was signed by the patriarchs of Constantinople, of Alexandria, of Antioch and Jerusalem, and several ecclesiastics, thus boldly confronting the hierarchy of the West with the ecclesiastical order of the East. But we pass to consider the relation of the Greek Church to the Roman, in faith and practice.

By gradual development under Providence, the Greek Church, as we have already seen, became a distinct community, separating itself from heretical sects in the East, and from the Roman hierarchy in the West. Many of its doctrines have been involved in the history already given. We need not, therefore, dwell upon these longer than to group them for a single view.

The canon of Scripture was settled at the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, (if traditional history be not at fault,) in which the Latins participated. This canon we accept at the present day, with the distinction between the canonical and apocryphal books. These Scriptures the Greek Church accepts as "The Divine Word alone, resting assured that it, only, contains the true rules by which we ought to please God." At the same time it entertains, like the Roman Catholic Churches, a high regard for tradition and the authority of the Fathers, to which it makes constant appeal, though not as superior but as subsidiary to the Word of God. Indeed, in the General Council of Nice, the first and greatest of all, and the one to which pre-eminently the Greek Church points as an example, the overruling sentiment, according to Sozomen, was that even ancient opinions were not to be received without sifting and inquiry. (Sozomen, i, 17.) And, according to Eusebius

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and Socrates, the decisive reference in all cases was to the Old and New Testaments, while tradition was produced not as authoritative, but as historical evidence subordinate to Scripture. (Eusebius, V. C., iii, 6; Socrates, i, 8.)

Unlike the Roman, the Greek Church does not restrict the Bible to the clergy alone, but declares, "Let all the ~~clergy~~ and laymen possess the adorable and Sacred Scriptures;" representing it in their old hymns as "a well-spring of life." Says the celebrated Archbishop Platon of Russia, "Although in consequence of the different stations and abilities of men, all cannot so easily exercise themselves in reading the Holy Scriptures, yet it is highly desirable that they should."

"God be praised," said an intelligent Russian layman, "the Eastern Church has never ruled that religious light and instruction are confined to the clergy. It is still in our own power to redeem the future." (Gregory's Vindica.) In the Eastern Church, missionary effort has always been attended by a translation of the Scriptures into the language of each nation, and the vernacular is employed as the proper medium for the religious literature and the religious life; for example, the Arabic translation for the Coptic Church, the Russian in Russia, and the Greek in Greece. In this particular, the Greek Church agrees precisely with the missionary practice of the Protestants, who desire to give the Scriptures to the common people; and as directly differs from the Latin Church, which everywhere maintains one single language for the worship and the Word of God, a language for the priests only, "the Latin language of the Old Empire and the New Church of Rome." At the same time that this just regulation exists in the Greek Church, it must be admitted that the translations for the different nations were made so long since that many of these languages have become obsolete or dead, and no new translations having been made, for want of requisite energy or courage, the wise design of the system has been virtually defeated. Hence great destitution and ignorance of the Scriptures prevail within the limits of the Greek Church. The Council of Bethlehem, A. D. 1672, partly in consequence of this state of things, and partly as a cause, declared, "All Scripture is not to be read by the untrained," for the reason that it would be "like giving strong meat to children."

Through like apathy, a similar condition of things might occur in Protestant countries in the lapse of centuries. The defect evidently is not in the system, but in the languid life which fails to keep pace with the changes of time. The defect suggests the remedy. That there is a translation at all, proves that it should be in the living language of the people. The system needs to be revived, and earnestly applied to meet the new demand.

The doctrines concerning the divine trinity and unity, the relation of the Father and the Son, the deity of the Holy Ghost, the incarnation, the humanity and divinity of Christ, his twofold nature and single personality, his sufferings, his atoning death, his resurrection and ascension and second coming, the resurrection of the dead, and the final judgment, these cardinal doctrines were developed and defined by successive general councils, are steadfastly retained in common by the Greek Church and the Roman, and are the very doctrines accepted by orthodox Protestants at the present day. This doctrinal harmony was disturbed when the Western Councils of Toledo and Aix la Chapelle interpolated "Filioque" into the creed of Constantinople, concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost. The single procession, as affirmed by the General Council of Constantinople, the Greek Church maintains by reference to John xv, 26: "But when the Comforter is come whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me."

At first the Roman Pontiff, Leo III., professed indifference, condemned the interpolation, but adopted the doctrine; proposing, however, that, by a prudent erasure, the symbol be restored to its integrity. Yet the interpolation once made, remained, "was transcribed into the symbol, chanted in the liturgy of the Vatican," and introduced throughout the Latin Churches. The protest of the Greeks became general. Volumes were written upon the subject. The dispute was for a while unremitting. But at length the heat of the contest subsided; and no less a Greek than Platon has declared, "We do not wish to pry into this, for it is an unsearchable mystery; and we ought not to engage much in disputation upon it." Protestants would doubtless approve this conclusion of the

Greek, although they coincide in this doctrine with the Romans.

From what has been already said, it is evident that the Greeks differ from the Latins in regard to the worship of images; but the long and desperate struggle on this point failed of a complete triumph for the Greek Church. Two females, the Empress Irene and the Empress Theodora, yielded to the fascinating superstition, and well nigh undid the work of six emperors. The controversy ended in a compromise strictly prohibiting images in relief or embossed work, but allowing the use of rough paintings and engravings in copper or silver. (Encyc. Amer.) Representations of the Father are forbidden by the Greek Church. Yet my own observation in the East, coinciding with the testimony of other travelers, proves that this rule is frequently violated. The Infinite Father is often seen coarsely painted as a venerable man, supporting in his hand a globe, symbolizing creation and providence. Representations of the Holy Ghost descending upon Christ at his baptism are common in the Greek Churches, while pictures of saints and of the Virgin are almost universal.

If it be said that the worship of God is debased by this worship of pictures, the plausible Platon is ready with this apology: First. That the doctrines of the Church forbid to draw upon the canvas a representation of the unseen and incomprehensible God. Second. That these pictures of the Saviour and of saints are not made for deification, but for commemoration, that they may stimulate to deeper piety or to the imitation of the good. Third. That the obeisance is not made to the pictures, but to the beings represented. And finally, that the worship offered before the picture of the Saviour should consist in the deepest humility of soul; while the reverence to the pictures of saints should be such as we render to them out of a loving heart, as *his* favorites and as of the same nature and of the same Church and members of the same body with ourselves. This apology would do credit to the skill of a Jesuit. But common observation proves, that if the more philosophic make this distinction, the masses do not; that "the images and saints of the learned are the gods of the vulgar." An old Byzantine hymn to the famous picture of Odessa attests the character of the worship rendered:

"How can we with mortal eyes contemplate this image whose celestial splendor the host of heaven presumes not to behold? He who dwells in heaven condescends this day to visit us by his venerable image; he who is seated on the cherubim visits us this day by a picture, which the Father has delineated with his immaculate hand, which he has formed in an ineffable manner, and which we sanctify by adoring it with fear and love." Indeed, the eleventh century was vexed with the grave question "whether these pictures were endowed with proper and inherent sanctity." This question of the learned is soon answered in the affirmative by the feeble and unlearned, as the Russian peasant promptly replied to the inquiry, "Whose likeness is that?" "It is our only Lord God, St. Nicholas;" or as another suddenly cut short his devotions when he found that the sacred picture which he supposed himself to be worshiping had been removed, exclaiming, "Impossible to pray without a God to pray to." The design at first doubtless was to assist the feeble and ignorant mind to raise its conceptions to spiritual and heavenly things; but they became a hinderance. They were designed as symbols with which to apprehend the symbolized; but they filled the fancy with material images, and arrested the soul in its aspirations after an infinite spiritual being.

The Greek Church rejects the Roman doctrine of the celibacy of the clergy. As late as the third century no rule was prescribed. But the question was raised in the first general council by the delegates from the West. When ~~the~~ Eastern clergy failed to reply, the valiant old monk Paphnutius, although he had chosen this ascetic rule for himself, roughly but honestly exclaimed, "Lay not this heavy yoke on the clergy; all cannot bear it. Marriage is honorable in all, and the bed undefiled. Marriage itself is continence." The blunt plea was effective, and ever since the Eastern Church has allowed, "and now almost enjoins marriage on all its clergy before ordination, without permitting it afterward." This regulation has contributed largely, during the lapse of centuries, to preserve the Greek Church from the dissoluteness which has debased so many of the Latin clergy.

The Greeks discard the Roman doctrine of purgatory, drawn from the pagan theory of the purification of departed souls by

means of a certain kind of fire. Again and again have they issued their protest. "We own no purgatory fire," is their explicit language to the Council of Basle in the fifteenth century; "we own no purgatory fire, nor any temporal punishment by fire which shall have an end; for we received no such thing by tradition, nor doth the Eastern Church confess it. . . . The doctrine proposed of a purgatory fire is to be cast out of the Church," etc. (Elliott's Delin. of Romanism, ii, 12.) Yet they encourage masses, prayers, and contributions for those who die apparently penitent but with the work of grace incomplete. The Council of Bethlehem, A. D. 1672, affirmed the existence of discipline in Hades for such as, having committed mortal sin, repent while in the body, yet have not brought forth fruits for repentance. From this decision the Russians dissent. The regulations are merely local. Money is nowhere paid for masses in behalf of the dead. "The Church has determined nothing dogmatically about the state of the departed."

Unlike the Roman Church, the Greeks practice a triple immersion in baptism. And here the practice of the Greek Church indicates a belief in baptismal regeneration without the influence of the Holy Spirit and the exercise of faith. Indeed, one of the petitions in the baptismal service is the following: "Let us pray that this water be the laver of regeneration for the remission of sins, and for the garment of incorruption." And again: "Fashion thy Christ in him who is now to be regenerated." Yet the formula of the Church declares that the invisible effects, namely: regeneration and reconciliation with God, can be attained only by faith in Christ; and if any be lost, (the language is explicit,) he is lost not on account of his not having been plunged in water, but because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God, for the words of the Gospel remain unalterable: "Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

In regard to the eucharist, the Greeks differ from the Romans in administering the elements in both kinds to the laity, and in the use of leavened bread. In this, as in baptism, they seem to recognize a sacramental efficacy. In the liturgy of St. Basil this petition occurs: "Give us till our last breath

worthily to receive the portion of thy hallowed things for a viaticum of eternal life, for an acceptable defense at the terrible tribunal of thy Christ." And says the Council of Bethlehem: "To the godly these elements procure remission of sins, and eternal life." This council, in 1672, decided the question which has been raised for years, whether the Greek Church accepts the doctrine of transubstantiation. "We believe," says the seventeenth article, in their decisions, "that in the celebration of this mystery our Lord Jesus Christ is present, not in a figurative or imaginary manner, but verily and indeed; so that after the consecration of the bread, the bread is changed, transubstantiated, etc., into the very true body and blood of our Lord which was born in Bethlehem . . . and that the wine is converted and transubstantiated into the very true blood of the Lord which was shed for the life of the world when he suffered upon the cross."

The veneration of pictures already mentioned is (as we should naturally expect) accompanied by the invocation of saints and of the Virgin. This is sometimes denied; but the evidence of it is so direct and full as to be conclusive. The Trisagon concludes a petition thus: "Make safe our goings. through the prayers and supplications of the glorious Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, and all thy saints." Again: "Do thou our instructor, by thy words, father John Chrysostom, intercede to the Word, Christ our Lord, that our souls may be saved." And again: "Through the intercessions of the holy mother of God, and all the saints who have pleased thee since the beginning of the world." These are samples of the evidence which might be adduced to an indefinite extent. I am aware that apologists declare this invocation to be very different from the invocation of God, and that the Greek ritual would explain the invocation of departed saints to be like the request which the Apostle makes of the saints on earth: "I beseech you, brethren, that ye strive together with me, in your prayers to God for me;" that this invocation does not lay aside the all-powerful mediation of Christ, which is the necessary foundation both of our prayers and of the intercession of saints. But the apology, though plausible, is unsatisfactory. Facts dissipate the illusion. One writer describes as not uncommon an occurrence which shows that the devotee would insult

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Jesus rather than dishonor the saint. Two men who had deposed before a tribunal to certain facts of which they professed themselves witnesses, by kissing the cross, after being called upon to depose to the same facts in the church and in the name of the saint, actually refused to do so, leaving no doubt on the minds of all present that they had perjured themselves in the name of Christ, while they could not venture to attest a falsehood in the name of the saint.

If the reports of travelers be true "the peasant from Parnes, or the shepherd from Hymettus, or the boor of Russia, kneeling before the picture of the holy Virgin, is animated by the same hopes and faith, in view of the graceless figure before him, as were wont to inflame the piety of his pagan ancestor when he worshiped before the statue of Minerva."

As a consequence of such fatal errors in practice, formalism readily usurps the place of faith in Christ. The direction in the order of "the lesser habit" coincides with this tendency, namely: "By fasting and prayer thou must obtain the mercy of God." An illustration is at hand. A Russian princess inquired of her priest confessor what good thing she must do to inherit eternal life? "Never," he replied, "will you be perfect until you have learned to live on mushroom skins." This formalism is strikingly exhibited in their high regard for fasts and feasts. The Greek Church observes eight fasts, which occupy in all about two hundred days in the year. The Greeks are in general more austere in their fasts than the Romans. They have also more than fifty feast days; so that the Greek Christian, mistaking the means for the end, is subjected to a continuous alternation of fasting and feasting. And in proportion as the rigor of the fasting has been preserved, so much the more excessive is the degree of gluttony and relaxation when the announcement "Christ is risen" has issued from the mouth of the archbishop. During Easter week they run into every kind of excess, as if rioting, debauchery, gambling and drinking, were as much a religious observance as starving had been before.

We know that the tendency to formalism is common in all Churches, even the most evangelical; but therefore it should be the more carefully guarded against. We are glad to

know that the theory of the Greek Church is purer than the practice, and we cheerfully accord to them the full benefit of the Confession in the Longer Orthodox Catechism: "Who are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness? They who while they love to do good, yet count not themselves righteous, nor rest on their own good works, but acknowledge themselves sinners and guilty before God; and who by the wish and prayer of faith, hunger and thirst after the justification of grace through Jesus Christ, as after spiritual meat and drink." We heartily accept the statement of Platon, the metropolitan of Moscow, "That superstition is not less destructive which leads men proudly to place dependence on their own works; for though we ought by all means to do good works, yet at the same time we are to place our hope of salvation alone on the mercy of the Saviour." And every Christian heart will unite in this petition: "Be with us sinners, O Lord, in this hour; abide in the midst of all of us, purify our hearts, and sanctify our souls; cleanse us from all the sins that we have committed voluntarily or involuntarily. Grant that we may offer unto thee reasonable sacrifices, sacrifices of benediction and spiritual incense. Let it enter within the vail, into the place of the holy of holies." (Neale's History.)

There is, certainly, reason for encouragement, as well as room for charity, in view of such orthodox formulas, and such individual confessions in high places; and especially in the progress making by the Russian Church, which is by far the most influential in the Greek Christian community.

In the Russian Church (indeed in the Sclavonic Churches) it is said that auricular confession, which was once minute and universal, is reduced to a recital of the ten commandments, with the avowal of the violation; while the priestly absolution is merely declarative: "May the Lord absolve thee." Throughout the Eastern Church "the scandals, the influence, the terrors of the Latin confessional are unknown."

Expiatory torment, or purgatory, is discarded; while the service for the dead is commemorative, and no money is paid for masses of deliverance, an omission which must tend rapidly to terminate the superstition. In the Greek Church it has been a standing custom, on Orthodox Sunday, (the first

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Sabbath in Lent) to pronounce anathemas against the sixty errors, real and imaginary, which are enumerated. The Russian Church has introduced a change, omitting the exploded notions of the past, denouncing only existing errors. Preaching, which was formerly unknown, is encouraged, and is steadily increasing; and the Bible within the half century has been distributed in many regions of former destitution. In addition to this, missions have been undertaken by Russia in North-western America, in Mexico, in Siberia, and in her vast Asiatic provinces. Since 1830, Russian missionaries have been laboring with great success for the conversion of the entire population of the Aleutian Isles. As early as 1847, the Kamschadales were almost wholly won from their nomadic life to civilization and Christianity. The Lamutes on the Gulf of Okhotsk are almost entirely Christianized. There are chapels and missionaries in the Amoor territory which in 1858 came into the possession of Russia; and a mission has been established having Northern China for its prospective field. These missions are prosperous, and paganism is disappearing before their steady advance. A native ministry is being raised up on the mission ground, for which a seminary has been founded at Jokutsk. "As Russia is constantly advancing her landmarks toward the center of Asia, the Churches of Russia have an immense and most inviting missionary field awaiting their laborers." These missions will react upon the Church at home, imparting new life, and thus securing new energy.

These examples of progress (which cannot fail to exert an influence upon other portions of the Greek Church) we may connect with the steady conservatism of some hopeful features of their ecclesiastical economy; especially with the recognition of the laity, and the rejection of the Papacy. The laity (as already stated) may receive the communion in both kinds, unlike the Roman. The laity may read the Scriptures, unlike the Roman. The monastic order may receive laymen, as it does (to a greater extent than clergy) in the East, but as it does not in the West. Indeed, the institutions in the East are lay, and not clerical; while in the West they are clerical, and not lay. This is a difference which has not been appreciated by Protestants, and which must powerfully affect the

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Greek Church as the laymen become more intelligent and enterprising, as they certainly will under the elevating influence of Christian progress. The sacred unction of confirmation, conferred at baptism, and so conferred upon layman as well as priest, is pointed out as symbolizing the royal priesthood of every Christian, and thus "destroying the wall of separation that Rome has raised between the ecclesiastic and the layman, for we are all priests of the Most High, priests though not pastors, in different degrees." (Quelques Mots, par un Chrétien Orthodoxe.) The rejection of the Papacy, both in theory and practice, is well established. It has been tested by the experience of all the past, and is satisfactory to the Greek Church. In all the negotiations and attempts at reunion for eight hundred years, this insurmountable obstacle has interposed. And when, so recently as 1848, Pope Pius IX. addressed a letter to the Christians of the East, exhorting them "to return to the unity of the Church," at the same time earnestly advocating the Papacy; the Greek Church, through its patriarchs, promptly rejected the invitation in their encyclic letter in this bold and decisive language: "Of the heresies which have spread over a great part of the world, for judgments known to the Lord, Arianism was one, and at the present day Popery is another. But like the former, which has altogether vanished, the latter, also, although now flourishing, shall not endure to the end, but shall pass away and be cast down, and that mighty voice shall be heard from heaven, 'It is fallen.'" (Neale's "History of the Holy Eastern Church.")

Art. III.—SPONTANEOUS GENERATIONS.

FROM THE REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, (J. JAMIN.)

By the side of animals and vegetables of large size, which are well known to us, is hidden an entire world of minute creatures, which was closed to us until the microscope was discovered, and which has been revealed gradually as that instrument has gained in power. Of these beings, some are classed among the fungi, of which they have all the characteristics;

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others among animals, on account of their movements and mode of nutrition. They are called *infusoria*, because they exist in infusions. Some of them, indeed, possess properties common to animals and vegetables, and stand on the border of the two kingdoms, between which they establish a sort of continuity.

It was at first thought that their organization was extremely simple; but by observing them with stronger magnifying powers it was discovered that they possessed complicated viscera. By nourishing them with colored substances their stomachs, which are numerous, may be rendered visible, and the movements of the food along the intestinal canal may be followed. The largest have very voluminous and fertile organs of reproduction; others, which are scarcely visible, appear deprived of them, and it is not known how they are reproduced; but observation being impossible, imagination has sought to take its place. Complete beings being discovered, some without apparent cause, without our having followed their genealogy or witnessed their birth, it was thought that they had no progenitors, and that they were spontaneously hatched in the putrefaction of organic matter. Such is the origin of the famous hypothesis of spontaneous generations, devised, like all other hypotheses, to bridge over a gap in our knowledge old as the world, often apparently closed, but always reappearing, since no sooner are the means of reproduction observed in species which were thought without them than other creatures still smaller have been discovered to puzzle us again. When the adversaries have exhausted their arguments the discussion slumbers, but it always revives with passion when new facts call up the old quarrel. I have taken part since 1860 in one of these arguments, which I shall describe without speaking of those which have preceded it. I propose merely to classify and present its main points for my readers, who will judge according to their impressions.

All superior beings, without exception, receive life from parents which they resemble, and they have no other mode of generation. The smallest *infusoria* and the most rudimentary vegetables are the only ones whose origin ever seems mysterious. We have then to occupy ourselves only with these, which, fortunately, are few. A short enumeration will suffice for the understanding of what follows. We find, first, the family of

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ciliated infusoria, which inhabit stagnant waters. They owe this name to mobile hairs ranged like the eyebrows (*cilia*) on the surface of the body, which vibrate rapidly, and like numerous oars, impress on the animal with remarkable ease and a variety of gaits all the movements it has to execute. They are animals of tolerably large size, approaching in some cases a tenth of a millimetre. We are tolerably well acquainted with the details of their organization. They have several stomachs, a liver, and a voluminous organ of reproduction. Among them are found the *colpods*, carniverous infusoria, voracious, active, and common, whose characteristic form resembles that of the kidney-bean.

The monads, which occur still more frequently, are much smaller. It would take two thousand of them in a line to cover a millimetre. Most frequently they appear as active points. They are little known, because their minuteness conceals their interior organization. Only the largest have been observed. They have the form of an ovoid gland, split at the point, the mouth, and are armed with a sting or horn, an organ with a double name and a double purpose, to seize nourishment, and to strike the water with a vibrating movement, which gives the animal motion as a propeller a vessel. The body is covered with glands, at first small, which gradually increase, are detached, and become new beings like their parent. The monad is voracious, and always in motion, never still until it is glutted.

Descending the animal scale, we come to the family of the vibrions. The individuals composing it are reduced to thin threads, separated into numerous articulations, which are joined at the ends. They are like strings of beads, which may from time to time be shaken to pieces; but the fragments multiply and lengthen, to divide anew like the original from which they are derived. We may readily conceive the fruitfulness of such a mode of reproduction, the only one known, but which may yet not be the sole resource of the vibrions. Without head or tail, with no distinction of the extremities, destitute of every apparent organ, they are the most simple of beings, yet nature has intrusted to them one of the most necessary functions in the equilibrium of the world. They may as well be considered vegetables as animals. They are endowed with a proper mo-

tion, and are classed, according to the manner in which it is performed, into three genera, which inhabit infusions, and may easily be distinguished. The *bacteria* are rigid and balanced as of one piece; the vibrions are flexible, and endowed with a wormlike movement; and the spirilla resemble corkscrews, and move in spirals, as a screw in a nut.

The vegetable kingdom furnishes microscopic fungi of the families of the mucidines, torulacci, and moulds, whose essential characteristics are like those of the ordinary mushroom. This is known to be a subterranean plant which occurs in manure beds, where it forms a close web of white threads, called by botanists mycelium. It is endowed with a surprising vitality. We may dry it, heat it to the boiling point, keep it for years, and revive it again by restoring it to the conditions of temperature, moisture, etc., in which it first took life. When mature it develops rapidly, often in a night, an exterior eatable excrescence, commonly regarded as the fungus itself, but which is considered by the botanist as simply the organ of fructification. This bears the germs or *spores,* fine light grains, which detach themselves, are blown away, and sow themselves anew. This evolution, well known in the common mushroom, is performed with at least equal fruitfulness in the microscopic fungi. If, for example, we leave a piece of bread in the moist air, a mycelium which can be sown will establish itself and creep through the tissue and push up its exterior stems. To the naked eye, and in common language, this is breadmould; the microscope shows it to be composed of branching stems, bearing spores, which detach themselves and fly away at maturity. It is the *penicilium glaucum*, a fungus as well known and classified with as much precision as the eatable agaric, which is sown in the Roquefort cheeses and developed as the green mould, a characteristic and special merit of that esteemed viand. The blight which destroys the leaves of fruit-trees, the oidium of the grapevine, are fungi of the same family, and related to those which cause the potato disease. Easy to sow, multiplying infinitely, resisting every remedy, they attack everything; wheat as rust, rye as ergot, larvæ, living insects, silkworms, etc. Each chooses the station which suits it best, where it can find its special nourishment, from which it generally receives its name.

Still lower in the vegetable kingdom are forms more mysterious on account of the mission which is reserved for them—the ferments. The most studied and best known is the yeast plant. To the naked eye it is a yellowish pulp, a kind of dregs, which is formed in the making of beer. If we put a little of it in a liquor containing considerable sugar, a little nitrogenized matter, and phosphates, it increases like a plant in rich soil. It is really a fungoid plant, (*torula cerevisiæ*,) which under the microscope shows a mass of roundish globules without interior details. Observing one of them, we may see a bubble rise to the surface and grow till it resembles the primitive globule, and is reproduced like it. Thus begins and continues gradually by germination the increase of this living pulp. This plant accomplishes one of the most marvelous phenomena which it has been given to chemists to observe. It decomposes the sugar, resolving it into carbonic acid, which escapes in bubbles, and alcohol which remains in the liquor. Beer is thus made by a special chemical action due exclusively to the vital process of a microscopic body, to a function as necessary to it as respiration to us. Take away the sugar and it perishes, as we would without air. This ferment is not the only one known. Chemistry reveals many analogous species, each causing special chemical actions which transform by ferments a large mass of natural substances. These bodies play an important part in terrestrial life, for their number is immense, and they are multiplied beyond all conception when they meet the requisite conditions.

The reader now knows all that is necessary concerning those microscopic beings in which nature so abounds, and whose study is so necessary on account of the service they render us and the evils they bring upon us. The question of their generation is far from being a question of mere curiosity, and its solution is very important, as we must learn how to increase and destroy them. We must first describe the principal circumstances under which they appear.

Let us macerate in pure water the leaves or stems of some plant, a handful of hay, for example, or some animal substance, as milk, blood, urine, or any organic tissue. After carefully filtering it, let it be put in a vessel and covered, or even corked, taking care, however, to leave the air in contact with the

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liquid. In a couple of days, if the requisite temperature is preserved, the surface will be covered with a thin vail, which will thicken in time and become a consistent film. This will be peopled with bacteria, vibrions, and spirilla; it will swarm with monads and colpods; it will serve as the soil for a forest of mould-plants. Not every solution will produce all these creatures; but they will be found in those which are adapted to their wants. The most remarkable circumstance is, that in liquors will appear the ferments which can decompose them. Thus the yeast-plant appears whenever there are sugar, nitrogenized matter, and phosphates, and the mycoderm of vinegar in wine to change it into acetic acid; and in general every species presents itself wherever it can exercise its special function. Such experiments have been varied in every possible manner; the results have always been constant, and may be summed up as follows: Every organic substance kept moist in contact with atmospheric air, at a temperature of from 15° to 25° centigrade, will be inhabited naturally, internally and externally, by infusoria or moulds, whose species will vary with the substance, and of whose origin we are ignorant.

In all discussion it is an important point for the contestants to agree upon the fundamental facts. This condition is realized in the present case. The law we have enunciated is indisputable; no one thinks of disputing it; but physiologists, though agreeing as to the phenomena, differ in the explanation. Some reason as follows: When we take away any part from a vegetable or an animal, that part ceases to live. Its organic elements become free, and the part of life which they possessed is released from the collective life of the whole, and becomes individual. It is employed in vitalizing vibrions, ciliated infusoria, or fungi, and these beings, owing their birth to the decomposition of an anterior life, live separately under favoring circumstances. This idea, admitted by Buffon, and agreeing with the opinion recently announced by M. Fremy in the Academy of Sciences, asserts that life in one form may be continued in another, and is well expressed by the term *heterogeneity*. Those who hold to this theory do not then suppose, as is generally thought, that life can spring from nothing; in fact, they regard that as inadmissible; they simply assume the possibility of the parceling out of a life at the moment of

extinction into other existences just beginning, which would be, as it were, its small change. It must be acknowledged that there is nothing in such a theory contrary to sound philosophy.

Other physiologists propose a different explanation, more in accordance with the general laws of nature. These microscopic organisms, they say, like superior beings, receive life from ascendants which they resemble, and transmit it without change to those which come after them. If we cannot discover their generative organs, or witness their birth, it is because they are so small and nimble as to escape our observation. They are so fruitful, and their germs so retentive of life and numerous, that they are diffused and accumulate everywhere. When there are found in a given place the circumstances which favor the development and support of certain species, their germs, of which there is no lack, are there, ready to burst, live, and fructify. The term *panspermy*, expressing the universal diffusion of the germs, is applied to this theory. It is not less reasonable than that of heterogeneity. Both opinions bear the same relation to religious principles and the data of philosophy, which cannot pretend to discover the exact solution of the problem. The question has been brought to the surer tribunal of experiment.

It must be admitted that the two theories do not present themselves with the same chances of success. There is a characteristic difference in the methods of proof upon which they must rely. Heterogeneity implies a negation, and can only invoke negative proofs. It must prove, first, that there are no germs either in the air or in putrescible liquors; in the second place, that we can kill, in the air and in organic matter, the germs which we may suppose to be there, without destroying the spontaneous fecundity of the putrescible solutions. It is enough that an experimentist be unskillful and fail in finding or killing the germs, for him to believe that he may conclude that there are none. Thus the panspermatists can always say to their adversaries, You can neither discover nor kill the germs, because you are not skillful enough; and the heterogenists, who would seem to be wrong even if they were right, are driven to argumentation, which offers but a weak support, or to assume the attitude of negation, which prudence condemns,

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but which has not dismayed some eminent and earnest men. Among these, in France, in the first rank from age, reputation, and talent, is M. Pouchet, corresponding member of the Institute, director of the museum of Rouen, author of numerous remarkable labors in micrography. Besides him are Messrs. Joly and Musset, professors of the faculty of Toulouse. M. Joly has during the last year expounded, in a lecture at Paris, before an interested audience, the doctrine of heterogeneity. Received at first with sympathetic curiosity, he had the gratification of shaking the convictions of some, and of reporting at Toulouse ardent adhesions of a part of the scientific press.

The task of the panspermatists seems more laborious; it is incomparably more delicate. They must show that there are always germs in the air, upon all the bodies that have been exposed to it, in all standing solutions, in every country and place. They are required to show these germs, to plant them, and to gather a harvest of like bodies to those which have produced them. To complete the proof, they must be able, by suppressing all the germs, to make sterile spontaneously putrescible solutions. If they succeed in accomplishing all this, we must submit to the authority of an irresistible demonstration. We shall soon see in what degree this task has been accomplished. It was first undertaken by M. Pasteur. M. Coste, a weighty authority, seconds him. Messrs. Milne Edwards and Chevreul, and a large number of scientific men, have also adopted panspermatic views. Thus the facts are admitted without dispute, the question and the issues are plainly expressed. On both sides are men of high talent and equal sincerity and courtesy; under these conditions the contest has been carried on before an interested and curious public.

The debate was opened by M. Pasteur in February, 1860, in this wise: The atmosphere is never pure; it is defiled by a multitude of minute bodies, which are kept up by its resistance, and are displaced by the slightest breeze. This can be easily proved by introducing a ray of light into a darkened chamber, when the illuminated particles become visible. They are innumerable, always in motion, and they penetrate everywhere. If there are germs in the air, they certainly form part of this floating world, and may be collected by filtering the air

through obstacles intricate and close enough to arrest and retain them. To accomplish this, M. Pasteur passed several cubic meters of air through a narrow tube, into which he had previously introduced a long wad of amianthus or tow, or better still, gun-cotton. The wad was perceptibly soiled by the experiment; it was evident that the greater number, if not the whole, of the floating atoms had been deposited upon it. It was digested in a mixture of alcohol and ether, which has the property of dissolving gun-cotton; the dust fell to the bottom of the vessel, whence it was collected and studied under the microscope. Among the coarse fragments and sediment were perceived a number of roundish organic bodies, which in volume and general aspect seemed identical with the spores of mucidines and eggs of infusoria which had already been recognized in microscopic observations of the dust which is naturally deposited on polished surfaces when left in the air.

Shortly afterward M. Pouchet made analogous researches by a different process. He contrived an instrument which he called an aeroscope, consisting essentially of a tube with a fine point, through which the air to be studied was passed in a jet, and received upon a plate of glass covered with some viscous substance. This jet deposited a pile of dust, which was subjected to the microscope. With this instrument M. Pouchet collected coal dust, inorganic debris, feathers, hairs, grains of starch, etc., but none or few of organic germs. He performed his experiments in different countries. According to M. Joly, "He examined the particles which find their way into the respiratory cavities of men and animals; the accumulated dust of centuries in the cathedrals; that of the air in public halls, theaters, and hospitals. He crossed seas, and ascended high mountains: he went into the tombs of the Pharaohs and examined their dusty and blackened skulls." Why were the researches of M. Pouchet so constantly negative, and those of M. Pasteur, who did not go so far, always fruitful? The difference in the results is not surprising. The success of the one is owing to his thorough process of investigation; the failure of the other to his aeroscope, which is worthless. A skillful experimentist, Dr. Sales-Girons, proposed to impregnate air with the impalpable precipitate of mineral waters for the breathing of the sick,

and to show that his medicaments would reach the bronchial vessels, he endeavored to pass them through sharply-curved tubes of glass moistened, so that the air charged with mineral particles should strike at each curve a wall of glass, as in M. Pouchet's aeroscope. He has conclusively shown that the coarse particles were arrested by these obstacles, while the fine ones passed on. So the aeroscope collected the gross particles from the atmosphere, but let pass the more minute spores and eggs. Thus M. Pouchet never found them, while M. Pasteur obtained them, saw them, and exhibited them. How could he have done this if they had not existed?

Strongly bearing against M. Pouchet are the recent remarkable studies of Dr. Lemaire and Professor Gratiolet, who have lately attempted with success the first serious physiological analysis of the atmosphere. By means of an instrument called an aspirator they slowly conducted air by a fine tube through water, in which it was washed, and left the floating bodies, great and small, which it contained. To this method, the efficacy and simplicity of which are evident, they add another yet more ingenious, which is within the reach of the least skillful. It is by placing at any required spot a saucer, in which stands a closed vase filled with ice. The moisture of the air condensing on the vase drops into the saucer, carrying with it the atmospheric dust which had come in contact with the vase. Wherever the analysis has been performed an abundant harvest of spores and infusorial germs has been obtained. They have been found in every kind of grain, in preserved food, and even in medical preparations.

Thus it can no longer be doubted that there are germs everywhere. It remains to be proved that whenever we take them away or kill them we at the same time destroy the fecundity of infusions. We had already the conclusive experiments of Schultze and Schwann upon this point, but without dwelling upon these we will merely relate how M. Pasteur has repeated them and improved upon them. He introduced into several similar globes an equal quantity of a putrescible solution which had been boiled for fifteen minutes. The ebullition produced the double effect of destroying by cooking all the germs which might have been in the liquid and in the globes, and of sweeping out the interior with a current of steam. While cooling,

ordinary atmospheric air, bringing with it the germs and the so-called spontaneous generation, was allowed to enter a part of the globes, while air in which the germs had been burnt by passing through a red-hot tube was introduced into the others. The latter were invariably sterile; the germs having been suppressed, all further life was destroyed.

Having thus shown the presence in floating dust of what seemed to be spores and eggs, and having proved that by heating air was rendered sterile, M. Pasteur had only to demonstrate that these were really fertile germs. To do this he had to plant them. Having prepared as before a barren solution by boiling it and keeping it in a vessel of air that had been scorched, he put into it a small tube containing a wad of amianthus. The solution continued sterile or fertile according to circumstances: always sterile when the wad had been heated red hot, and contained no germs; always fertile when it had previously been filtrated with air and had collected the roundish bodies upon its filaments. When the contact of atmospheric air was allowed, generation took place at the end of twenty-four or thirty hours, and always at the points on the amianthus where the germs had been placed. Thus the germs were collected, planted, and developed.

M. Pouchet repeated M. Pasteur's experiment, with the difference, that instead of tubes containing amianthus, he placed in the sterile vessel hay, leaves, or other putrescible substances which had been exposed for an hour and a half to a heat of 150° cent. (He adds in a note that the temperature might be increased to 200° cent.) There appeared sometimes after a protracted period mucidines, vibrions, and bacteria, but in no case ciliated infusoria. He explains this result by saying that if there had been germs in the putrescible matter they would have been decomposed by the high temperature to which they had been exposed, and that the fertility of the solution could in this case only be explained by heterogeneity. This argument would be incontrovertible if it was demonstrated that infusoria could not sustain great variations of temperature without destruction; but, as we shall see, this is not the case.

It was shown some time ago by M. Chevreuil that the white of an egg, heated to 100° cent., will be cooked, and become insoluble in water; but that if it is first dried when cool, and

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then heated to 100° cent. for an hour and a half, it will not coagulate, and when cooled again may be dissolved in water and will resume the properties it had when fresh. Now the white of an egg is the albumen of the animal tissues and eggs. Although eggs are rendered sterile by heating till their albumen is coagulated, there seems to be no reason why their fertility should be destroyed by heat if coagulation does not take place. Observation fully justifies this reasoning. Spallanzi has found under the tiles of roofs rotiferæ, which may be heated to 100° cent. if dry, and will revive if placed in water. M. Doyer has made similar observations on other classes of animalculæ with similar results. It is, then, not impossible that the spores of mucidines and the eggs of vibrions may survive a temperature of 100° cent. It is only a question of specific endurance. The difficulty, moreover, would seem as great for heterogeneity as for panspermy. Heterogeneity supposes in effect that the life of organic substances is transmitted to microscopic beings. It would be as difficult to believe that life could resist a temperature of 200° cent. in these conditions as to admit its preservation at this temperature in eggs or seeds.

But the heterogenists go further. They say to their adversaries: "You have introduced scorched air into a boiled solution, and have suppressed generation. Grant that you have burnt the germs which might have been in the air, are you sure that you have not at the same time destroyed some vivifying quality of the air, some unknown principle which may be the cause of spontaneous generations, some unanalyzed and unanalyzable kind of seminal air? Again, you plant the atmospheric bodies in amianthus, and say that it is they which have germinated. How do you know it? Has not the amianthus imbibed this vital principle of the air? Your experiment is no demonstration as long as these hypotheses are possible. To establish your conclusions you must show the same results without employing fire, acids, or any substance which can change the physiological properties of the air."

The panspermatists replied to these objections, which were not wanting in force, with new experiments. It will be remembered that the experiments of Messrs. Gratiolet and Lemaire consisted in collecting the germs of the air of the place of investigation in water, and examining the liquid under the

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microscope. They began at Sologne, in a very unhealthy locality, on a pond in the neighborhood of a village which had a bad reputation for the prevalence of miasmatic fevers. The water had a marshy odor, and contained no living being. There appeared myriads of spherical, roundish, and fusiform spores, pale cells, and semi-transparent ovoid bodies. At the end of fifteen hours, a large number of these germs having been developed, upward of two hundred bacteria were found in a single drop. After forty-eight hours the water swarmed with vibrions and spirilla; and on the third day monads, whose incubation seemed slower, were moving in all directions. While this mass of beings was being thus developed, the germs from which they originated necessarily disappeared. There could be no question of spontaneous generation here, for they had to deal with pure water, which never produces infusoria. As the water could not support its population, they were forced to prey upon each other. The bacteria were first sacrificed, then the vibrions and spirilla disappeared, after which the monads eat each other up. After fifteen days the largest alone survived. Then the water became pure again, and might be kept an indefinite time without repeopling itself. It had then obtained its germs from the air. If organic matter had been added so that the infusoria could have obtained food, they would have multiplied as long as it lasted, and would have done each other no harm. The experiment was repeated in a region noted for its salubrity, at Romainville, ninety meters above the Seine, among cultivated fields. Similar germs were found there, and gave birth to the same species of infusoria; but being less numerous they disappeared in three days. Between these extremes different localities were examined and classed according to the abundance of their aerial germs. Air was also analyzed which had stood or been passed near macerations containing infusoria. Syrup in fermentation, filled with yeast, gave out spores of this plant which the air took away; and on washing a current which had passed over a maceration of tainted meat, germs were obtained, which were hatched in the water, and reproduced all the infusoria of the maceration.

To these remarkable examples we will add the following observation, the most curious of all. That terrible malady which attacks hairy skin, the *favus*, or scald-head, is produced by a

microscopic fungus, the *achorion shoenleinii.* It has been carefully studied by M. Bazin, a physician of the St. Louis hospital, who had long admitted the possibility of its transmission through the air, and who joined M. Lemaire in proving it. A youth of sixteen years, who had never received treatment, and who was afflicted with the disease in a severe form, was placed in a current of air, and at some distance a cooled vessel, from which the water of condensation was gathered; it was filled with living spores of the *achorion*, which had been conveyed by the air.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion derived from such skillful experiments, especially when we add others of M. Pasteur. He prepared a number of globes, the necks of which, drawn into long narrow tubes, were bent back and forth several times, and terminated in very small openings. He introduced into them albuminous sugared water, urine, or milk, which had been boiled some minutes, and left them, without closing, in a still place. Ebullition had destroyed all the moist germs the liquids had contained; the air which entered first, being hot, contained nothing living, and that which came in afterward, in its tardy progress, would deposit in the sinuosities of the tube the floating dust, which could scarcely reach the liquid; but the air would be continually renewed by variations of temperature and pressure, and the solution would eventually be in contact with air which had suffered no preparation, except being deprived of its dust. According to heterogeneity the globes would all be fruitful; according to panspermy, many would continue sterile. The experiment sustained panspermy.

We come now to another proof, the most simple of all, which still more clearly answers the objections of heterogeneity. M. Pasteur dispensed with long tortuous necks, but continued to use the same globes, ending in slender points, and the same scalded liquids. When all the air had been swept out by vapor, he closed the globes by melting the points. Air being thus excluded, the liquids were preserved indefinitely without mould or infusorial life, or change of any kind. At a given time the globes were opened and shortly sealed again, having received and brought in contact with the putrescible liquid a limited volume of air with all that it contained, and all its properties, known and unknown. The heterogenist

would here find all the conditions necessary for spontaneous generation, and might predict that each liquid would be peopled with all the species which would be developed if it were left in free air. The panspermatist would reason: In introducing air into the globe, there were introduced at the same time all the germs which it contained. But certainly so small a volume could not at once contain the spores and eggs of all known mucidines and infusoria, and since those it does contain are of different species, there will necessarily be considerable difference in the results if the experiment is frequently repeated. If to-day we introduce the spores of the *penicilium glaucum*, to-morrow this fungus will appear on the surface of the liquid. In another globe we may have eggs of colpods, in another of bacteria, and in general the same solution will be peopled with different beings in the different vessels. It may even happen that air not containing germs will have entered some of the globes, and in that case they will continue sterile, though all the conditions demanded by heterogeneity are realized. Such barrenness would occur quite often in caves, places where the air is still, in winter, or after a rain. It would be more rare in summer, in time of drought, and where the air abounds in germs. These are natural consequences of the principles of panspermy. Experience confirms this reasoning with mathematical precision.

M. Pasteur employed sixty similar globes containing the same solution. These he divided as they came into three series of twenty each. He then opened them in three different places chosen beforehand; the first series in the plain at the foot of Mt. Jura, the second on the high plateau of that range, the third at Montanvert, in the Mer de Glace, at the foot of the snows of Mont Blanc. Evidently the number of germs in the air of these localities should diminish as the elevation increases, in measure as it is removed from the meadows, fields, and waters whence they originate. Eight globes proved fertile in the plain; only five on the plateau of Jura; and of the twenty opened at Montanvert, one only developed mucidines. Thus it is shown that ordinary air does not always develop life in solutions, and that when it is divided into small separate volumes, some are fruitful and others are not. If heterogeneity is true, they should always be fruitful.

At this point occurred an episode, concerning which we cannot be silent, since it has its teaching. Messrs. Joly, Musset, and Pouchet had taken globes, prepared as those used by M. Pasteur, to the summit of the Pyrenees. Having opened them and filled them with air at La Rencluse and la Maladetta, they had seen organisms produced in all of them. These results, opposed to those obtained by M. Pasteur, but agreeing with the provisions of heterogeneity, established a discrepancy of fact between the observers. Every one saw the dawn of a hope of terminating the dispute by a decisive experiment. M. Pasteur gladly seized the occasion, and it was agreed to refer the question to the judges of the Academy, who named a commission of physiologists and chemists. The question was well put. "I affirm," said M. Pasteur, "that everywhere it is possible to detach a volume of air from the atmosphere which will contain neither egg nor spore, and will not produce generation in putrescible solutions." M. Joly wrote: "If one of our vessels continues unchanged, we will acknowledge our defeat." M. Pouchet still more explicitly added: "I assert that wherever I take a cubic decimetre of air, when I put it in contact with a fermentible liquid in a close vessel, it will give birth to living organisms." The parties thus engaging with a certain solemnity, the issue seemed closed. This was in January, 1864. Some time afterward the heterogenists asked that the experiment might be delayed till the season of hot weather. M. Pasteur, with some regret, consented to the delay, and it was not until the 15th of June that the commission and the champions could be got together. The commission, in view of the origin of the debate, wished to restrict it to the single experiment which had provoked it, and ought to end it, since it bore upon a single fact. The heterogenists would not admit this, and undertook to repeat their long series of experiments. This would be to reopen the discussion, and render the judgment as long as the dispute had been. The commission persisting, the heterogenists felt authorized to retire. It is perhaps unfortunate that the commission adhered so strictly to the programme on this occasion. But it is evident that the heterogenists, however they may have colored their retreat, are self-condemned. If they had been sure of the fact which they had solemnly engaged to prove or acknowledge themselves con-

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quered, they would have persisted in demonstrating it, for it would have been the triumph of their doctrine. Only causes not sure are allowed to go by default.

When discussions of so high a degree of scientific interest claim the attention of the public, it seems the duty of masters to put in the balance the weight of their authority. Thus it is with pleasure that we have seen M. Coste, the eminent embryologist, assert the right to correct interpretations which he deems erroneous. From the very first he has transferred the question to a new ground, by withdrawing it from the range of general experiments and philosophical reasoning, and subjecting it to the test of the observation of each microscopic species at the moment of its birth, development, and multiplication, to generalize afterward with surety upon the particular facts. M. Coste selected the colpods, which are quite large and easy to observe and follow. They are sure to be found in a maceration of hay. Any one can observe them and study their motions and habits with a small microscope. By the aid of their vibrating cilia they move rapidly in every direction, avoid or meet each other, appear in continual quest, and often gather in close groups on the masses of monads or vibrions on which they prey. When they are well fed and large they may be seen to stop, turn upon themselves, and secrete at the expense of their substance a spherical membrane which envelopes them, shuts them up, and in which they are encased in complete immobility, as a chrysalis in its cocoon. In this *cyst* there shortly appear separations more and more marked, dividing the mass into four, eight, or even twelve chambers, each habited by a little colpod, which gradually unfolds itself, and soon the whole nest escapes, one at a time, through a hole in the envelope. They may then be seen to grow, and some hours afterward recommence, each on its own account, the evolutions to which they owe their common birth. This process of reproduction is called the encystment of multiplication. The colpods have also at their disposition another method, discovered by M. Gerbe. Two old colpods which had already gone through the process of subdivision, thin and transparent, sought each other, and joining by the ventral portions, clung together as one. In this condition they formed a common cyst, and preserved for some time an absolute immobility, during which progressive interior

changes might be witnessed. At length four roundish bodies, four eggs, escaped from the envelop. The parents disappeared, but the eggs gradually took the form of little colpods. Ehrenberg, an authority in these matters, speaks of a third mode of generation. He has surprised and figured a colpod in the act of emitting a multitude of extremely small eggs. Thus we see what a multiplicity of different processes, equally fruitful, nature has provided for the multiplication of these singular animals. She also gives them the faculty of suspending life when they are dry, and of resuming it when they are moistened. In 1857, M. Balbiani observed a drop of water on a plate of glass in which were living colpods. When the water evaporated each became encysted and dormant in its envelope. The plate was moistened again in 1864, when every colpod was observed to come out from its shell and resume its vital functions, which had been interrupted by seven years of sleep. Thus colpods live in pools, are encysted when these dry, and revive as soon as water is restored. They live and multiply when it rains on leaves, meadows, in crevices of rock and furrows of earth, and in dry weather escape dormant in the dust, to carry everywhere the fruitful seeds of their species.

It remains to be told how the colpods come, and how M. Coste explains their pretended spontaneous generation. He shook a handful of hay over a sheet of paper. He collected the dust which fell, placed it in water and watched it. He soon discovered the cysts of colpods, and keeping his eyes upon them, saw them shortly revive, and begin to move. These had been on the hay, since there were found in its dust cysts of colpods dried and preserved. It has been established that they will revive when moistened; but they do not produce themselves. There is a reawakening, not a birth; a return to active life after lethargy, and not a spontaneous generation. The result is the same when, instead of shaking off the dust, the hay is macerated in water. The cysts on the leaves float off, and this is the way that inattentive observers imagine that the colpods whose cysts they have not seen are spontaneously engendered by the maceration. The liquid may be filtered without changing the result. M. Coste has proved that filters, even when placed one upon another, give passage to colpods and their eggs, to bacteria, vibrions, and monads. However few may have passed,

they increase with rapidity, for they find abundant nourishment in the infusion, and as they must have air, they come to the surface, where they form a pellicle which thickens from day to day; it is a world of infusoria, a common table where monads devour bacteria, and colpods monads.

M. Pouchet gives an entirely different interpretation to these facts. He contends that colpods cannot pass through filters, because they are larger than the pores of paper, which is true. But such reasoning does not destroy the fact, and M. Coste answers it by affirming that the soft, gelatinous colpods attenuate and lengthen themselves so as to pass the pores. M. Pouchet asserts that there are neither eggs, nor spores, nor organs of any kind in the filtered liquid, but that life is gradually organized on the surface, in contact with air, and that it forms there a scum which spontaneously engenders eggs from which come successively vibrions, monads, and colpods. He gives no decisive proof of his assertion; it is only a simple interpretation which he proposes, and refers to that of M. Coste. But M. Coste adheres to his own.

It may not be amiss to publish the opinions of savans. We will, however, only repeat that of one of the secretaries of the Academy of Sciences, the highest authority behind which we can take refuge. M. Flourens has expressed his views very laconically: "As long as my opinion was not formed, I had nothing to say. Now it is made up, and I will express it. M. Pasteur's experiments are decisive. If spontaneous generation is a reality, all that is necessary to produce animalcules is air and putrescible liquids. M. Pasteur puts air and putrescible liquids together, and nothing comes of them. There is, then, no spontaneous generation. To doubt any longer is not to comprehend the question."

The reader now has learned the important points of this great discussion, and may judge for himself. It remains to explain the part which these diminutive beings, so little known, our terrible enemies or industrious helpers, our scourges or our benefactors, play in nature.

All beings, from birth to death, accomplish without interruption a determinate chemical work. Thus animals take oxygen from the air to consume a part of their substance; while vegetables decompose carbonic acid, retaining the carbon and

returning the oxygen to the atmosphere. The same law applies to microscopic beings, except that each species seems destined to accomplish a chemical action peculiar to itself. We have seen, for example, that the yeast of beer transforms sugar into alcohol and carbonic acid; it cannot live without fulfilling this mission, and dies when there is no sugar. Now the vegetable kingdom never produces alcohol, but forms considerable masses of sugar in all fruits, in the stems, roots, and sometimes the leaves of plants. After the death of the plant, the sugar, dissolved in water, is decomposed by yeast, which is developed naturally, increases, and transforms the solution into a fermented liquor. Wine, beer, cider, and all fermented drinks are thus made. In its turn, alcohol mingled with water becomes the receptacle of vibrions of a particular species, which appear upon the surface, where they form a scum. These have an entirely different function. They absorb oxygen from the air with great energy, convey it to the liquor, and partially burn the alcohol, which is changed into vinegar, and at length, if the vinegar is left in the air, it becomes the abode of the mycoderme of wine, which continues the same action, burns the vinegar, and converts it into carbonic acid and water. A vibrion curdles milk and forms cheese. Animals of the same order decompose at length nearly all animal and vegetable substances, and as the number of these little beings cannot be counted, the work of each is multiplied to infinity. The definitive action of this invisible world is one of the moving powers of the world, and is worthy following.

We owe to it fermented and alcoholic liquors, vinegar, cheese, leaven, and consequently bread, besides a large number of less known substances. Every vessel in which a colony of these beings has established itself is a manufactory of chemical products, a hive which labors for man, and whose collective industry he superintends and directs without understanding it. This is not all; the invisible world presides over all decomposition. We have just seen how, by successive stages, it converts sugar into alcohol, alcohol into vinegar, and vinegar into water and carbonic acid. What it does for sugar it does also for all organic matter. After death the carcass of every animal is given up to mucidines, which grow upon its surface, and to special infusoria, which live without need of oxygen, and are

developed in the interior. They attack the blood, the flesh, all the liquids. When the work of one species is accomplished, another succeeds it; decomposition continues, and finally all the matter of the body is converted into water, carbonic acid, and ammonia, and is wholly restored to mineral nature. Life has completed death. If this invisible world did not exist, animal and vegetable matter would decompose but slowly, and the earth would bear upon its surface for long years the undecayed remains of past generations. This mission of these beings is beneficent and necessary. Sometimes it turns against the living world. Mucidines destroy the grape, grain, the potato, and cause great public calamities; sometimes they attack animals, as the muscardine the silk-worm; and it is not improbable that some species may cause the cholera, the plague, and other terrible contagious maladies. The attention of men of science is turned in this direction, and we may hope not in vain.

Dr. Davaine has for some years given his attention to the study of that fatal malady, the rot in sheep. The blood of sheep afflicted with this disease, when examined with the microscope, was found filled with animalcules similar to bacteria, which were called bacterida. When it was injected into the tissue of another animal it carried with it these bodies, which increased till they caused certain death. The disease was as certainly transmitted, when an animal was made to swallow the blood or any part of a creature affected with the rot. The infected blood could be dried and preserved indefinitely without taking the infusorial germs from it, and whenever it was injected or given as food the disease was transmitted. Since the symptoms of the rot are similar to those of another terrible disease, the scab, inquiry has been made if there was not a closer connection between the diseases. The scab begins with a blackish pustule surrounded by a vesicular ring, which must be quickly cauterized or a general poisoning will take place. On the 14th of April of last year, Dr. Raimbert had to treat a malignant carbuncular pustule on a laborer of a farm where the sheep had the rot. He took off the pustule, dried it, and brought it to Dr. Davaine, who examined it under the microscope. It proved to be entirely composed of bacterida. Animals to which a part of it was given to eat, took the rot.

Here then is a disease transmitted from sheep to man, appearing in him as a pustule, which in its turn can convey its virus to other animals, the virus being composed of infusoria of a particular venomous species. The smallest quantity is sufficient to kill, because it is enough to sow the species; the disease is conveyed by inoculation, the animalcules pass from one individual to the other; it is propagated in the air, because the germs are borne away and sow themselves, perhaps also, as some believe, by the stings of flies, for they have been the means of the transmission of bacterida. Such is the explanation, no less simple than certain, of the effects of a particular virus. The future will show if it is possible to extend so fruitful a theory to analogous cases. But now we may comprehend the hopes of physiologists, and anticipate their success. Perhaps we may learn how to prevent and cure contagious diseases.

Art. IV.—OUR LOCAL MINISTRY.

The employment of a lay or local ministry is a distinguishing peculiarity of Methodistic economy. It was not the part of a plan existing in the mind of Wesley when the great religious movement of the eighteenth century began, but a new development in the work which Divine Providence had assigned him to do. In fact, so far from its being a plan originally existing in his mind, when the great question itself was presented to him he instinctively shrank from it. The idea was utterly repugnant to his Church notions, and contrary to all his previous views of order and propriety. Hence, when he was informed by letter, while at Bristol, that Thomas Maxfield had occupied the desk at the "Foundry" during his absence, he hastened back to London, to check what he regarded as a manifest irregularity. But his aged mother, whose wise and cautious hand had often preserved him from rash measures, as well as strengthened him in the right, was still lingering on the shores of time, and her counsels dispelled his fears and led him to recognize the hand of God in this matter; for when she perceived in his countenance unusual anxiety and dissatisfaction, and heard him abruptly say, "Thomas Maxfield

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has turned preacher, I find," she checked him by saying, "Take care what you do respecting that young man; he is as surely called of God to preach as you are." After this Mr. Wesley heard him preach, examined into the fruits of his ministry, and yielded to the conviction that his mother was right. The precedent was now fairly established, the prejudices of years swept away, and the way opened up for the employment of any number of such laborers in the vineyard of the Lord. For if one man, unversed in science, unknown to the universities, taken from agricultural, mechanical, or mercantile pursuits, was clearly called of God to the work of the ministry, then any number of men, with such surroundings, might be called to the same work. Hence, while Maxfield has the honor of standing first in that great list of worthies who have carried the Gospel to the ends of the earth, lay assistants were soon multiplied on every hand. Thomas Richards, Thomas Westall, John Nelson, and a host of other men, were raised up, and went forth, under the direction of their great leader, "to spread scriptural holiness over the land."

It must be clearly evident to every reflective and unprejudiced mind that in no other way than by the employment of such a ministry could the immense demand for the bread of life, which existed both in Europe and America, have been met. Without this agency, countless thousands would have gone to their graves and to eternity without ever having heard of the glad tidings of salvation. In multitudes of instances the people were too poor to pay a minister, could one have been obtained; and too ignorant and degraded to desire one had he been offered to them. Methodism, by adopting this ministry, met the great want of the middle and lower classes in England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and America.

This lay ministry, devoting a portion of the time to industrial pursuits, obtained thus a livelihood; while anointed with the Holy Ghost it went forth on week evenings, and especially on the Sabbath day, in all the destitute districts of the land, bearing the messages of mercy and salvation. True, they often exhibited a lack of polish and refinement, of educational advantages and high social position; but, in place of these, there was a sturdy, vigorous common sense, a heart all aflame with the love of Christ, and a clear, joyous, personal experi-

ence of the things of God. Without gown or bands, without pulpit or church, they preached in the garb and in the language of the "common people," using familiar, although often homely illustrations; preaching and singing and praying on the sea-shore, the mountain-side, in the graveyard or the cottage, but enforcing all with "the demonstration of the Spirit and of power."

Another feature in their history and their work must not be overlooked here, as it illustrates clearly the designs of Divine Providence. It is this: as part of their time was employed in secular pursuits, they were ready to lead or follow the tide of emigration in whatever direction it might turn. And, as they were generally men of enterprise and spirit, they would not be slow to perceive the advantages furnished by a new country, or to avail themselves of them. It was this, doubtless, which led Embury and Strawbridge to this country; and to them belongs the honor of founding Methodism in America. But not only so, pressing on, in the very van of the hosts of emigrants from Europe, they have borne the standard of the cross to every part of the world. In America they have followed with the westward stream of emigration and of empire, and in many instances, long before the arrival of an itinerant minister, have begun the great work of preaching the Gospel to the scattered dwellers in the wilderness.

The employment of this lay ministry is an integral part of the economy of American as well as of Wesleyan Methodism, In the latter, however, it is more regularly and efficiently employed, as well as more clearly and distinctly recognized. As the circuit system prevails there, and, by this means, a large number of towns and villages, churches or chapels, is included in the charge of only two or three ministers appointed by the conference, it leaves large room for the employment of all its local ministers, who take their turn, according to the printed "plan," in supplying the work. Thus, this large class of active, zealous, and efficient laborers is kept constantly at work.

In this country the case is very different. Here we have, instead of large circuits, so divided up the work that there is scarcely a circuit of any size left in the land. Every little town, village, or neighborhood which can raise from one to

five hundred dollars lays claim to a stationed preacher, who must do all the preaching, and often everything else in his very limited field of labor. The wisdom or policy of thus dividing and subdividing the work does not now come under our notice. But the fact is as above stated. As the result of this, however, it will be clearly seen that our local ministers have not that field of labor spread out before them which their brethren in the Wesleyan connection have. This state of things often gives rise to great embarrassment to the stationed pastor, the Church, and the local ministers. For instance, the stationed pastor feels that he is appointed by the authorities of the Church to do the work in his charge, and, usually, his health and his time enable him to do it; yet he has, it may be, one, two, or even more local preachers connected with his Church to whom he would be pleased to extend from time to time an invitation to occupy the pulpit. But then, if they occupy the pulpit, he must sit still and listen to them, and at the close of the service be sternly asked by prominent members of the Church, "Why don't you preach yourself?" On the other hand, if he goes on and does his appointed work without asking them to preach, they feel embarrassed, or become petulant, morose, and fault-finding. This state of things has frequently produced heart-burnings, alienation, and at times, in certain localities, has threatened the Church with serious disaster. Nor are the Churches without their embarrassment in this connection. Here are these brethren among them, men of intelligence and piety, whose license they have given and annually renewed; and yet they are, in the majority of instances, unwilling to hear them preach. It is true that the position occupied by the Churches on this question is somewhat inconsistent; but the fact is as above stated. As a rule, we believe no quarterly conference ought to license a man to preach whom they would be unwilling to hear, occasionally at least.

But leaving these thoughts, let us now come to the consideration of the following questions: Is there a remedy for this state of things? And what can be done to bring this large, respectable, intelligent, and influential body of ministers into active, zealous, and efficient co-operation with the traveling ministry of the Church? To our own mind there

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is a remedy, potent, efficient, and within our reach, a remedy which should at once be adopted. There is work, abundant work, for these brethren; for we believe that God never calls men to labor in his vineyard unless he has work for them to do. Before proceeding directly to the discussion of the remedy proposed, let us candidly and honestly say, that in our judgment *the local ministry of this country*, with some exceptions, *seem to have lost sight of the evident design of Divine Providence in their employment.* If we can read that design, it does not appear to be that they should principally labor in the regular and settled Churches of the land, where there is an appointed and stated ministry devoting all its time to the work of God. From the beginning their work has been pioneer work, missionary work. At an early period of our history they went out into "the highways and hedges," among the destitute and neglected, and compelled the people to come in. They did not think of sitting down quietly on the Sabbath in the crowded chapel or church to hear the Gospel, or awaiting the illness or absence of the pastor to occupy his place; but they went abroad, seeking new fields of labor and toil, traveling into "the regions beyond," where they might minister to the ignorant and degraded "the word of life." It was in doing work like this that they gained their laurels and won their renown. And in all the ages to come Methodism will cheerfully accord its obligations and its gratitude to the men who thus toiled and triumphed, amid sacrifices, privations, and tears. Now we contend that the pursuance of a like course with the same energy and zeal would be productive of similar results at the present day. The great secret of success in every department of life is for a man to find his allotted sphere of operation, to comprehend as far as he may the design of Divine Providence with reference to him, and "in that calling remain," doing with his "might whatever his hand may find to do." But if there be misapprehension here, and a man persists in doing what he is evidently unfitted for, or in occupying a position which neither nature or nature's God has qualified him to fill, then there is, there must be, friction, embarrassment, and in the end failure. While it is true, in a certain sense, that "God has his plan for every man," it is equally true that God has

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his work for every workman. Thus much for this general principle. Now, then, if the local ministry misapprehends its true relation to and its mission in the Church, then, in proportion as this is the case, it will fail to accomplish its great work. On the other hand, let it see and honestly and fearlessly regard its mission; let it enter upon the work which Divine Providence has assigned it in the name of the Lord God of hosts, and it will be in the future what it has been in the past, a mighty auxiliary for extending and establishing the kingdom of God in the world.

Many persons have thought, and some of our local brethren are among this number, that the day for the employment of this agency in the Church is past, and that it had better be dispensed with. We think otherwise. There is now a demand, urgent and pressing, for just such an agency. Never, perhaps, in the history of this country was the demand greater. There are large districts in the suburbs of our cities and large towns unvisited by pastoral or ministerial laborers, which present a promising field to the earnest and self-sacrificing minister. In the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore, for instance, there is room for the constant employment on the Sabbath of hundreds of local ministers. And yet while in these cities there are hundreds of local preachers, how few engage in this work! As a result of this, countless thousands are perishing yearly for the want of the bread of life; and thousands more are growing up in ignorance and vice, constituting a fearful and dangerous element in community in case of riot or any popular commotion.

O if the spirit of Embury, of Captain Webb, of John Nelson, were to come down upon all our local ministers, how soon would these "wilderness places blossom like the rose!" The lanes and alleys, the highways and hedges, the wharves and precincts of these and other cities and towns would ring with the glad sounds of salvation. At this time there seems to be a peculiar demand for this very agency. The South has been subdued, its territories laid waste, but liberty, thank Heaven! is triumphant. Now, in the reorganization of that country, the Church, as well as the State, has a great work to do. It will be impossible for the authorities of the Church to send a sufficient number of laborers to meet the existing demands in

those moral as well as physical wastes. Here, then, is a new and a vast field for our brethren in the local ministry; vast multitudes of Yankees will doubtless avail themselves of this opportunity to better their condition by emigrating southward. Among them there will be a goodly proportion of Methodists and of local preachers. Let them then, following this southward tide of emigration, go into those desolations; let them there lift up the standard of the cross, let them gather whites and blacks and all colors around them in every neighborhood where they may reside, and preach to them a free, untrammeled Gospel, and the results will be glorious.

It is a fact that in all periods of our history, both in England and America, the local ministers have largely outnumbered the regular itinerants in our Church. What does this historical fact seem to teach? To our mind it seems to indicate that while the regularly appointed pastors of the Church are to occupy the centers of the various positions of labor, the local ministry are to move around those centers, sweeping the whole circumference of the field, and leaving no point unvisited or uncared for. If this agency were properly employed, there would not be a community in the land destitute of an occasional if not a regular visitation of a gospel minister. The laborers, at least the so-called laborers, are many. In the territory embraced by our conferences there are reported 8,205 local, and 6,821 traveling ministers; in all, 15,026. Now with this force at the command of the authorities of the Church, what a vast amount of work may be accomplished! Reckoning one fifth of the whole population of the country as falling properly under our care, they can furnish a minister to about every four hundred persons. Or if it is assumed that one third of the population we are responsible for, they can furnish a minister to every seven hundred persons. But while we regard all this as true, it is also true that very many of our local brethren do not preach a half-dozen times in the course of the year, are rusting out, or fretting out, for the want of something to do; or rather for the want of a plan or organization to do the work which it is imperatively demanded should be done. Now where is the remedy for this state of things? We answer, *This large force needs organization.* We do not mean to say that the body of our local ministry

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is *dis*organized, but simply *un*organized. And in this connection we would say that we have hailed with pleasure the "Conventions of Local Ministers" which have been held for the past few years, as tending to inaugurate a new era in the operations of these brethren.

But whatever benefits may have resulted from these conventions, however pleasant it may have been for brethren from various places to meet and dwell together in unity, one thing is clearly evident, that no plan of organized effort has as yet been made for the salvation of the perishing thousands around us. As we have before said, our Wesleyan brethren from the beginning have had the advantage over us in this respect. Their circuit system has enabled them to give all their local preachers constant employment. There is not one of them in all their bounds who is not on "the plan."

Now what we want is *a plan*. It must needs differ, perhaps, in some of its particulars and details from the one referred to; but still we say, let us have a plan. Let our bishops give their wisdom and experience to the formation of such a plan. Let our presiding elders, in all their districts, see that the plan thus devised is faithfully carried out in every appointment, and let the aid of every pastor also be furnished to help forward the work. Then, if any local preacher refuses to do the work assigned to him, let his license be withheld. If any one is not faithful and punctual in doing his part of the work, and has no good reason to assign for his neglect, let his name be stricken from the plan, and let his license be taken away. The Church of God in general, and the Methodist Church in particular, wants no honorary members or ministers, unless it be those who are disabled by age and infirmity. Suppose now the plan adopted, the thousands of our local ministers organized into a compact working body, and the field of their labors marked out before them, what would be the sight gladdening the eye and the heart of the Church of God! It would be no less than that of eight thousand men, many of them men of culture, of ability, of good preaching talent, all of them men of God, called to the work, and sanctioned by the authorities of the Church, going forth on their mission and ministry of love on every Sabbath day, and frequently during the week. But the vision does not close here. Eight

thousand places otherwise destitute of gospel preaching, in the "city full and in the country waste," on the mountain-tops and in the valleys, would be regularly and faithfully supplied. Eight thousand congregations, larger or smaller, would be gathered; and, if the work were persevered in, the same number of new societies would be organized.

Here then is an agency, right at our hand, already acknowledged; already in part at work; an agency which has planted the Gospel in various parts of the world, and which, with God's blessing, may yet plant it in still other destitute places.

The question before the Methodist Churches of America is, "Shall this really powerful and efficient force be left to occasional and desultory employment, or be organized so as to help forward the triumphs of the Redeemer's kingdom in the world?" We should not, we cannot close our eyes to the fact, that whatever may have been accomplished by this agency in the past, for the last several years its influence has been scarcely felt on the masses of the population of this country; and, if things go on as they have, it will not be many years before the office will cease to exist in our Church. Now we cannot *afford* to lose this arm of the service from our division of the Church militant. In fact, there probably never was a time when we needed it more than now. "The fields are white to the harvest." The "redemption" of the world is drawing nigh, and every available means and agency which is within our reach ought to be called into active and vigorous exercise.

The plan before referred to, if faithfully carried out, would not only benefit the destitute places of the land, but would exert a blessed reactionary influence upon the men themselves and upon the Church. Many of these men, as we have said, are actually "rusting out." They preach so seldom, that when they do they almost forget how. The harness is worn by them so little that it seems to fit awkwardly when they put it on. They feel this, and the people feel it also. But suppose these men to be harnessed weekly for the battle, to know that one sermon, at least, every week would be demanded of them, it is easy to see how this would lead them to pray more and study harder, and how that these exercises would tend to make

them more intelligent, earnest, and successful. And thus, kindled into a glow of divine love by the baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire, they would arouse the Church through all its classes and prayer-meetings, while their zeal in the Master's service would be ever opening up new fields for the enterprise and liberality of its membership. This would greatly serve to do away with the prejudice against local preachers, and the unwillingness to hear them preach, which is now so much complained of.

To all this it may be objected, that "our local preachers are principally men of business or mechanics who toil hard from day to day, and that therefore they have not the time to devote to labor and study which the proposed plan suggests." To this we would answer, no man should desire, apply for, or receive a license to preach unless he is willing to devote a portion of his time to the duties of his calling. He should not seek the office because it will furnish him a position of greater honor and influence in the Church. Let it be distinctly understood that the office has neither honors, titles, nor emoluments connected with it. Its only honor is associated with its *usefulness*; its glorious reward is a crown of stars for the faithful laborer. It is not required of these men, as of the regular itinerant ministers, to "devote *all* their time to the work of God;" but it is expected that they will devote a *part* of their time to it. Six days they may labor and engage in secular pursuits; but their nights and mornings and Sabbaths should be especially set apart for God in fulfilling their work, and "making full proof of their ministry." If any man should think more of business speculations or his professional calling than of souls, he had better give up his license at once, and not stand in a position which he is evidently unfitted to occupy.

We have written thus earnestly upon this subject because we regard it as one which demands the immediate attention of the authorities of the Church. And if any words of ours shall serve to call the attention of the bishops, presiding elders, pastors, or local preachers themselves to the importance of adopting a plan for the future labors and triumphs of these ministers of Christ we shall be heartily rejoiced, and feel that we have not written in vain.

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It was thought by the venerable Perronet, the vicar of Shoreham, that "Methodism was designed to introduce the millennium." If that sublime vision of her destiny is realized, her local ministry are to share in the labors required for it, and to participate in its coming glory. We have no doubt whatever, that this great branch of evangelical Protestantism is prepared in her machinery, under God, for this work and this glory. God forbid, that by a failure to employ our mighty resources, we should come short of either!

ART. V.—REVIEW OF SIR CHARLES LYELL ON THE "ANTIQUITY OF MAN."

FOR thirty-five years the writer of this article has been wandering over the continent of North America in the character of an Indian missionary, studying Indian languages and natural phenomena. In this character he has explored the region from Texas to Hudson's Bay; has traced more rivers than almost any other man, and has devoted special attention to their laws of change and general phenomena. Fluviology, river-study, is as much a science as geology or botany, and as much worthy of a niche in the great temple of human knowledge by itself. It is from this source mainly we purpose to draw our evidences of the recent origin of the present order of things.

Sir C. Lyell, on page 205, expresses the opinion that it is possible to "render the delta of the Mississippi available as a chronometer by which the lapse of post-pliocene time could be measured." In this opinion we most fully concur.

Mr. Darwin, in his work on the "Origin of Species," allows us to suppose that fourteen hundred millions of generations of animal life have passed since its first creation on our globe. And Sir C. Lyell and others inform us that their discoveries justify the conclusion that North America has been peopled by man fifty or even one hundred thousand or more years.

I. THE PEAT BOGS OF DENMARK.

On page 16 of Mr. Lyell's work we find an account of some peat bogs in Denmark in which, at a great depth, forest trees and the works of man have been found in such positions as is supposed to justify the inference that Denmark has been peopled by man for a period of from four thousand to sixteen thousand or more years. It must be borne in mind that these peat bogs are all formed in hollows in the drift formation, and that man existed before the drift. The bones and works of man are found mixed promiscuously with vast amounts of the bones of extinct races of animals, as well as of those that still exist.

The peat bogs of Denmark show three changes in forest vegetation. Near the bottom of the bogs are found Scotch firs, and the works of man; above these, oaks are found, and the works of man showing an advance in civilization; and above all beech trees are found, which is almost the only tree now indigenous in Denmark. It is argued that, to produce this growth of peat and these several changes in the entire forest vegetation, it requires a vast lapse of time and great changes in the climate.

In hundreds of places in the northern part of our continent I have seen these changes in the forest vegetation. In the very nature of things, it is impossible for these old fir forests to remain for many ages. The moss that always accumulates on the trees and on the ground in these gloomy forests, impervious to sun or wind, and the rosin that exudes and accumulates on the trees, will, in time, insure their destruction by fire just as certainly as the prairies are thus consumed. I have often seen these old forests burning, sometimes a whole hill or mountain-side enveloped in one sheet of flame. After their destruction we *invariably* found another species of tree occupying the vacant space. In this way the destruction of the fir forests of Denmark and the substitution of the oak can be accounted for in one hundred years.

Sir Charles Lyell informs us there were a few oaks and beech trees mixed with the firs from the beginning. Suppose then during a very dry season a fire swept through these old forests of fir, it would destroy them with all their cones

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containing seeds, *and as this class of trees never send up shoots from the roots*, the whole would be destroyed. Not so, however, the oak, for it will almost invariably send up shoots from the roots. In the prairies of the West we have counted as many as fifty times where the oak and hickory have been destroyed by fire, and would start up again from the roots before the struggle for life was over: consequently no cone-bearing trees can live in this region, except in inaccessible cliffs beyond the reach of fire. In the northern parts of our continent, where beech, oak, and hickory cannot grow, we find as soon as the firs are destroyed that poplar and birch immediately occupy the vacant ground. But in a country of mountains, bogs, and lake, the fire cannot destroy all the firs. So, in time, a few firs are seen struggling up through the poplars and birches, and in time supersede them, to be again destroyed and renewed as before. But in a flat open country like Denmark, the firs once destroyed would have no chance of renewal. We give it as our opinion that no thick forests of fir can exist in our northern hemisphere for five hundred years without being destroyed by fire. If, then, the firs ceased in Denmark five hundred years after the close of the drift period, how long would it require for the beech to supersede the oak? After the fire had destroyed the firs, the oak would most readily take its place, and get the start of the beech; because of its greater tenacity of life it would send up shoots from the roots, while both the oak and beech would have a start from the stores of beech nuts and acorns hibernating animals had hid away in the ground or hollow trees. The contest would now be between the oak and the beech, and a very few centuries would determine it, soil and climate being more favorable to one than the other. Thus we see from the rate of changes at present going on in our own country, that *all the changes of forest vegetation in Denmark since the drift period may easily be accounted for in one thousand five hundred years.* Nothing but beech has been known in Denmark since the historic period, and the firs, oak, and beech occupy spaces in the bogs corresponding to the periods they severally predominated.

None of these peat bogs, as far as we recollect, are over thirty or forty feet deep. Mr. T. Sterry Hunt, Assistant Provincial Geologist in Canada West, has made the statement, based

on careful examination, that these peat bogs will produce ten times as much vegetable matter in a given time as our common forests. It is estimated that if all the timber on our common forests was compressed into coal, it would make a layer of about one inch all over the ground. This we may suppose would represent the growth of from one to two hundred years. Were our deepest peat bogs compressed and converted into coal according to the above estimates, we would find it difficult to carry back the close of the drift period beyond four or five thousand years.

The Black Forest of Germany has changed three times in the historic period: first fir, then oak, and now fir again. From such very uncertain data is the attempt made to carry back the human period far beyond the Mosaic record!

II. THE NILE POTTERY.

Another fact relied on to prove the great antiquity of man, is the old pottery and other works of art found deep down in the sediment of the Nile. Without going into facts or figures, it will be sufficient to state that the sediment brought down by the annual floods, and deposited all over the lower valley of the Nile, amounts somewhere to about two and a half or three inches in a century, so that what was the surface of the soil in the days of Moses will now be some eight feet below. In digging and boring wells, works of art have been found as far down as seventy-two feet below the present surface, from which it is inferred that Egypt has been inhabited by man thirty thousand years.

Let it be borne in mind that the Nile, like the Ganges, Mississippi, Missouri, and other large rivers of this class, has its lower course through a region of soft sediment deposited from its own waters. All such rivers, unless artificial means are used to prevent it, are constantly wearing away on one side, and depositing sediment on the other, thus keeping all such rivers of a uniform breadth. The laws that govern this constant shifting of the channel are easily explained. In times of flood, especially, wherever the current impinges strongly against a bank it will cut away on that side, but at the same time an equivalent for this loss will be found in the depositions in the

eddy on the opposite side; thus, first one side then the other is cut away and filled up, so that in the course of time these curves chase each other down stream. I have traversed rivers where these ever-receding curves reminded me of the appearance of an auger in boring, where the curves *appear* to chase each other perpetually. As most of the large rivers of our globe are underlaid with sand, a tide of which is constantly rolled along the bed of the stream, and constantly accumulating simultaneously with the deposition of sediment in times of flood on the adjoining bottom lands, in the course of a few centuries the river really runs on a ridge of sand, with banks of soft clay or mud on each side. Like a man trying to walk on the track of a railroad, he now slips off on this side and then on that, so all these rivers slip off from this ridge of sand, and as the adjoining clay or mud banks are more easily cut and carried away than the sand, this accounts for the fact that these rivers are uniformly deepest in the parts newly cut away; so that a work of art lost in one of these newly formed deep places, in the course of a few centuries may be found far from the river, and deeply imbedded in river mud.

The city of Booneville in Missouri was first built on the north bank, but the river left the town, having made a turn toward the south side of the valley. The inhabitants followed up the river, and built on the alluvial banks. But the town had not made much advancement before the channel changed again, and this time close to the south side, where the banks or bluffs come sloping down to the alluvial plain, and here Booneville still remains, and all this in less than fifty years.

The great flood of 1844 carried away a whole section of land near Kansas City, belonging to one Colonel Chick.

Those who have traveled on our great Western rivers will often have seen a man with the lead sounding the depth where shoals are apprehended. The line used is nine fathoms. In the distance of a mile the depth may vary from one to nine or more fathoms. When the lead does not touch the bottom the man would sing out, "No bottom, no bottom." The bell would then ring, and all steam would be put on again. Now the Nile is a stream of precisely the same character as the Missouri or Mississippi. Suppose in the early days of the settlement of Egypt, old pottery, bricks, and other works of art

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had been lost in an eddy near shore where the water might be eight or ten fathoms deep, the moving sand along the bottom, and the deposition of sediment in this case, would be several feet in a year, until it was raised above low water. Thus it is very easy to see, from the changes actually going on at the present time, how in the course of a few centuries works of art could be buried many feet deep, and be found far from the present bed of the river. Some of these works of art, from the data adopted by Sir C. Lyell and others pronounced to be twenty thousand years old, have subsequently from inscriptions on them been proved to be only two thousand years old. Sir C. Lyell himself in one place informs us truly that all such large rivers as the Nile, Ganges, etc., are constantly changing their beds. We, however, needed not his testimony to settle this fact.

In the year 1850 we stood on the banks of the Missouri river, near the city of Weston. A man standing by our side, pointing to a snag about eighty rods out in this stream, said, "When I came here seven years ago, Squire Jones had his cornfield all on this side of that snag. In that time the land has all been washed away, and now it is nearly filled up again." In three or four years after Squire Jones's cornfield was washed away, the man with the lead on the bow of the steamer, in the identical place where the cornfield had been, might have been heard singing out, "No bottom, no bottom." Now suppose at this juncture a black boy, who might have been splitting wood, had dropped his ax overboard, and the mate had said, "There, you clumsy black rascal, you have lost the ax overboard; you shall have a rope's end for that;" and the boy had replied, "Well, massa, it was an ole one, and broke on de corner." In fifty years corn may be planted in this same place again, and then let Sir C. Lyell, Horner, Darwin & Co., come along and sink a shaft in this part of the Missouri valley, and they may find the identical ax the negro boy lost overboard fifty or more feet from the surface. They will then announce their discoveries and infallible scientific deductions. They will say, "It is a well-established fact that all this great valley rises by the deposition of sediment at the rate of one foot in a century: fifty feet from the surface we found this American ax, showing conclusively that this great

valley has been inhabited by civilized man of the Anglo-Saxon type for five thousand years." While many are wondering at the old relic and at the profound deductions of science, an old gray-headed negro comes along and says, "Let me see dat ax." After examining it attentively he says, "I lost dat berry ax overboard jist fifty years ago, and massa he flog me for it." Messrs. Lyell and Horner's estimate of the age of the first settlement of Egypt is no better than the above. That such rapid and great changes take place in the Mississippi region is matter of fact. I have seen six feet of sediment that had accumulated in an eddy of the Missouri river in six months, and that so near the surface as to be left dry at low water. The accumulations would be much greater in the deep parts that were said to have "no bottom."

Were the delusions and false deductions of these men of science to affect themselves alone, it would not be cause for such profound regret; but when millions are influenced in their views of divine truth by their writings, the plea of ignorance in part of the subjects of which they have treated will not relieve them from the responsibility they have incurred in leading the simple astray.

III. THE NEW ORLEANS SKELETON.

On pages 43 and 44 we have an account of a pit sunk at New Orleans for gas works to the depth of sixteen feet. Four layers of buried cypress forests were dug through, with several hundred rings in the trees, and at the depth of sixteen feet, charcoal and a human skeleton were found. The cranium of the skeleton is said to belong to the aboriginal type of the red Indian race. Dr. B. Dowler, indorsed by Sir C. Lyell, estimates the age of this skeleton at fifty thousand years. No data are given by which this conclusion is reached, so we are left to our own resources.

Sir C. Lyell himself has estimated the rise in the alluvial deposits of the Mississippi at one foot in a century. This we think a low estimate, for it is a fact pretty well established that the delta of this river has encroached on the Gulf of Mexico at the rate of about five or six miles in a century, and a descent of about three inches in a mile is required to drain off the

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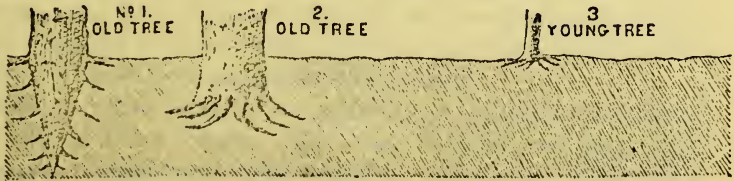
waters. St. Louis is three hundred feet above the gulf, and as it is about twelve hundred miles by the course of the river we have just three inches average descent for all that distance. But we will take Sir C. Lyell's own estimate of one foot in a century as the average rise of the valley by the deposition of river mud. This will make the skeleton sixteen hundred instead of fifty thousand years old. This is time enough for four cypress forests to grow and be superimposed one above the other with several hundred rings in each tree.

That the whole lower Mississippi valley is rising rapidly by the deposition of river mud, is evident from the fact that the leveeing or raising the embankments of the river to keep the waters in the channel has only been resorted to for a comparatively short period of time, and already the river presents the appearance of a raised ditch. Had not Sir C. Lyell in another instance given us his estimate of one foot rise in a century, all we could have said of him after the facts were known would be that a great scientific light was in error. But for him to indorse the monstrous absurdity of Dr. B. Dowler, assigning a period of fifty thousand years for a rise of sixteen feet in the alluvial deposits of the Mississippi valley, directly in opposition to his own previously published views, shows a disposition on his part to strengthen a favorite theory by any and all means.

Another fact to show the very rapid rise in the sediment of these great Western rivers is that large old trees growing far from the river show no appearance of roots near the surface of the ground, but appear as if sunken one, two, or three feet, according to the age of the tree. Along the bank of the river, in the progress of being cut away, I have often seen the roots of trees four, six, or eight feet below the surface, showing the amount of sediment that had accumulated during the age of one tree, thus:



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The case of No. 1 would be a tree that sprung up on low lands near the river where the rise was more rapid than on the alluvial plain generally. As the sediment rose so rapidly the first set of roots were too deep for nourishment, and so a new set were thrown out near the surface, and this process was repeated several times, the tree all the time enlarging, until it assumed the appearance of a gigantic beet with tap roots. No. 2 would be a tree on the general level, and of a species that did not throw out tap roots as the sediment rose. No. 3 is a young tree taking root on the surface in the ordinary way.

The absurdity of assigning such a fabulous antiquity to the Mississippi is apparent from another fact, that, according to Sir C. Lyell's own estimate, all the high bluffs along the lower Mississippi should have been obliterated seventy-five thousand years ago, for as the bluffs are only two hundred feet high at Natchez, and the bed of the river or surface of the water at this point less than one hundred feet above the gulf, one foot in a century would take less than thirty thousand years to cover all the bluffs along this part of the river. At the same time it would have pushed the delta at the present rate of increase far into South America so as to cross the Amazon.

IV. THE NATCHEZ SKELETON.

On page 200 another fact is adduced to prove the great antiquity of man. In 1846 the skeleton of a man was found sixty feet from the surface of the soil at Natchez, and one hundred and forty feet above the river in a bank that was being newly undermined by the river. From this fact it is asserted as probable that the Mississippi valley has been inhabited over one hundred thousand years. These human bones were associated with those of the mammoth and other extinct mammalia. They were found at the bottom of a sandy loam called *loess* in Europe, and it is supposed that all the lower alluvial valley, three hundred or more miles in extent, has been formed since these old bones were deposited where found.

Before we can come to any satisfactory conclusion regarding the age of these human and other remains, we must first endeavor to gain more light regarding this *loess*. What is it?

How formed and distributed? Where and in what positions is it now found? To answer these questions will take some time, but clearing up this point will greatly aid us in other things.

1. This *loess* is a sandy loam very peculiar in its formation. In places it is two hundred feet thick. In one place it is eight hundred or more feet in thickness. (See page 327.) It covers a large part of Central Europe like a mantle. It is spread over high table-lands six hundred feet above the rivers in Central France, and in the Carpathian mountains it is found one thousand feet above the sea. It thins out to the south and eastward, but is not found in England, or north of 50° north latitude in Europe. In America, relatively to the drift formation, it occupies the same position as in Europe, and is of the same character. Sir C. Lyell and others it seems are agreed that the *loess* found in Europe came from the Alps, being brought down in the course of long ages by glaciers, and distributed by the overflow of rivers over nearly all Central Europe. On page 334 he says, "But we must suppose that the amount of depression and re-elevation in the central region was considerably in excess of that experienced in the lower countries, or those near the sea, and that the rate of subsidence in the latter was never so considerable as to cause submergence, or the admission of the sea into the interior of the continent by the valleys of the principal rivers."

There would seem to have been some very nice adjusting power so to sink and keep sunk for such untold ages the central regions, and at the same time leave a fringe along the ocean as a barrier.

But he informs us the old river valleys were all filled up with this *loess*, and were afterward re-excavated. If in that part of Europe with this supposed great central depression the rains and snows exceeded the amount of evaporation, a great internal lake would be formed. But if the Alps were sunk so low, how were the glaciers formed? If the whole region was submerged so many ages, how comes it there are such immense accumulations of the bones of large extinct races of animals with some of the works and bones of man under this *loess*, and mixed more or less through it? These are questions that are not discussed. A theory has been adopted and is entirely unbending;

all else is plastic and must yield to it. On page 335 he says, "Yet the oscillations of level were accomplished without any perceptible derangement of the strata, which remained all the while horizontal, so that the lower cretaceous or neocomian beds were deposited conformably on the oolite."

If the Alps by glacial action produced such an immense amount of *loess*, should we not reasonably look for this formation in the vicinity of other mountain chains within the latitudes that produced glaciers? The Scandinavian mountains, according to this theory, should have been a great source of supply, but we have no account of this formation in Sweden or Norway. The Ural mountains also should have spread this formation over a great part of northern Russia; we have the so-called glacial drift in these regions in abundance, but no *loess.* Scotland and Wales also should have produced *loess*, but there is none there. In North America there is a great abundance of this *loess*, but apparently it has no connection with mountain chains or glacier-producing regions. We have no account of it in the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains, nor have we ever seen it along the Laurentian chain in a distance of two thousand miles where we have personally explored them. *Loess* is found in Southern Iowa, Northern Missouri, Central Illinois, and Indiana, and more or less along this line of latitude, somewhere about 40° north.

Both in Europe and America the *loess* commences just where the drift terminates, and extends some distance southward. It covers vast regions in the Mississippi valley, being found almost equally spread over hill and dale; along mountain chains that happen to lie in this latitude, and far away from them. It covers the central parts of the great plain of North America almost equi-distant from the three great mountain chains that traverse the continent. Even in Europe, in the vicinity of the Alps, so many supposed upheavals and submersions have to be resorted to to account for the formation and distribution of this *loess*, and all these changes so nicely adjusted, and so many things unaccounted for after all, that it is very difficult to understand how glaciers could have performed such wonders. But when we come to account for its appearance and distribution in America, we find the theories as applied to Europe of no manner of utility. Even if we admit the correctness of the theories

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as applied to Europe, totally different conditions and causes must have existed during its formation and distribution in America, at the same time there is a perfect identity in the character of the formation in both continents. Is it not a remarkable fact that in neither continent is the *loess* found in the latitudes where the drift prevails, but immediately south of it; and that both these formations, where undisturbed and not rearranged, are found devoid of both stratification and shells, either marine or fresh water? Were ever any depositions made gradually in water without both stratification and shells? Again, the animal remains found in both these formations, as far as we can judge, appear identical as to age. We are strongly of the opinion that there is a closer relationship between them than has ever yet been suspected, especially when we take into consideration the fact that the so-called glacial drift or jointed clay is sifted, so to speak, the heavier particles being deposited nearer the source of supply, not uniformly, but usually further north, and that the lighter particles were wafted further south. The present writer was this spring examining the drift in undisturbed banks along the Saugeen river only one hundred and thirty miles north of Sarnia, and there are ten times as much gravel and small stones in it at Saugeen as at Sarnia. What more reasonable than to suppose that the *loess* is but part and parcel of the great northern drift; and that being lighter it was wafted further south. In both Europe and America the old post-pliocene river-beds are found filled up with both drift and *loess*, sometimes re-excavated, and sometimes not in the post-glacial period. Professor Hitchcock has pointed out the existence of ten such old river beds in North America. I have discovered several of them in Canada and the Hudson Bay region. The evidence appears conclusive as to the identity between the drift and *loess*, both as to cause and time, and yet the theories of Sir C. Lyell and others are based on the supposition that they are totally different as to origin, and that one hundred thousand years is a low estimate as to the time that may have intervened between them, or between the glacial drift of Europe and America.

To keep our Natchez fossil man in view. How came *loess* as far south as Natchez, in 32° north? and how came it to

accumulate sixty feet thick along the high bluffs of the lower Mississippi? Sir C. Lyell tells us it filled up the river valleys of Central Europe, and that they were again re-excavated on the subsidence of the waters, or the re-elevation of the land. Previous to the deposition of the drift and the *loess* in Europe and America, both these continents then as now were furrowed by rivers, and covered by forests, and stocked with vast herds of animals and perhaps man also. Since the period that both Europe and America were inhabited by the present and extinct races of animals, there has been a submergence of both these continents for a longer or shorter period. When they again rose from their ocean beds, old rivers partially or entirely filled up were in many cases re-excavated, and new ones formed. In this way the northern arms of the Mississippi and Missouri, being more or less obstructed by drift and *loess*, would, on the re-elevation of the land, be filled with vast torrents of mud, which would be wafted down stream, and deposited all along the lower portions of the river. This is no theory, for this *loess* actually does line the high bluffs of both these streams. I have attentively examined vast accumulations of this *loess* along the bluffs of the Missouri in Kansas, three hundred feet above the highest high-water mark of the present age. Also all along the Upper Mississippi above the mouth of the Missouri this same *loess* is found in vast quantities along the high bluffs. It is observable that this formation does not cover the open country away from the great rivers that run southward further than about 38° or 40° north latitude. In this way the Natchez fossil man and the bones of the mammoth might and would be covered to a great depth in a short time. In Southern Iowa this *loess* covers the open country one hundred or more miles from the great rivers, and is from twenty to thirty or more feet thick, covering the whole region like a mantle of snow. In digging wells in this *loess* old logs and bones are found. On one occasion bones supposed to be those of a man were found thirty feet from the surface in the open country, with no hill near, and resting on or near the sedimentary clay. It is not to be forgotten as having an important bearing on the right understanding of this subject, that in nearly every case the bones and works of man, and the bones of a vast multitude of large terrestrial animals

found in drift, *loess*, and bone caves, are almost invariably found resting on or very near the underlying rock or undisturbed formation, whatever it may be.

With the northern hemisphere submerged more or less suddenly or gradually, more or less completely or partially, how comes it that remains of so many animals of a southern type, but of extinct species, are found mixed up with the drift and *loess?* and that the *dugouts* of rude savages are found in pretty much the same positions? Were all these mixed up in an ocean filled with icebergs careering southward under the pressure of wind and ocean currents? or was the submergence sudden? All the human and other remains found in Europe and America seem to belong to this period. No such process is now going on in any part of the earth as that which took place in Europe and America at the period of submergence referred to. No caves are now known to be filling up with animal and human remains, as have been so often found in Europe. The Abbeville jaw-bone, the Neanderthal, Borrely, and Enghis skulls, with the fossil man of Denise, all seem to belong to about the same age as the Natchez skeleton. The flint arrow-heads, axes, and other weapons and implements deep down in the *loess* and gravel seem not to antedate the period of the above-mentioned remains.

Flint weapons, pottery, etc., are themselves *no evidences of antiquity.* The Cherokees, *to this day*, make pottery exactly the same as that found in the most ancient mounds in America. While in their country we were shown the material of which it is made, and had the process described. And as to flint implements and weapons, some twenty-five years ago a very old Indian, living north of Lake Superior, informed the present writer that he remembered when the Indians manufactured these things. We were told where they procured the flint, and how they manufactured them. In digging for a garden in the place where he said they used to camp long ago, and where they manufactured their flint implements, we *found the ground full of chips of flint and broken weapons.* These things, wherever found, simply indicate a *savage state of society* without reference to age or country. Of course all such things soon disappear contiguous to civilized countries.

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V. RIVER CHRONOMETRY.

Geologists tell us truly that there are evidences of vast denudation of strata that once existed. The *Coteau de Missouri*, a high table-land of tertiary formation, presents escarpments one thousand or more feet above the adjoining plain or low lands. We cannot suppose that these deposits of a quiet ocean ended so abruptly as they now do. Apparently for hundreds of miles in breadth, and many hundreds in length, and one thousand or more feet in thickness, has all been washed away, by what force it appears impossible to conceive.

The valley of the St. Lawrence again presents another example of denudation. The Niagara range of hills, of the upper silurian age, cannot be supposed to have been deposited just as we now see them. Some denuding force appears to have torn from their beds all the formations of this age from Niagara down, and carried them we know not whither. Patches here and there are left of the old formations that once covered this region, the mountain at Montreal being one. This same force may also have excavated our great lake beds, as the strata nowhere along the shores of these lakes are found dipping toward the lake more than in any other direction.

All over the valley of the Mississippi mounds are found rising above the general level of the plain like islands in mid-ocean, or oases in the deserts, with strata undisturbed. Old ocean certainly never deposited these patches here and there of different materials, and with different fossils from the lower deposits. All these denudations took place previous to the glacial drift.

This same denuding force appears to have excavated our great river valleys south of the drift, for it is impossible to conceive rivers such as we now find them could have excavated their own valleys with only the forces at present in existence. The very marked difference between the rivers running through drift regions, as compared with those south of this formation, points to some very powerful agent in the formation of the great rivers running through sedimentary regions, that did not exist in the formation of rivers in drift regions.

From the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic, all the rivers having their courses through the drift region possess one character, where the rivers of the present period do not follow old channels that were excavated previously. Their valleys are narrow as compared with the rivers of the South, as one to five or ten. From every appearance these drift rivers have excavated their own channels, with about the present amount of force, and within a comparatively recent period. All the solid materials that once existed in the space between the banks or bluffs are now found in the bed of the streams. Not so, however, the southern rivers that have excavated such large valleys through the solid limestone rock, and so much deeper and broader than the drift rivers. Seldom or never are any of the fragments of the vast masses to be found in the bed of the streams that once existed where these valleys now are. In the ordinary course of things, if the present forces alone excavated these river valleys, we would expect to find all the solid materials in the beds of the streams; but in all the streams we crossed in ten thousand miles of travel, mostly in the Indian country, from Texas to Hudson's Bay, we never found any accumulation of fragments of the masses that most certainly existed where these valleys now are. We have forded a thousand times such streams as the Kansas, Osage, Neosho, Spring River, Grand River, etc., etc., often on the smooth flat rock, with vast masses of solid rock in the bluffs from fifty to three hundred feet thick, but no fragments are to be found. There are only two ways of accounting for the absence of fragments in these streams. One is that the time has been so long that they have all dissolved, or have been abraded. But the drift rivers show no signs of having diminished the solid fragments found in their beds. If we adopt this theory we must suppose the old sedimentary rivers many millions of years old, and then we will have the difficulty of accounting for the very small deltas compared with their present known rate of increase. The other theory is that some unknown force not now in existence has excavated these rivers. In various places near large rivers, and far away out on the undulating prairie, we have seen masses of the strata all mixed and confused, from one half acre to several acres in extent, that appear to have been arrested as they were being driven along by that unknown power that

seems to have excavated these great river valleys. Nowhere in the great valley north of the Arkansas River have I seen any strata tilted or inclined. In more than a thousand bluffs I examined, everywhere there was no appearance of wave lines in the strata or unconformable strata.

Sir C. Lyell took a certain quantity of Mississippi river water, evaporated it, and from the quantity of sediment left estimated the time it would require to form an alluvial valley thirty thousand square miles in extent and six hundred or so feet deep, this being the extent of the alluvial accumulations in the Lower Mississippi. He arrives at the conclusion that it would require one hundred thousand years, and yet it is evident that the Natchez skeleton existed before any of the lower valley was formed. In this calculation he has left out several elements that very materially affect the estimated time. 1. He took no note of the vast masses of surface sediment that once existed all over the great valley, but has now been washed away, and in all probability, to the Gulf of Mexico as the nearest ocean, following the natural slope. 2. There are tides of river sand constantly rolled along the bottoms of these streams, so that instead of six hundred feet of river mud, it is only some twenty or thirty feet thick, all beneath being sand. If we take his own estimate of the rise of this vast valley, of thirty thousand square miles at one foot in a century, twenty or thirty feet of river mud over all this valley will indicate a period of only two thousand or three thousand years for the formation of the Mississippi delta. This is all his theory will allow him. The very evident process constantly going on of cutting away and re-forming or re-depositing the surface mud, he has taken no note of. This process has been many times repeated in every part of the valley, so that the amount of sediment is no datum at all to calculate the age of the river. 3. The surface water with which Sir C. Lyell experimented contained only a small quantity of sediment as compared with that near the bottom. 4. This tide of mud and sand pouring into an arm of the sea all the year round, would of course fill up the space to the surface of the water much faster than the parts already above water would be elevated by floods that only find their way out of the channel once in from five to ten years, and then only for a few days or a few weeks at a

time. Still he only estimated the deposition of sediment under water at the known rate of accumulation all over the valley already dry land, except at the periodical floods.

It is, I think, a well-established fact, that the delta of this river has encroached on the Gulf "several leagues" since Louisiana was settled. The annual increase is estimated at three hundred feet, or say five miles in a century. At this rate the alluvial plain from Natchez or Port Hudson down cannot be over six thousand or seven thousand years old. At Natchez the valley is only twelve miles wide, with bluffs two hundred feet high, so there is no evidence that the gulf ever extended above this place.

Sir C. Lyell gives us an estimate of the age of a number of the river deltas in Europe, and the highest figure he gives us is seven thousand five hundred years; still it is not clear that he intended in any case to include the whole delta, although the rate of increase in a number of instances was well authenticated. Was he afraid of their testimony? It would seem so.

Another evidence of the existence of an eroding force now no more is the lakes found excavated out of the solid sedimentary rocky strata, such as Lake Pepin on the Mississippi, twenty-five miles long, five miles wide, and four hundred feet deep, with the strata of rock on the opposite sides exactly corresponding. Chains of this kind of lakes are now found in other river valleys, with no conceivable force now in existence to excavate them.

Professor Hind, of the Geological Survey of Canada and the Hudson's Bay Territory, gives a particular description of chains of lakes in the river valleys of the north-west. These lakes, nine in number, and from three or four to forty-five miles long, and uniformly of about one mile in breadth, occupying chasms in the sedimentary rocky strata of three hundred feet in depth, could not possibly have been formed by the small stream that meanders through the valley. In his Report, page 57, he says: "The first view of the south branch of the Saskatchewan, fully six hundred miles from the point where the main river disembogues into Lake Winnipeg, filled me with astonishment and admiration. We stood on the banks of a river of the first class, near half a mile broad, and flowing with a swift current

not more than three hundred and fifty miles from the Rocky Mountains, where it takes its rise. We had reached this river by traversing either within it or on its banks, for a distance of two hundred and seventy miles, a narrow deep excavation continuous from the valley of one great river to that of another, and exhibiting in many features evidences of an excavating force far greater than the little *Qu' Appelle*, which meandered through it, was at first blush thought capable of creating. How were the deep lakes hollowed out? lakes filling the breadth of the valley, but during the lapse of ages not having increased in breadth, preserving too for many miles such remarkable depths, and although in some instances far removed from one another, yet maintaining those depths with striking uniformity. What could be the nature of the eroding force which dug out narrow basins fifty-four to sixty feet deep at the bottom of a valley already three hundred feet below the slightly undulating prairies, and rarely exceeding one mile in breadth? It was easy to understand how a small river like the *Qu' Appelle* could gradually excavate a valley a mile broad and three hundred feet deep. The vast prairies of the north-west offer many such instances: the Little Louis river, for example, in passing through the Blue Hills; the Assiniboine, for a hundred and fifty miles, flows through a broad deep valley, evidently excavated by its waters; the rivers in Western Canada often flow in deep eroded valleys; but in no instance to my knowledge are deep and long lakes known to occupy a river valley where the altitude and character of the rocks preclude the assumption that they have been occasioned by falls, without having increased its width by the action of their waves on their banks, or without leaving some traces of the force which had excavated them."

On page 118, speaking of an immense granite bowlder in the bed of the *Qu' Appelle*, he says: "This would involve the assumption that the *Qu' Appelle* valley dates the epoch of its erosion anterior to the last submergence of the continent, affording an illustration of a river valley before the epoch of the bowlder drift. The physical aspect of the country is by no means opposed to this view."

The occurrence of ancient river valleys on this continent has already attracted attention. In his illustrations of Surface

Geology, Dr. Hitchcock says: "Some of the erosions that have been described in this paper are clearly beds of antediluvian rivers; that is, of rivers existing upon this continent before its last submergence beneath the ocean, which beds were deserted when the surrounding surface emerged from the water, although essentially the same rivers as existed previously must have been the result of drainage." Then follows an enumeration of ten ancient river beds in Canada, (Niagara,) New England, and the State of New York. Thus far Professor Hind.

All rivers that are now cutting their own channels through the solid rock present the appearance of Niagara, the Falls of the St. Anthony, and other rivers of this class we have seen, a gorge between perpendicular cliffs. Lake Pepin could not have been formed in this way as it is five miles wide. Were all the waters of the Mississippi to be precipitated over a fall of such a height, one third or one fourth of a mile is ample for all its waters. The Falls of St. Anthony are not over one eighth of a mile wide. If Lake Pepin was cut in this way, say one fourth of a mile wide at first, and then widened by the slow abrasion of the elements on the mural precipices, how long would it take? This is a point of the utmost importance to decide, for the waves have not undermined the perpendicular cliffs of solid rock. It has been established, by experiments instituted at the Smithsonian Institute, in Washington, that common marble in that latitude will abrade one inch in ten thousand years. Common limestone will wear away much faster than marble. For the sake of obtaining something like data to guide us as to the time required, we will admit that limestone will abrade ten times as fast as marble; this doubtless is far above the mark. At this rate it would require Niagara, St. Anthony, and Lake Pepin one hundred and fifty millions of years to widen five miles. If it has taken all this time to widen Lake Pepin to its present breadth, how deep must it have been at first, seeing all the abrasion of the materials five miles wide and four hundred feet in thickness, and all the sediment brought down by the Mississippi in all these years have not sufficed to fill up this tranquil lake? Were the Missouri turned through it, it would fill it up in twenty years.

But if it has taken so long to widen these gorges to their present extent, and the delta of the Mississippi has all the time

been encroaching on the gulf at the rate of five miles in a century, we should now have a delta at the mouth of this river that would extend one million five hundred thousand miles, or sixty times around the globe. We are not yet through our difficulties growing out of this theory; for every mile of increased length in the delta necessitates a rise of about three inches all over the alluvial valley, or embankments to that extent, to keep the waters within the banks. If embanking had been resorted to, they would now have been seventy five miles high; at the same time Lake Itasca, the head and source of the Mississippi, is only one thousand eight hundred feet above the Gulf of Mexico, making an average descent of less than seven inches in a mile for its whole length. At the present rate of filling up, the bluffs along the lower half of the Mississippi then, will all be covered with river mud in much less than twenty thousand years. The changes going on in this river are not peculiar to it. The Yellow River in China has embankments forty feet high, to keep the waters in the channel. We cannot suppose embanking was resorted to over three thousand years ago, which would make a rise of fifteen inches in a century in the embankments, some of course in excess of the actual rise in the bed of the stream. The river Po in Italy has embankments of twenty feet in about two thousand years, or one foot in a century.

At the present rate of the increase of all the river deltas known, the Nile, Ganges, Danube, Po, Yellow River, etc., we are carried back not over a period of from six to ten thousand years. The gorge at Niagara, according to the present rates of recession and the testimony of our most eminent geologists, has not been in existence over that time. At the rate of three hundred feet a year, or five miles in a century, the Mississippi cannot be over six or seven thousand years since its tide of mud first rolled to the ocean.

Another fact in proof that lakes like Lake Pepin, and those mentioned by Professor Hind, were not cut through the solid rock by the forces now in existence, and then widened by the slow action of the weather on their mural sides, is that in various places in the old silurian formation there are chasms in the solid limestone rock, some of them occupied by foxes and ground-hogs, and some of them channels for water in times of

flood. These chasms have been fairly exposed to the action of the elements on their sides, but have not, in all past time, widened but six, eight, or ten inches, for few of them exceed ten inches in breadth. The Falls of Niagara and St. Anthony show no symptoms of widening. Thus, from many sources, we come to the same conclusion, that there formerly existed an eroding force that has denuded vast regions of the surface sediment, and in all probability cut out the channels of our large sedimentary rivers about as we now see them. This eroding force ceased to act before the drift period, as all drift rivers have manifestly cut their own channels with about the present amount of force found in existence.

There is another point regarding rivers worthy of notice, though bearing more remotely on the subject in hand. All rivers that convey sediment are pushing out deltas into the sea, ocean, bay, or gulf, as the case may be. In all their lower courses they are filling up, while in all their upper courses they are wearing down. If there are permanent barriers or obstructions to the regular flow of a stream, as indestructible rocks or lakes, each separate portion of the river is independent as to this law. As the delta pushes out, so the sediment accumulates over all the alluvial plain still higher and higher up the stream. This makes a movable midway point in all streams, all below this point is filling up, while all above is wearing down. This midway point is near the mouth of the Platte on the Missouri, and not far from Keokuk on the Mississippi. Above the mouth of the Platte there are high bottom lands not now reached by the greatest flood, because there the channel is wearing down; but all below is subject to flood from bluff to bluff each freshet. We saw again these high bottom lands a little above Quincy, Illinois, with great accumulations of bowlders on them, showing conclusively that this midway point is not below Quincy, and that this great valley between the bluffs existed as now, before the drift period.

It then results from these laws that all rivers are slackening their flow, and straightening out their sinuosities, for in proportion to the velocity of the current in these rivers, so is the sinuosity increased. In descending the Missouri as we approach the Mississippi, the reaches in the river become longer

and longer, and the turns less abrupt. A descent of three inches in a mile is sufficient to prevent filling up with sediment.

The bluffs of the Upper Missouri and Mississippi are high, as they are wearing down in these parts. In one place the Connecticut River has worn down forty feet since its settlement. There are old beaches of the present period around Lake Superior two hundred feet above the present level of the lake.

We have only touched on a few of the more important points adduced to prove the antiquity of man. If we have read the evidences on this point aright, the earth we tread, as to its present aspect, is new.

Sir C. Lyell's expressed opinion that the known rate of increase in our river deltas is the best chronometer we have to measure the lapse of past time, comes opportunely to our aid, though this is a point we had long and attentively studied. But the difficulty is, the measurements are not sufficiently exact to give us anything more than a rude approximation to the general result.

In the case of the river Nile, as near as we can learn from the best authorities within reach, the alluvial plain of this river, after it leaves the valley—beyond which the Mediterranean Sea never could have extended, as the hills or bluffs are only sixteen miles apart, and two hundred or so feet high—from this point to the sea is now ninety miles, and the breadth of the delta along the sea is eighty miles. This delta has encroached on the sea seventeen miles since the days of Julius Cæsar. By measuring the actual area of the whole of the added land at the mouth of this river, we find that the last two thousand years have added about one third, thus making it accord sufficiently with the Mosaic chronology for all practical purposes.

In the case of the river Po, in Italy, the delta is long and narrow, and it has encroached on the Adriatic twenty miles in two thousand years. What was the seaport in the days of the Cæsars is now twenty miles inland. By measuring three or four times the known increase of this river delta in two thousand years, we come to a point beyond which the Adriatic never extended. The Yellow River in China has raised embankments forty feet high, to prevent overflowing. This forty feet of embanking will represent an increased length in

this river delta of say one hundred and forty miles. If this delta is correctly laid down on our maps, three times one hundred and forty miles will take us beyond the point where this river first entered the Yellow Sea.

It is somewhere about three hundred or three hundred and fifty miles from where the Mississippi leaves the bluffs and enters the great alluvial plain of Louisiana to the Gulf of Mexico. At the rate of five miles increase in a century, we get six thousand or seven thousand years for the age of this river. I have often taken measurements along the shores of our great lakes where the clay banks are wearing away.

By ascertaining as near as may be the actual rate of the encroachment of the lakes on the land, and then measuring out to where the water suddenly descends to great depths, which we take to be the original shore of the lake where first formed, we get just about the same testimony from these lake shores, as from the deltas of rivers, as to the age of the present order of things.

ART. VI.—THE SUFFRAGE QUALIFICATION.

HITHERTO in our national history no uniform principle has been adopted by the different states on which to rest the right of suffrage, and we have been governed mostly by expediency and the selfish interests of partisan leaders. Hence we have had in the different states almost every form of qualification for the ballot. In the organization of the state governments during and immediately subsequent to the Revolution the suffrage was almost universally based on property, with a wide diversity as to the amount and kind. In the northern states the freehold qualification early became the battle-ground of contending parties, and it gradually melted away under the force of adverse public opinion. The new states came into the union with the vote in the hands of all white male citizens; and South Carolina is, we believe, the only state in which the freehold qualification is still preserved.

The great interests of every democratic state are directed and controlled by the majority of its voters, and whoever par-

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ticipates in the suffrage is a part of the governing power, and the government will be just and competent in proportion to the intelligence and moral elevation of those who vote.

This point is too important to be lost sight of for a moment. In a democracy we can only have good government by having a good class of voters. It is true that a different theory has largely prevailed. The popular idea in America has been that democracy was a sovereign cure for all the evils of a state, and that all a people had to do to secure good government was to cast off monarchy and put on democracy. We have learned, however, by dear experience, that a people who govern themselves will not *necessarily* provide for their own best interests. Indeed we might as well expect that individuals who have the power to choose their own course in life would choose wisely, and take the ways of truth, integrity, industry, and honor. We know how deceptive any such expectation would be, and how many, against every consideration, take the paths of falsehood, dissipation, dishonesty, and self-indulgence to inevitable ruin. A nation is only an aggregate of individuals, and when governed by the majority cannot be expected to rise much above the level of morals represented by that majority.

When De Tocqueville's admirable book on American Democracy first appeared, his strictures on the "tyranny of the majority" called forth much severe criticism, and were generally regarded as very unjust to our government, and inspired by European prejudice. But we shall not have to go far to learn that the rule of the majority may be quite as unjust and tyrannical as that of a single despot. In the history of past ages some of the most heartless outrages against justice and the rights of men have been perpetrated by the majority under popular forms of government; and whoever is familiar with the story of the old Grecian and Roman republics will readily call up examples.

But we need not go so far back to illustrate our position. The republic of France was fairly reddened with the blood of the innocent, when her government was popular in form and administered under the provisions of a written constitution; but her laws afforded no more security to personal rights than the will of the bloodiest despot. Mexico was lately a republic, with a written constitution, and under the sway of the popular

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will; but she was little better than a nation of outlaws. Utah is one of our own territories, and may ere long be numbered among the states; but the rule of the majority is an ecclesiastical despotism which makes a virtue of polygamy and tyranny. Even our own government, which is so often quoted as "the best that the world ever saw," has been the instrument of very cruel oppressions. It was by the tyranny of the majority that one eighth of our people were so long held as slaves, and in a condition a thousand times worse than the subjects of any foreign despot. In California the government of the majority, under the usual safeguards, proved so inadequate to the security of men's rights that the better class demanded its assumption by an irresponsible committee, which, with absolute dictatorial power, directed the government till the most grievous public abuses were corrected and the most corrupt instruments punished.

In our large commercial cities the rule of the majority has been scarcely less fortunate, if we accept as true the representations of their public organs. New York especially has been notorious for its bad government. A year or two before the rebellion the "New York Times," in speaking of it, said:

> We believe we express the settled judgment of reflecting men when we say that self-government, *with universal suffrage*, in large cities, has proved a failure. It does not answer the purpose of government; it does not preserve order or prevent crime.

On the same day the "New York Herald" expressed a similar opinion. After enumerating the various demoralizing influences, and estimating the number of *bruisers*, vagabonds, swindlers, thieves, and outlaws, it goes on to say:

> All these men *vote*, and some of them *several times*. They form the Prætorian cohort that rules the city of New York. It is in their hands that the government of the city really rests; and the natural consequence is that it is not governed at all. . . . The laws are set at naught; the power of the mob is supreme.

The New York "Courier and Enquirer," since merged in the "World," held similar language, declaring that *universal suffrage* was only another name for *universal corruption*. Indeed, so general was the discontent, not only in New York but also in New Orleans, and, we think, one or two other cities,

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that consultations were held with the view of adopting the California remedy against the corruptions and crimes which had grown up under the rule of the majority.

If these statements are correct, they force us to the conclusion that so far as democratic government has been a success it has succeeded, not because the people have ruled, but because the people who ruled were, in some sense, qualified to rule; and the failures have arisen because the suffrage had been extended to classes who either lacked intelligence or moral principle. It is not, therefore, republican forms, nor liberal constitutions, nor the rule of the majority, on which we must chiefly depend to secure good government. These are, indeed, most important; but the "democratic principle," the principle which insures success, is reliance upon an *enlightened, just, honorable, conscientious, virtuous, high-minded people;* and we assert, without fear of contradiction, that in just so far as our government has been a success, it has been owing to the superiority of its people; and where it has failed, it has been dragged down by the ignorance, selfishness, or vile passions of large classes of voters.

Popular government is the reflection of the voting majority; and if that majority be ignorant, selfish, or passionate, the government will be more or less despotic; if the majority be devoid of justice, the government will be grasping and overreaching; if the majority are without honor, the government will not be scrupulous about the public faith; and if the majority are Mormons or planters, the government will cherish and defend polygamy and slavery. In Virginia or Georgia it would be no objection to a judge that he was a duelist; in Missouri or California he might be a drunkard or a gambler; in Utah he must necessarily have his harem; and in South Carolina he would certainly have been the owner of slaves; but in New England neither a gambler, nor a drunkard, nor a duelist, nor a bigamist, nor a slaveholder, would stand much chance at the polls. The character of the voting majority settles the character of the men who are to hold controlling positions in the state.

Hence we note, by the way, that every such government must lean much more on Christianity for its support than has generally been supposed. Its teachings are particularly calcu-

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lated to make strong, true, honest, self-reliant, and self-governed men, and we have grave doubts whether any republic can long endure without its purifying and elevating influence.

Here, then, is that "democratic principle" about which so much is said and so little realized. It is the "principle" that democratic government reflects the integrity, morality, and intelligence of the voting majority. If this be so, and those who hold the ballot control the government, and the government cannot be good unless the elemental voters are good, then the well-being of the state requires that the suffrage should be freed, as far as it is possible to free it, from all dead weights, and especially from those classes which are grossly ignorant, or have disqualified themselves by flagrant violations of law and order.

As to the negro, there is but one course in regard to him, if he is treated in the spirit of that "democratic principle" which we have sought to elucidate. By the action of the general government and a large majority of the states he is made a free man, and must be in the eye of the Constitution and before the law *a citizen on exactly the same footing as any other citizen.* All laws which relate to color or descent must be blotted from the statute-book. *He must be able to hold property, to give his testimony in courts of justice, to prosecute before all judicial tribunals, and to vote at elections on precisely the same terms as any other citizen.* Nay, he must have the right to be elected to office, if he can secure a majority, with no disability which does not attach to other men. The negro, if we treat him wisely, or even fairly, must henceforth be a man, no more, no less.

It does not follow that when we maintain the right of suffrage, irrespective of color, that we maintain the negro's right to marry our daughter. The former is a matter of public law, the latter a matter of individual taste. We have not a right to exclude a well-qualified man from those franchises as a citizen which are necessary for his development as a being, and for his safeguard as a man; but we have a right not to include in our circle of intimate friends and social companions those who are not agreeable to our feelings. Political equality does not necessarily include social level. We vote with whole classes of men with whom we would not consort; with Jews,

green Irishmen, and uncleanly scavengers. The political enfranchisement of the negro might leave his social status precisely where it is. And rightly; for his social position and his political franchise depend upon very different considerations. We say this to calm the excitement of the alarmists who are so nervous at "negro equality."

Men just out of slavery, and especially cotton and sugar slavery, are not, it is true, of the very highest order of manhood. Even the children of Israel, headed by their splendid leader, were not able to go up and possess the "promised land" till forty years of probation in the wilderness had laid under the sand all the adult emigrants and buried with them the craven spirit of slavery. It was the young, free blood, born among the rocks and trained in the wild and free spirit of the desert, that carried the banner of victory over the Jordan. And since that time the effect of slavery in training a race has not improved. Large numbers of them are diseased in body and diseased in mind; they have been restricted in every possible direction save only that of toil; they have not only had no means of development, being cut off from all the learning of the world, but have a jargon peculiar to the plantation, and little more to be understood than that of the Mandans or Hottentots; and they are without self-reliance or self-government. How is it possible to admit some millions of such men, with no educational preparation, to the suffrage without endangering the great interests of the state?

We smile, however, at the crotchet of those fancy reasoners who maintain that if we enfranchise the negro his vote will be always under the influence and at the disposal of his former masters. For, first, if the negro is *not* enfranchised, *the nineteen additional representatives soon to accrue to the South will be placed absolutely in the masters' hands.* To prevent the master's possessing this power by gaining the negro's vote, these philosophers would put the power directly and exclusively into his possession. Emancipation then but increases the old master's power, whereas it ought to enure to the benefit of the emancipated. Second, our immediate past experience demonstrates that all the talk about the negro's being at the master's beck, even after emancipation, is fiction. The old blarney about the tender attachment of slave

to master we had supposed to be about dissipated. Like all other beings, the negro wisely thinks of his own interests first. Third, all the influence the old masters can attain by favoring the negro's interests is their just right. Within due limits it is the constituent's right to vote for the man who will forward his share of the common well-being; it is the representative's right to win a class of voters by honorably securing him that share. If the master study the negro's well-being he has good claim upon his vote.

What the good of the *state* requires in reference to the negro is precisely what it requires in reference to all other persons: It is *the admission of those who are intellectually and morally qualified* to the suffrage, and the exclusion of the rest. But there can be no commission, no census to inquire who is thus qualified; and in a democratic government we must make rules and laws that bear on all alike. Any rule will operate imperfectly, and be unjust in individual cases; but that is no sufficient reason for its rejection. The general good must, in all such cases, override all individual and minor considerations.

The time certainly has fully come for the passage of laws restricting the suffrage to citizens of the United States who can intelligently read their newspaper and can write a correct and legible chirography. These qualifications are very easily ascertained, and the rule would cut off few or none who have the independence, the knowledge, and the moral worth to be valuable citizens and intelligent voters; while the great mass excluded would be men who are a burden on the government and unsafe directors of the state. It would dispose at once of all the most troublesome questions about the negroes, and admit them gradually, as they prepare themselves, to .positions which they have won. It would present a perpetual incentive to education, and make the poor more anxious to give their children such advantages as would qualify them for this trust. It would tend to discourage the vicious and corrupt influences by which elections are carried, and give strength and weight to those classes which should rule in every democratic state.

But there is another class of laws which should go hand in hand with these, namely, laws *disfranchising knaves and*

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criminals. If it requires some knowledge to be a director in so important a corporation as the state, *it also requires some* INTEGRITY *and* VIRTUE. A large portion of those who seek our shores from abroad are not only without education and intelligence, but are so trained as well nigh to empty them of all individual conscience as well as all self-government, and thus disqualify them from their share in the sovereignty of the state.

It may be, too, that the negro, trained in slavery, will prove to have no sufficient moral sense, and that thieving and other petty crimes may be among the vices bequeathed to society with his forced emancipation. All such persons ought to be reached, if possible, and excluded from the suffrage. What right has a man who knowingly sets government at defiance to have any direction or control in its management?

The "New York Herald," in the article from which we have already quoted, goes on to show what has been the cause of the gross misgovernment in the great commercial center. It describes the sovereignty of New York as consisting in part of the following persons:

Superior pugilists	100
Inferior bruisers	1,000
Vagabond shoulder-hitters	2,500
Gamblers of various kinds	2,000
Keepers of vile houses	1,500
Men about town	2,000
Thieves, swindlers, and loafers	6,000
	15,100

Now if we add to these fifteen thousand sovereigns those who vend spirituous liquors contrary to law, and carry on trade with contraband goods, and pursue unlawful callings prejudicial to good order, we shall have an army of men large enough to override what of virtue, integrity, and intelligence there may be in this great city. But all of these men are sure to vote; and, as the "Herald" says, "some of them several times." And these men, men who have no care for the well-being of the city or the state, and who use their power for the most selfish considerations, are invested by law with the right of suffrage. No wonder that, under such circumstances, "popular government with universal suffrage is a failure." The governing class, the men who make the law makers, and

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the law expounders, and the law enforcers, being low in the scale of morals, have brought the government down to something like their own level; and, to quote the "Courier and Enquirer," "universal suffrage is only another name for universal corruption."*

In all intelligent private circles, it is universally conceded that a person grossly ignorant or grossly vicious should not be intrusted with great public interests like those of a city or state. We have also publicly acknowledged this principle to some extent by cutting off from the suffrage idiots, insane persons, penitentiary convicts, and in some states, men who have wagers on the result of the election. In the new Missouri Constitution it has been also acknowledged in that sweeping provision which cuts off from the suffrage all who have adhered or given aid to the late rebellion. But a very much larger portion of these criminal classes should be put outside of the suffrage. There are persons every day convicted in our courts of gross breaches of the public law who turn up as regularly at the polls as the most upright citizen. Deserters from the army, bounty-jumpers, smugglers, defrauders of the revenue, takers of bribes, duelists, gamblers, habitual drunkards, the sellers of spirituous liquors contrary to the statute, the keepers of disorderly houses, and many others, are allowed to do violence to society and law, and then exercise the highest trust of good citizenship. In many of the states even murder is no disability in matters of suffrage or holding office. It would be an easy matter to correct all this. If *a conviction for certain crimes were to carry with it disfranchisement*, it would weed the ballot of a large part of this base material.

We trust, then, that we have made clear to our readers the three propositions: that *political franchise should not be made*

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* What aggravates the evil in our large cities, especially New York, is that an immense body of property holders occupy suburban residences and have no city vote. The men who own the city are thus disfranchised in its government, while the real power is held by the Irishry, the rumsellers, and the mob. A Popish vote well nigh controls our Protestant metropolis. Is it not time to so modify our municipal franchise at least as to secure the safety of property? Should not every owner of property in the city be a voter in the city at municipal elections? Nay, should not their number of votes be in some degree graduated to their taxation, whether of real or personal estate in the city? Something like this the restoration of order demands, and our security will require.—Ed.

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dependent upon complexion; that *absolute ignorance is, upon ground of public good, a legitimate disqualification;* and that *disfranchisement* should be, upon grounds of both justice and expediency, *a uniform penalty for vice and crime.*

But so far as the negro is concerned, an immediate work needs to be done in the northern states. Unfortunately many have a much clearer vision as to what should be done for the negro when he is far away in the South than when he is at our own doors. In nearly all the old free states, where we had a right to expect better things, he is treated as a specialty. In some he is allowed to vote if he is more than half white; in others his vote is made to depend on a freehold estate; in others he is wholly excluded from the suffrage; and in nearly all he is hampered by disabling laws which were made in times past in the interest of slavery. And the fact of such negro proscription in the North is quoted by the opposers of negro suffrage as so shameful an inconsistency as ought to silence all the advocates for that measure, living in the free states; and yet those very opposers know that the advocates of southern negro suffrage are its advocates for the North. It is these opposers themselves who are the authors and supporters of that very proscription upon which they base their argument for a still more sweeping proscription in the South. Nor is the existence of this northern oppression any palliation for southern misdoing, any reason for enjoining silence upon northern advocacy for southern enfranchisement, or any excuse for delay to do right in the southern states. As the negro is now no longer a slave in any part of the United States, and the political reasons for proscriptive legislation are removed, all laws that make franchise dependent upon complexion should be blotted out. They are repugnant to the equity of democratic government, and put us in a false position before the world.*

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* The "Chicago Tribune" attributes the following very forcible view of the matter to Gen. Grant: "The government and people may have to choose between keeping a standing army of one hundred thousand men, at an expense of one hundred million dollars a year to the tax-payers, to support the white minority in the South against the white rebel majority, or of enfranchising the blacks, and thereby enabling them to support the white loyalists. Gen. Grant foresees that the suffrage question may take this form. If the loyal whites at the South are unable to sustain themselves and hold the political control of those states, they must either be reinforced by the votes of the loyal blacks, or supported by the bayonets

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Another obvious duty is a vigorous application of our educational resources. In the North the ignorant masses which are poured on our shores from the old world *will not be educated.* We open to them our splendid systems of free schools almost in vain. But in the South the whole negro population are greedy for learning. Wherever schools have been opened they are crowded by both children and adults, and the spelling-book is the companion of the emancipated slave. Let our benevolent citizens act on these facts, remembering that although the true Christian philanthropy of the South will rejoice to co-operate, yet that such is the southern impoverishment that if the negroes have help at all, it must be mainly derived from the organized benevolence of the North.

Finally, whatever makes men wiser or better will always advance the interests of a state under democratic rule. During the war the great work done by the Christian and Sanitary Commissions took the world by surprise and fixed its admiration. There is scope for the same Christian enterprise still. In times past the man who would do good to the slave was scourged out of the South, and dogged by marshals and state attorneys in the North. But all this we hope is now changed, and free scope will be given to both southern and northern benevolence. Educational appliances are not confined to the school-house. We develop men by social influences, the forum, the Sunday-school, the pulpit, a free newspaper press, and many other agencies. These should be quickened in every direction, and the low everywhere should be lifted up. The harvest is great; let not the laborers be few.

We shall not readily surrender the hope that our southern brethren will see the desirableness of abandoning at once the old policy of oppression upon a class or color, whether in the form of slavery or disfranchisement. What is *right* they cannot but know. What the sentiment of the entire Christian world is they cannot ignore. The restoration of a free press and of free discussion will, we feel most hopeful, work wondrous revolutions in the southern mind. But if the quondam slave states choose persistently the inhumane policy, we trust one or two remedies are possible. Free states are fast being

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of northern soldiers. To maintain troops even in time of peace costs not far from one thousand dollars per man."

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formed in our western domain, and free principles must rule this nation. Before those free states two questions are likely to rise:

1. What is that republican form of government which the National Constitution guarantees to every state? And we think it will in due time be decided that A STATE CONSTITUTION WHICH DISFRANCHISES FOR MERE COMPLEXION IS NOT REPUBLICAN EITHER IN SPIRIT OR IN FORM. That change in the National Constitution suggested in one of the late editorials of our Quarterly may then be adopted, by which every native born American, unconvicted of crime and of sound mind, able to read and write, shall be entitled to vote for president and congressmen. Or,

2. The question will fairly come up whether the old slave states are to receive nearly twenty new representatives with the unenlarged constituency. If justice to the colored race induces the South to enfranchise, *that increase is right.* If not, we trust there will be no hesitation on the part of all the other states in due time to so amend our National Constitution as to *proportion the representation to the number of actual voters.* Such an amendment is required, not for the sake of a particular class or color, but for the attainment of an equitable ratio of representation among the different states. Yet its ultimate influence will be to induce the South to enfranchise without regard to color. Interest may then induce the bestowment of a right which is refused to honor and justice.

ART. VII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE COLENSO CASE—RETURN OF COLENSO TO HIS SEE.—Dr. Colenso has recently published the fifth part of his work on the Pentateuch. In the preface to this volume he announces his intention to return soon to his Episcopal See of Natal, in South Africa. He says:

> I now return to the duties which have been so long interrupted of late by circumstances not under my own control. In the midst of those duties I shall find frequent opportunity for acting on the principles which I have here enunciated, and shall rejoice in breathing myself, and helping others to breathe, the free fresh air which the recent decisions have made it now possible to breathe within the bounds of the National Church. I shall also, as I hope and fully purpose, find time to pursue these inquiries, and perhaps hereafter return to publish them.

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But all these things are in the hand of God. Should I never return, I bid my friends in England farewell, to meet them, I trust, on another shore.

Colenso has also issued an address "to the clergy and laity of the United Church of England and Ireland in the diocese of Natal," which is dated London, June 9, and published in the *Cape Argus* of July 13. This document contains the following passage:

> The work in which I have been engaged is an attempt to reconcile the teachings of religion with those which we received from the various sciences, which God himself has quickened into wonderful activity about us in this our day. It is the greatest work in which a man can be engaged, however feeble and imperfect the labor which I myself have been enabled to contribute to it. But no one who really knows—as I have known during these three years—the thoughts which are stirring, not merely in the minds of multitudes in the more highly educated classes, but also in those of the more intelligent among the lower orders of the community, will doubt that we are on the eve of a great movement, which may be guided, but cannot be stopped, and if not duly guided, threatens to convulse our whole social and religious system. As a minister of the national Church I have done my part toward showing that certain traditionary views, to which the conclusions of modern science stand irreconcilably opposed, are no necessary part of true religion. I have shown, I trust, and shall yet more fully show, in my forthcoming volume, that we all may, not with a doubting hesitation, but with positive assurance and a clear conscience, abandon those views, and yet retain our hold on the essential truths of Christianity.

According to present appearances Colenso will find in his diocese no party to support him. The clergy of the diocese are unanimous in repudiating his authority. At a meeting held in Pinetown, D'Urban, on the 31st of May, under the presidency of the Dean of Peter Maritzburg, some ten of the clergy of the diocese declared their acceptance of the Metropolitan government of the Bishop of Capetown until such a time as, in a provincial synod, the organization of the Church in South Africa shall have been settled, approved, and confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The same clergy, with two others, and several laymen, church wardens, have signed a declaration that they are satisfied that Dr. Colenso, having widely departed from the faith, has been righteously deprived, and that they are fixed in their resolve no longer to acknowledge him as their bishop. It is proposed to invite the male communicants to elect delegates, who are to consider a proposal inviting the archbishops and bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland to select a bishop to be sent out to Capetown for consecration by the Metropolitan.

The trustees of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund continue to withhold the salary of Colenso in consequence of having received a caution against a further payment from the Bishop of Capetown, on the ground that he had deprived Colenso of the Bishopric of Natal. The sympathizers with Colenso in England have therefore raised another fund for him, intended partly to assist him in his suit to obtain his income. On the general committee of the new fund are, among others, Sir Charles Lyell, Professor Jowett, and Professor Tyndall. Thus assisted, Colenso has filed in Chancery a bill of complaint against the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Vice-Chancellor Sir W. Page Wood, the Archdeacon of London, Mr. Hubbard, M.P., the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, and the Attorney-General, for withholding his salary.

MONASTICISM IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—Since our last account of the progress of the so-called Benedictine Brotherhood, in the Church of England, this institution has passed through a great crisis. Brother, or as he is now more commonly called, Father Ignatius, has, among other innovations, introduced into his order the medieval form of excommunication, which he for the first time employed in the case of two brothers of the Third Order at Bristol. Soon after he came, however, very near being struck down by the same weapon. Having gone to London, accompanied by one brother, for the purpose of lecturing on behalf of the funds for the erection of a new chapel in Norwich, the brethren at Norwich took advantage of his absence to convoke a chapter, declared the appointment by Ignatius of one of the brethren as second superior or deputy as null and void, elected themselves a prior, and decided to serve upon Ignatius a citation requiring him to appear before them and answer to his delin-

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quencies. Ignatius refusing to send any reply to this citation, the chapter reassembled and drew up the following document:

†
A. M. D. G.

In the name of the blessed Trinity.

We, the Prior and Monks of the Holy Order of St. Benedict, hereby declare in the presence of Almighty God, that the Rev. Joseph Leycester Lyne, formerly Brother Ignatius of our said order, is acting entirely without our consent and permission in preaching in St. Martin's Hall in our name. Funds have been collected in the name and for the Order of St. Benedict, which the said Joseph Leycester Lyne has employed for his own purpose, unknown to us and without our consent. We therefore declare that the said Lyne is not henceforward empowered to collect or receive funds in our name. The said Joseph Leycester Lyne has been formally cited to appear before us to answer our charges against him, and has ignored our authority. We therefore declare him excommunicate, and all his acts null and void. If the said Joseph Leycester Lyne shall herewith appear before us, and, confessing his faults, do penance for the same, his authority shall be recognized if his right be proven. Until then he is deposed from the office he presumptuously has usurped, to the prejudice of souls and for the furtherance of his own private ends. This we do with solemn deliberation, and according to our holy rule, which saith: "If any brother shall prove refractory, stubborn, or disobedient, he shall be admonished, and if he do not amend, let him be excommunicate;" and we hereby enjoin and command our beloved Brother Stanislaus, provost of the Congregation of St. William, if the said Joseph Leycester Lyne do prove refractory or disobedient, to pronounce upon him the sentence of excommunication according to the rule.

Given at our Priory of St. Mary and St. Dunstan, Norwich, this 24th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1864. *Gloria Deo.*

Signed in the presence of the body of Christ,

† Brannock, O. S. B., Prep.
† Stanislaus, O. S. B., Provost.
† Maurus, O. S. B.
† Clement, O. S. B.

In the presence of us,
† Gideon J. K. Ouseley, Chaplain.

A sentence of excommunication was drawn up at the same meeting and served upon Ignatius. If the monks had been as firm as they were unanimous the rule of Father Ignatius, and with it the Benedictine Brotherhood, might have been brought to a close. Such, however, was not the case. Father Ignatius, on the contrary, found no difficulty in putting himself again in possession of the convent buildings and in coercing all the monks into submission. They confessed to him that they had been "mad," and made no resistance to the re-establishment of the authority of Father Ignatius, who expelled the two leaders of the rebellion from the order.

GERMANY.

The German Protestant Diet.—This year a new national organization of German Protestants has held its first General Assembly, which, if not suppressed by the governments, may have a great influence on both the ecclesiastical and political future of Germany. We refer to the "German Protestant Diet," (*Deutscher Protestantentag,*) which met on June 7th and 8th, at Eisenach, at the foot of the same Wurtburg which was the birthplace of the Lutheran Reformation of the sixteenth century. The first annual meeting of this new organization was to have taken place last year, but, in common with many of the political annual gatherings, it was postponed on account of the excitement growing out of the Schleswig Holstein war. The object of this new organization is stated to be "to promote religious sentiments in the Protestant Churches of Germany, to unite all the State Churches into one Evangelical Church of Germany on the basis of the 'Congregation principle,' to defend the rights, the honor, and the freedom of German Protestantism, and to protect the freedom of investigation from all encroachment of the state and the ecclesiastical authorities." Among the celebrated theologians and laymen who were present we notice Dr. Krause, editor of the *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, and Professor von Holtzendorff, of Berlin; Professor Hanne, of Greifswalde; Professor Ewald of Goettingen; Superintendent General Meyer of Coburg; Professors Holtzmann, Rothe, Bluntschli, and Schenkel, and Dean Zittel, of Heidelberg; Professor Hilgenfeld of Jena; Professor Weisse of Leipzic; Professor Baumgarten, formerly of Rostock; and Dr. Carl Schwarz of Gotha.

The great majority of these men are

well known as leaders of the Rationalistic party, although some, like Rothe and Baumgarten, have always been looked upon as prominent representatives of the evangelical school. They all agree, however, upon leaving to every particular congregation the right of choosing its own pastor, no matter what his theological views may be. The congregations are to hold their provincial and national synods, the powers of which are, however, not to interfere with the rights of the individual congregations. Some particulars of the plan are yet involved in considerable obscurity, but in the main it seems to aim at introducing a kind of mixed Congregational and Presbyterian Church Constitution, with a great latitude as to creed, so as to embrace all shades of orthodox as well as Unitarian Churches.

The chief importance of this "Protestant Diet" lies in the fact that it represents the first national organization among the State Churches of Germany, which is sincerely in favor of emancipation of the Churches from the State, and of introducing the era of ecclesiastical Church government. Its design to put an end to the present isolation of the Churches in every particular German state, and to substitute for it a national organization, may likewise lead to important results.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

ITALY.

The Negotiations between Italy and the Pope.—The progressive party of Italy, and the friends of civil and religious liberty all over the world who sympathize with it, have viewed with considerable alarm the opening of negotiations between the government of Victor Emmanuel and the Pope. It was feared that the hope of restoring peace between Church and State might induce the Italian government to make compromises respecting the remainder of the temporal power of the Pope, which would destroy the nation's hope of the ultimate annexation of Rome.

These fears have fortunately proved groundless. The Italian government, it is true, was very anxious to establish peace with the head of the Roman Catholic Church. Its special envoy, Signor Vejezzi, was instructed to show the most conciliatory spirit, and only to guard against making any concessions which would imply the negation *de facto* of the existence of the kingdom of Italy. The government was of opinion that the court of Rome, if it really wanted the establishment of amicable relations, could at least not refuse to grant to Italy the *minimum* of the rights and powers conceded to all the other Catholic governments of the world. It demanded, therefore, in particular the submission of all the papal bulls to the royal *exequatur*, and the oath of allegiance from the bishops. When the Papal court persisted in refusing these demands, the negotiations were broken off, and the envoy recalled from Rome.

The issue of the negotiations between Italy and Rome has dispelled many fears and raised great hopes for the future. The Italian government has hastened to lay before the world, in the form of a report, addressed by the Minister La Marmora, to the king, a full and official narrative of the whole of the negotiations. At the close of this report the minister says—and the government, by publishing the report, indorses the sentiment—that the day is perhaps not far distant "when the so much desired separation of Church and State will bring with it the complete separation of religious and spiritual from civil interests, to the common benefit of both Church and State." Hitherto none of the larger governments of Europe have yet dared to adopt the principle of separation between Church and State. The example of a powerful state like Italy would produce a profound sensation, and greatly hasten the complete triumph of one of the fundamental principles of American democracy.

SPAIN.

Liberal Reforms.—The government of Spain has for many years been regarded by the ultramontane party as a true model. This reputation it owed chiefly to its loud professions of devotion to the Roman Catholic Church in general, and to the Pope's temporal power in particular. The fact that even this most Catholic of all the governments did not grant to the monastic orders that liberty which they enjoy in the United States and most of the Protestant countries, and that even associations which extend throughout the whole Catholic world, as the Society for

the Propagation of Faith, were barely tolerated in Spain, and therefore unable to strike root, was readily ignored in view of the rigid legislation adopted against Protestantism. It is, therefore, easy to comprehend the disappointment and mortification felt at Rome, and by the ultramontane party throughout the world, at the great change which has recently taken place in Spain. The ultra-conservative ministry has been dismissed, and a new ministry, under the presidency of General O'Donnell, has been appointed, one of the first acts of which has been the recognition of the kingdom of Italy. The Catholic party made the most strenuous efforts to prevent this. In the Cortes the ultramontane members most vehemently protested against it. All the bishops addressed letters to the Queen strongly denouncing such a policy, and some of them in their letters used language which will make them liable to be summoned before the courts. It is gratifying to know that the ministry has resisted all these attempts. The recognition of Italy is already an accomplished fact. The confessor of the Queen, Bishop Claret, one of the most fanatical priests of Spain, and an equally fanatical nun, who was one of the chief advisers of the Queen, have been removed from the court, and the Archbishop of Burgos has been relieved from his position as instructor of the Prince Asturias. The Anglican Bishop of Gibraltar has received permission to visit the resident Englishmen in several of the large cities, to hold religious service for them, and to consecrate Protestant cemeteries.

ENGLAND.

Roman Catholicism not Increasing.—A curious testimony that the Church of Rome is not making as great progress in England as has sometimes been reported was recently given by one of the Roman Catholic bishops, Dr. Goss, of Liverpool. In an address to one of the Catholic congregations of Liverpool he soundly rated his flock, especially the female portion of it, for their apathy, neglect, and indifference in carrying out works of charity and education. He told them in pretty plain terms that Protestant ladies are zealous, hearty, and indefatigable in carrying out their philanthropy; that they turn neither to the right nor to the left in prosecuting the objects they have in view, while Roman Catholic ladies "laugh those to scorn" who would induce them to take active parts in furthering acts of charity and works of educational advancement for the benefit of their poorer and more ignorant fellow-men, women, and children. Dr. Goss deplored the religious destitution that existed in different parts of England, and declared that the churches and chapels of his faith were for the most part deeply encumbered with debt, from the startling sum of £10,000 downward. He also stated, as a proof of the decline of his Church, that in one street in Liverpool, in which were one thousand Roman Catholics, there was only one man who went to church, and only four children who went to school.

SOUTH AMERICA.

Progress of Religious Toleration and of the Protestant Missions.—In Spanish America one country after another is removing from its constitution that odious provision which prohibits the public exercise of any other form of religion than the Roman Catholic. In July the Congress of Chili was occupied with a consideration of Art. 5 of the Constitution, which is as follows: "The religion of the Republic of Chili is the Roman Catholic, to the exclusion of the public exercise of any other." The debates were lengthy and most animated. The reform side was advocated by the ablest and best men in Congress, and violently opposed by the priests, especially the Jesuits. At length a proposition of the government to allow Protestants to exercise their religion in chapels and private edifices, and also to have schools for the education of their children, was adopted by both houses, with the omission, however, of the word "chapel" in the first proposition.

The number of Protestants in many of the South American countries, especially in Chili, the Argentine Republic, and Brazil, is rapidly increasing in consequence of immigration. By far the majority of the Protestant immigrants are Germans; and already each of the above three states has flourishing colonies, and even large towns, exclusively inhabited by Germans. The Churches and missionary societies of Germany take, on the whole, but little notice of

them, and churches and schools are therefore sadly wanting. Of late, however, some improvements have been noticeable, especially in Brazil. Reports from the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul state that the total German population (Protestant and Catholic) of this province already amounts to fifty thousand, or nearly one third of the aggregate population of the province. The centers of colonization are St. Leopoldo, Porto Alegre, and St. Cruz. The largest of these colonies is St. Leopoldo, which in a total population of twenty-five thousand has twenty thousand Germans. They received in 1864, from the supreme ecclesiastical council of Berlin, a pastor. Churches have also been built at St. Cruz, Donna Josepha, and Porto Alegre, all of which congregations have applied to the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council of Berlin for resident pastors.

Fully as good are the prospects of Protestantism in the Argentine Republic, where the Methodist Episcopal Church has highly flourishing missions. The city of Buenos Ayres has no less than four Protestant churches. The Methodist preachers have the nucleus of a congregation and regular preaching at six places in the province of Buenos Ayres, (besides the capital,) at two in the province of Santa Fé, and at one in the province of Entre Rios. The annual number of immigrants into the Argentine Republic amounts to about twelve thousand, and it is thought that nearly twelve thousand of them are Protestants. Religious toleration is fully secured, and the prospects of Protestantism are therefore brilliant.

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

AMONG the more important works which Rénan's Life of Jesus have called forth, and the new works on the same subject by Dr. D. F. Strauss, in Germany, belongs one by Professor Sepp, (Roman Catholic,) Professor of History at the University of Munich, and author of a very comprehensive Life of Jesus, in seven volumes. His new work treats of the proofs to be found in the world's history for the truth of the deeds and the doctrines of Jesus, (*Thaten und Lehren Jesu mit ihrer weltgeschichtlichen Beglaubigung.* Schaffhausen, 1865.)

The Commentary on the Psalms, by Dr. Hitzig, Professor at Heidelberg, (*Die Psalmen.* Heidelberg, vol. 2, 1865,) has been completed by the publication of the second volume.

Of the first complete edition of the works of John Calvin which has been begun by Professors Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss of Strasburg, the third volume has recently been issued: *Corpus Reformatorum.* Series Altera. Jo. Calvini Opera. Vol. iii. Brunswick, 1865.

Dr. Schenkel, whose Life of Christ has produced so great an excitement in the evangelical Church of Germany, and called forth from the evangelical party a demand for his removal from the position as President of the Preachers' Seminary, has published in defense of his opinions, and of the rights of his party in the evangelical Church, a work entitled "Protestant Freedom, in its Combat with the Ecclesiastical Reaction," (*Die Protestantische Freiheit in ihrem gegenwärtigem Kampfe mit der Kirchlichen Reaction.* Wiesbaden, 1865.) The work treats fully of the recent Church history of the Grand Duchy of Baden, and may be regarded as an apology of the new, chiefly Rationalistic, organization in Protestant Germany, called the "Protestant Association," on the first General Assembly of which we report more fully in our department of "Religious Intelligence."

The proceedings of this General Assembly (*Verhandlungen des Deutschen Protestantenvereins auf dem Ersten Protestantentage.* Elberfeld, 1865) contain a number of important addresses: for example one by Dr. Rothe, on the best means by which members alienated from the Church may be regained to her; and another by Dr. C. Schwarz, (the author of the work on modern

theology,) on "Freedom of Teaching in the Protestant Church, and its Limits."

The literary controversy in Germany on the "Life of Jesus" continues to call forth a number of works from both parties. The posthumous work on the subject by Schleiermacher was replied to by Dr. F. Strauss, in a pamphlet called "The Christ of Faith and the Jesus of History," ("*Der Christus des Glaubens und der Jesus der Geschichte.*" Tübingen, 1865,) in which he strongly denounces the attempt of Schleiermacher of mediating between the old Christian Churches and the new school as impossible, while in an appendix he passes a similarly severe sentence against the work of Schenkel. Against the latter Strauss has since written a new work entitled "The Half and the Whole," ("*Die Halben und die Ganzen.*" Tübingen, 1865.) meaning those that in his opinion are wholly and consistently, and those that are only half and inconsistently combating the old views of the Christian Church concerning the Scriptures and concerning the Life of Jesus. Strauss, of course, regards himself as one of the "whole" men, and Schenkel as a representative of the "half." The party of Schenkel replies bitterly to Strauss in the eighth number of its organ, the *Allgemeine Kirchliche Zeitschrift.* The mutual animosity between the "half" and the "whole" men belongs among the worst specimens of the *odium theologicum* which the history of theology records. We learn from the above number of the *Kirchliche Zeitschcrift,* that a letter written by Strauss in 1839, or four years after he had written his "Life of Jesus," when he had been elected Professor of Dogmatic Theology in Zurich, has recently been published, and in this letter still speaks of Christ as "really the son of man, and also the son of God," whose death is "the guarantee of our pardon and salvation, as well as of the bliss and joy which awaits us in the future life." Schenkel calls that rather strange language from a man who four years before had published such radical views on the Life of Jesus, and who now so loudly boasts of his radicalism and his contempt of all the "half" men. Strauss explains the language of his Zurich letter by the fact that at that time he was an adherent of the Hegelian School, and that as such he could use the terms above quoted.

A new "Life of Jesus," which will attract considerable attention, has recently been announced in Germany, being a posthumous work by the late Chevalier Bunsen, and constituting the ninth work of his Bibel-werk. The standpoint of this work will be similar to that of Schenkel, and will be, like the latter, a representative publication of what Strauss calls the "half" men.

"The Prophecies of the Prophet Isaiah," (*Die Weissagugen des Propheten Jesaia.* Berlin, 1865,) is the title of a work by Dr. Hosse. It is to serve as the introduction to a new commentary on the prophet.

Dr. L. Wiese, one of the prominent German writers on educational matters, has issued a new volume on the education of woman. (*Ueber weibliche Erziehung.* Berlin, 1865.)

FRANCE.

Positivism has found a new champion in M. Alph Leblais, who has published a work on "Materialism and Spiritualism," (*Matérialisme et Spiritualisme. Etude de Philosophie Positive.* Paris, 1865.) The work is introduced to the public by the present chief of the Positivists, M. Littré, who sharply attacks Professor Janet for his articles against the Positivist school. M. Leblais begins by remarking that two great principles have from the earliest times divided the camp of metaphysicians—the one being represented by Aristotle, the other by Plato. The latter, of course, is thoroughly condemned, while Aristotle is represented as one of the foremost instructors of mankind. M. Leblais applies Positivism to the fine arts and classics, and places Shakspeare among the celebrities of the modern school, while Racine and Dante are set aside as untrue and radically imperfect. The author is particularly bitter against religion. "The ideas, so-called religious," he says, "under whatever form they are manifested, are permanent causes of dissension in the family and of disorder in the state."

Professor Janet has published in book form his able articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* on the chief French representatives of Positivism and of Pantheism—Taine, Rénan, Littré, and Vacherot, (*La Crise Philosophique.* Paris,

1865.) We have given an account of these articles in our notice of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in a former number of the METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

"The Science of the Invisible." (*La Science de l'Invisible, Etudes de Psychologie et de Theodicie.* Paris, 1865,) is the title of a new work by Charles Levêque, Professor at the College de France. The volume consists of a lecture on "Liberty and Fatalism," two essays originally published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, on the "present condition of the science of the soul," and "Proclus and his God;" and two articles on Dameron and Saisset. In the preface the author states that he desires to serve that philosophy which, for the last sixty years, has been teaching in France the existence of a personal God, the immateriality of the soul, liberty, right, and duty.

Another posthumous work of the late Emile Saisset, on Skepticism, (*Sur le Skepticisme.* Paris, 1865,) has been published by his brother, Amedée Saisset. Professor of Philosophy at the Sorbonne, Mr. Emile Saisset had proposed to himself as the great work of his life to write a history of Skepticism. He charged, it seems, both theology and science with undervaluing the power of philosophy by denying its ability to establish the great truths of natural theology, the existence of a personal God, and the immortality of the soul, and on that account he pronounced both of them guilty of skepticism. The above work contains those portions of the proposed work which the late author had been able to finish. Some of them had appeared before; others are now published for the first time. Among the latter class belongs an article on Enesidemus, the greatest skeptic of antiquity. The most important articles in this volume are one on Pascal and the other on Kant, the latter of which had already appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, while the other appears now for the first time. Two other volumes of Emile Saisset have been recently published by his brother in the *Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine*, the one entitled *l'Ame et la Vie*, and the other *Fragment et Discours*.

ART. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, July, 1865. (Philadelphia.) 1. Early History of Heathenism. 2. Arabia. 3. The Revised Webster. 4. The First Miracle of Christ. 5. President Lincoln. 6. The General Assembly.

BOSTON REVIEW, July, 1865. (Boston.) 1. Congregational Polity, Usages, and Law. 2. The Sin against the Holy Ghost. 3. Mendelssohn's Letters, and Life. 4. "The Christian Unity Society. 5. Short Sermons.

EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1865. (Gettysburg.) 1. The Lutheran Doctrine of Ordination. 2. Lutheran Hymnology. 3. The Sabbath a Delight. 4. The Ministers of the Gospel the Moral Watchmen of Nations. 5. "Know Thyself:" Personally and Nationally Considered. 6. Abraham Lincoln. 7. Addresses delivered at the Installation of the Professors of the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, October 4, 1864.

NEW ENGLANDER, July, 1865. (New Haven.) 1. The Revival of Letters in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Part II. To the End of Century XV, and Beyond it to the Close of the Papacy of Leo X. 2. The Portuguese in India: A Historic Episode. 3. Personal Perils of the Preacher. 4. The Definitions of the new Webster's Dictionary. 5. The

American Journal of Education. 6. The National Council of Congregational Churches. 7. The Foreign Delegations to the National Council of Congregational Churches. 8. Life of Julius Cæsar, by Napoleon III. 9. Defense of the late Professor Kingsley, of Yale College, from the Attacks of President Sears. 10. Importance of the Pastoral Office. 11. The Council and the Creed.

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, July, 1865. (London.)—1. Anschar, the Apostle of the North. 2. Plymouthism and Dr. Whately. 3. French Evangelical Criticism. 4. The Broad Church and Moral Law. 5. George Calixtus. 6. David Hume. 7. Principles of Church Union. 8. Herbert Spencer's Philosophy. 9. Rambles in Italy—Ascent of Vesuvius.

British Quarterly Review. July, 1865.—(London.) 1. Earl Russell on the Constitution. 2. The Elizabethan Poetry. 3. Geneva. 4. Magic. 5. The Great Governing Families of England. 6. The Two Newmans. 7. Recent Parliamentary Proceedings. 8. Church and State in France since 1798. 9. The Universities and the Nonconformists.

Christian Remembrancer, July, 1865. (London.) 1. The Catacombs of Rome. 2. Dwellings and Food of the Laboring Classes. 3. Le Maudit. 4. The Church of England under Edward and Elizabeth. 5. Biographies—Religious and Secular. 6. The Ultramontane Essayists. 7. The Bishop of Oxford and the French Interdicted Priests. 8. Bishop Torry and the Scottish Church. 9. Revision of the Prayer Book.

Edinburgh Review, July, 1865. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Watson's Life of Bishop Warburton. 2. Idiot Asylums. 3. Early Italian Art. 4. Revision of the English Bible. 5. The Tunnel through the Alps. 6. Street's Gothic Architecture in Spain. 7. China and Japan. 8. Swinburne's Atalanta in Calydon. 9. Lady Duff Gordon's Letters from Egypt. 10. Munro's Lucretius. 11. Dissolution of Parliament.

Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record, July, 1865.—(London.) 1. Early English Religious Poetry. 2. A Voice from Egypt. 3. Buddhism. 4. Æthiopic Prayers, etc. 5. The Historical Character of the Gospels Tested by an Examination of their Contents. 6. Exegesis of Difficult Texts. 7. Dr. Pusey's "Daniel the Prophet." 8. Georgian Version of the New Testament. 9. Metaphysical Schools among the Jews since the Times of Moses Maimonides. 10. The Metonic Cycle and Calippic Period. 11. Brief Notes on Romans i–iii. 12. The Preposition ΕΙΣ.

London Quarterly Review, (Wesleyan.) July, 1865. (London.)—1. Perowne on the Psalms. 2. La Fontaine and his Fables. 3. Dartmoor. 4. Julius Cæsar. 5. Brittany, her Ballads and Legends. 6. The Codification of the Law. 7. The Kingdom of Italy. 8. The Judgment in the Colenso Case. 9. Modern Criticism on St. John's Gospel.

The Ninth Article presents an able general view of the modern attacks on John's Gospel. Save by the contemptible little heretical sect of Alogi in the second century, the authenticity and genuineness of this gospel were unquestioned until Evanson, in England, commenced to query, followed by Bretschneider in Germany, in a gentle and scholarly way, and afterward by Bruno Bauer in a fierce and un-

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critical style. Then the Tübingen school of skeptics, with Ferdinand Christian Bauer at their head, commenced an entire reconstruction, by a very original and autocratic method, of the entire primitive apostolic and post-apostolic history. John's Gospel is attacked upon the ground, among others, of contrariety and contradiction to the first three gospels; of its own so-called metaphysical and mystical character; and especially, of the perfect conformity of the style of Jesus's discourses with that of the Evangelist himself. Our reviewer answers this last difficulty on the ground that the Lord's discourses are translations by the evangelist from Jesus's Aramaic into his own Greek; that all the evangelists, so far as regards words and phrases, report his discourses in their own style, and yet that the divine Spirit presided over the whole process. Thus we have a spirit-guided, yet free and individualist report of the teachings of Jesus.

The reviewer, after analyzing the work of Hengstenberg on John with mingled eulogies and strictures, finally concludes that *the* Commentary on John is yet to be written, and that an Englishman is bound to be its author. And who should that author be, we may add, but the scholarly editor of this Quarterly, the Rev. William B. Pope?

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1865. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Grouse. 2. The Appian Way—Pagan and Christian Sepulchres. 3. Browning's Poems. 4. The Close of the American War. 5. North Polar Exploration. 6. Gleanings from the Natural History of the Tropics. 7. The Church in her Relations to Political Parties. 8. Carlyle's Frederick the Great. 9. Sanitary Reform in the Metropolis. 10. The Elections.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1865. (New York: Reprint.) 1. Later Speculations of Auguste Comte. 2. The Antislavery Revolution in America. 3. Mr. Herbert Spencer's Principles of Biology. 4. Political Economy. 5. Imperial History. 6. American Novelists: Theodore Winthrop. 7. The Principles of our Indian Policy.

The last two numbers of the Westminster Review contain an exposition of the philosophy of M. Comte, by the great leader of that school at the present day, John Stuart Mill. The Methodist Quarterly Review was perhaps the first American periodical to present a full view of the formidable philosophy of Comte to the public. But as that statement was drawn up by a writer more remarkable for his powers of acquisition than of exposition, his presentation, as many think, failed to give a clear view of the nature of that philosophy to the great body of our readers. Meantime, inasmuch as the system itself has been making bold advances toward a predominance over the philosophic thought of France and England, a brief statement of its points, based upon Mr. Mill's

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exposition but performed in our own way, will, we trust, present it with desirable clearness to the minds of our readers.

Divide all human notions into Knowledge and Guess: knowledge is worthy alone of our attention; and what amounts to mere guess is worse than worthless, and should be abolished from our habitual thought. *Positive knowledge*, or science, embraces *the phenomena of experience* and *their sequences: phenomena*, whether observed as existing externally or in the mind; and *sequences*, embracing the order of events; which order is regulated by Law, namely, the Law of *invariable succession.* All Positive Knowledge, then, is embraced within the domain of *Phenomena* and the *Laws of their succession*, All notions besides these are futile and fanciful guess.

The so-called inner *essences* of phenomena, or of things, are, for instance, matters of mere guess; and similarly all so-called *cause*, over and above the uniformity of sequences, is equally nothing. Herein Comte merely coincides with Locke in deducing all our knowledge from experience; and with Hume in reducing all causation to invariable sequence. Thus far in what is the more positive part of the system Dr. Thomas Brown is the best expositor of Comte's doctrine, or rather denial, of causality, and the best preparer for his philosophy. It is in the vigor of his positive statement and in his demonstrative negation of the validity of all thought *outside* of positive science, that Comte is most original as well as most positively destructive. That illegitimate *outside* embraces all so-called intuition, all transcendental ideas, all metaphysics, (taking that word in the sense of ontology,) and all theology. The notions of a personal god, an immortal soul, of inspiration, revelation, and miracle, are shadows in the land of guess.

Thus much states the gist of Comte's philosophy. Yet Mr. Mill declares that Comte did not personally deny that an original Intelligence is the best supposable hypothesis to account for the existing system of things. But the hypothesis is based upon mere analogy, and as being a mere *guess*, can form no part of a positive science. It is invalid, and in some respects worse than worthless.

Comte's demonstration of the invalidity of all notions *outside* positive science takes the form of a theory of mental human history, verified by him in two of the massive six volumes in which his system is recorded. The three stages of human development are, according to his theory, the Theological, the Metaphysical, and the Positive. In the Theological stage all classes of movement for which there is no visible cause are popularly ascribed to an invisible personal *cause*, a *god.* Hence the earliest form of Theology is polytheism. Local gods, gods over specific operations and objects, everywhere spring up, and, finally, national gods. As the uniformities of nature's operations

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are, as time advances, more extensively comprehended, mankind arrive at Monotheism. Meantime, during this process of advancement, the Metaphysical solutions of particular sorts of facts in nature are supplanting the personal and theological, and rising into the ascendant, and these introduce the second or Metaphysical stage. A series of small struggles takes place, in which the Theological disappear, and the Metaphysical for a while conquer. Thus, for instance, *vegetation* grows not by a special god, "but by a vegetative principle;" and life flows from a "vital principle." Things consist of their "*essences;*" and "nature abhors a vacuum." Flame and smoke ascend, because *up* is "their *natural place;*" and medicine is effective by a "curative force." And this is the reign of metaphysical guess.

We may here express a doubt whether our philosophers do not herein make a hard and unsuccessful strain to furnish a class or stage of Metaphysical solutions which is of a magnitude or extent sufficient to stand in rank or co-ordination with the stupendous genus or stage of the Theological. We venture a doubt, for instance, whether a "vital principle" is anything more than the assignment of *false cause;* which cause may be as truly physical as metaphysical. Such a cause may be considered as introduced provisionally in the immature state of science, to disappear as fuller observation renders the science complete. A gravitative "vortex," an electric "fluid," a "luminiferous ether," may all be imaginary bases of natural phenomena; but how are they metaphysical more than physical? When the world is said to be borne by an elephant based on the back of a tortoise, the theory is physical; when the sky is said to be sustained on the shoulders of Atlas it is personal; when the earth is made to whirl by a mystical vortex, the solution may, for aught we care, be called metaphysical. Either of these causes may be fabricated at the earlier or earliest age, or they may all coexist at the same age. To what, then, does all the talk about this "Metaphysical stage" amount more than this: as science advances, false causes are often temporarily assigned—causes variously, natural, supernatural, physical, personal, or metaphysical—which disappear as science detects the real causes. They are the stagings necessary to the erection of the building, to be thrown down as the structure towers to its summit.

But the human mind, according to Comte, by its own necessary advancement, tends to a perfect consummation in the third and final age of Positivism. Comte's demonstration of his negative results consists in his verification of this historical progress. Polytheism has given place to monotheism; monotheism equally giving place to metaphysical causation; and metaphysics vanish as science advances to the

completion of her task in reducing causes to laws, and in making the uniform sequences of nature consist of observed and systematized facts, which reject all attempts to be accounted for. And that is the finality. This ultimate Positive age is the Millennium of Atheism.

Thus far the philosophy of Comte. It will be seen that it expels religion from within the bounds of reason. His American pupil, Dr. Draper, holds to a larger number of advancing stages; placing the age of reason after the age of faith, and adding a discouraging appendix, consisting of an age of mental imbecility to complete the whole. Against this philosophy, Kant would have erected his counter work of the practical reason; Hamilton and Mansel (and Dr. Hedge) would have raised the banner of faith; and M'Cosh inaugurates his system of intuitions. The great philosophical issue between them is, What is the validity of our intuitions?

The true theory of the effect of science upon theism we take to be this: Man's reason, apart from revelation, demands a Supernatural sufficient to account for and to control the entire amount he knows of nature. When his knowledge of nature is local and fragmentary, the deity he demands is local and limited. As his comprehension of nature enlarges, his demands for a higher and wider Providence are commensurate with all the nature he conceives. And when astronomy and conception grasp a limitless universe, his reason demands a one limitless God. And at that unsurpassable point science and monotheism agree forever.

It is a curious fact that in Comte's own personal history an age of pseudo-religion succeeded the age of positivism. Having no religion to fill and satiate his soul, he patched up a tatterdemalion superstition! This his great pupil, Mill, fully details in his second article, with repeated confessions of shame for his great master. His god was the Human Race, past, present, and future; for whose worship he constructed an elaborate ritual, and in whose behalf he preached an overstrained theory of morality—a morality whose exaggeration rendered it immoral. Professing himself wise, he became the prince of fools. Let his followers take warning by his example.

German Reviews.

DORPATER ZEITSCHRIFT FUR THEOLOGIE UND KIRCHE. (Dorpat Journal of Theology and the Church.) Second Number, 1865.—1. VOLCK, On Eschatology. 3. HALLER, Missions among the Jews. 4. BECKER, Paul Gerhardt and his Struggles for the Lutheran Church. 5. OETTINGEN, Review of Harless's Christian Ethics. 8. LUTKENS, Review of Fabri's Letters against Materialism.

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STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) Fourth Number.—1. WEISS, The Petrine Question. 2. ROMAUG, The Declining Regard for the Doctrines of the Church and the Standards of Faith. 3. KUBEL, The Ethics of "The Wisdom of Solomon." 4. KOSTER, Remarks on the Parable of the Unjust Steward. 5. BURK, Commentary on Galatians ii, 6. 6. DUSTERDICK, Review of Ahrens' "*Amt der Schlussel,*" (Ministry of the Keys. Hanover, 1864.) 7. HERZOG, Review of Baur's Church History of the 19th Century, (*Kirchengeschichte des* 19*ten Jahrundertes. Tubingen*, 1862.)

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal of Scientific Theology.) Third Number, 1865.—1. HILGENFELD, The Christ-Party in Corinth. 2. LIPSIUS, The Pastor of Hermas, and Montanism at Rome. 3. E. ZELLER, Exegetical Remarks on the Gospel of Mark. (1. Mark xiii, 32. 2. Christ and the Demons.) 4. HILGENFELD, C. Tischendorf as "Defensor Fidei." 5. HITZIG, Ben Pandera and Ben Stada. 6. EGLI, The Rationalists of the Islam. 7. Letter from the Duke of Coburg to Prof. Hilgenfeld.

In the first article Prof. Hilgenfeld undertakes to defend the view of F. C. Baur on the Christ-Party at Corinth, according to which this party denied the apostolate of Paul, while affirming the sole authority of the twelve original apostles. The correctness of this view has been contested by Neander and Schenkel, and especially by Beischlag, (in *Studien und Kritiken*. 1865. Pp. 217, *seqq.*) who, against Baur, advances the opinion that there were in Corinth two parties of Jewish Christians, a mild "Petrine" one and a fanatical one, the "Christ-Party," and that while Paul found no difficulty in coming to an understanding with the former and with the "Apollos-Party," he had to wage a war of life and death against the latter. The argument used for establishing this opinion by Prof. Beyschlag, Professor Hilgenfeld undertakes to refute in the above article. While, according to Beyschlag, the "Christ-Party" were Jewish Christians, who were thoroughly "unapostolic," and no less opposed to the original apostles than to Paul, Hilgenfeld seeks to show that they were the adherents of the original apostles and immediate disciples of Christ, who did not believe in the conversion and in the authority of Paul. The opinion first defended by Baur, and now again by himself, Hilgenfeld regards as the "chief fortress" of modern critical theology.

The second article, by Professor Lipsius, of Vienna, well known by his works on Gnosticism, is the first of a series on the relation of the Pastor of Hermas to Montanism, as it appeared in the Church of Rome. The object of the author is to show that the "fundamental views" expressed in the Pastor are entirely identical with the tenets of Montanism.

The sixth article is a brief review of a pamphlet on a Rationalistic sect among the Mohammedans, by Dr. Steiner, which we learn is to be followed by a larger work on the same subject. According to the

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reviewer, Dr. Egli, of Zurich, the literary world may expect in the promised work entirely new information on a very interesting and important subject.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE.—*May.*—1. BONNECHOSE, Channing and the New Theological School. 2. BOIS, The Idea of God and its New Critics. 3. CAILLIATTE, On the Causes which arrested the Development of the Reformation in France.

June.—1. PEDEZERT, The Emperor Mark Aurelius. 2. PRESSENSE, The Supernatural before the Tribunal of Conscience. 3. PRESSENSE, On the Efforts made in France in behalf of Emancipation.

July.—1. PRESSENSE, An Appeal in behalf of Freedmen. 2. PEDEZERT, The Emperor Mark Aurelius. (Second Article.) 3. CAILLIATTE, On the Causes which arrested the Development of the Reformation in France.

There is no paper in France which has shown us a warmer sympathy throughout the war, and which is now making more earnest efforts in behalf of the Freedmen than the *Revue Chretienne.* In its number for June, we find an interesting article on what has hitherto been done in France in behalf of the cause of emancipation.

We first have an eloquent appeal from Professor Laboulaye to the ladies of France, to organize for the purpose of aiding the people of the United States in making provision for the most urgent wants of the freedmen. In consequence of this appeal a numerous meeting of ladies took place in Paris, which effected a permanent organization, of which Madame Laboulaye is president, and Madame E. de Pressensé, the wife of the editor of the Revue Chretienne, vice-president, and which, among the members of the executive committee, counts the names of the wives of Ath. Coquerel; Ath. Coquerel, fils; Grandpierre, (editor of the *Esperance*, the chief organ of the Reformed Church;) Gueroult, (editor of the *Opinione Nationale;*) Garnier Pagès; Martin Paschoud; Alfred Monod; Guillaume Monod; Count Montalembert; Neffzer, (editor of the *Temps;*) Prevost Paradol, (editor of the *Journal des Debats;*) Jules Simon; St. René Taillandier; Cornelis de Witt, (son-in-law of M. Guizot.)

At the same time a "French Committee of Emancipation" was formed, in order to correspond with the societies established in America, England, and other countries, to aid in the total abolition of slavery, the education and support of the freedmen, and the publication of all the facts which belong to this great cause. The provisional committee of the society is composed of the Duke de Broglie, president of the committee of 1843, for the abolition of slavery, and M. Guizot, as honorary presidents; Professor Laboulaye, as acting president; Augustin Cochin, as secretary; Prince de Broglie,

Henry Martin, (the distinguished historian,) Guillaume Monod, Count Montalembert, E. de Pressensé, Cornelis de Witt, and a number of other distinguished men.

In conclusion, the article gives an extract from the excellent essay of Count Montalembert, on the issue of the American War, which has been both republished and translated in this country.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.—*May* 1.—1. AMEDEE THIERRY, Jerome and Paula in the City of Saints. 7. O. D'HAUSSONVILLE, The Roman Church and the Negotiations of the Concordat, (from 1800 to 1814.)
May 15.—1. TAINE, Italy and Italian Life, (fifth article.) 7. LANGEL, The President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln—Personal Reminiscences.
June 1.—3. BURNOUF, Christian Civilization in the East. 5. VITET, Faith and Science, with special reference to the book of M. Guizot. 6. AYLIES, Death Penalty.
June 15.—4. REVILLE, St. Hippolyte—Pope Callixtus and the Christian Society of Rome of the Thirteenth Century. 7. SZABAD, The Campaign of Georgia and the End of the American War.
July 1.—3. ST. RENE TAILLANDIER, A Russian Mission in Palestine—Tischendorf and the Grand Duke Constantine. 7. CH. DE MAZADE, A Protestant Humorist. 10. JANET, A French Forerunner of Hegel.
July 15.—2. CH. DE REMUSAT, On Future Life. 4. LANGEL, The United States during the War. 7. WALKER, The American Finances after the Civil War.

In the number of July 15, Ch. de Remusat, of the French Academy, one of the first living scholars of France, gives as a review of the recent French literature on the Future Life, and more particularly of the following four works: *De La Vie Future*, (Future Life,) by Th. Henry Martin; *La Vie Eternelle*, (Life Eternal,) by Earnest Naville; *La Pluralité des Mondes Habités*, (Plurality of the Inhabited Worlds,) by Camille Flammarion; and *La Pluralité des Existences de l'Ame*, (Plurality of the Existences of the Soul,) by André Pezzani. Henry Martin, the author of the first of these works, must not be confounded with the celebrated historian of the same name, who is an enthusiastic member of the school of which Jean Reybaud is the chief, and which believes in the transmigration of the soul. The author of the work on the Future Life is, on the contrary, an ardent champion of the Roman Catholic faith, and the reviewer accords to his work the praise that it belongs among the best that have been written on the subject by Catholic scholars, and that he exhaustively treats his subject from a theological as well as a philosophical and physical point of view. The work of Naville is written in the same spirit. It is not a scientific treatise, but seven lectures or sermons, to establish the certainty of the life everlasting offered and promised by Jesus Christ. His work also is written, according to the reviewer, with superior talent. The two last named works are written by disciples of Jean

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Reybaud, the great champion in modern times of the theory of "a migration" of souls. Both authors give a history of the doctrine. Pezzani has already written a number of other works on the same subject, and Flammarion announces the continuation of his work by another, which will be devoted to a description and discussion of the other worlds. Incidentally the article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, which analyzes the above works, refers to other recent literature on the same subject, as, to a work by Lambert, who, in an essay entitled *l'Immortalité Selon le Christ*, (Immortality According to Christ, (Paris, 1865,) undertakes to establish that the Life Everlasting of the New Testament was meant to be an abolition of death in this world.

Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Reason in Religion. By **Frederick Henry Hedge.** Boston: Walker, Fuller, & Co. 1865.

Dr. Hedge is, we believe, largely a representative man in the Unitarian ranks of the present day. The present volume exhibits a summary of his views, expressed in clear, eloquent, but diffuse style. *Views*, we may properly call them; for he simply presents what seems most agreeable in doctrine to himself, rather than attempts to prove them by argument to others. His mind, indeed, appears to be decidedly more intuitive than logical; and he would, perhaps, even positively decline to believe "a religion that can be proved." It may be interesting to our readers for us to give a slight summary of his summary.

The basis of his system is the Kant and Hamilton philosophy. The Understanding is "the faculty that judges according to sense." That is, it takes the material furnished by the five senses, and reflects upon it, classifies it, and judges it by the rules of logic. Hence it is a powerful and a wonderful instrument in the finite, limited, and conditioned affairs of common life. But it mounts not into the universal or infinite, and hence knows nothing of God. Had we the Understanding alone, the conception of God would never enter the human mind. But over and above the Understanding we have the Pure Reason of Kant, the Faith of Hamilton, or the Intuitions of M'Cosh, to which the Deity stands as a self-revealing God. It is in opposition to this philosophy that Comte affirms that no conception of God is legitimate or credible; and Herbert Spencer maintains that there is nothing but an Unknowable Absolute, of which neither intelligence, will, nor any

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other attribute, is predicable. Dr. Hedge, using the phraseology of Hamilton, proceeds to develop the God and the religion which unfold themselves to his Faith.

First, there is a "Regent God," or Providence. Our author selects that theory of Providence by which God is the central Will in nature, and nature's laws are his volitions, so that miracle, even if incapable of proof, is intrinsically possible. There is the "Answering" and the "Exorable God," and hence the legitimacy of prayer. Our author's theory of prayer is, that it often forms the condition upon which divine results depend; just as the seed sown is the condition on which the divine will furnishes the harvest. The Understanding never, indeed, will recognize in the particular instance that a particular prayer is answered; yet Faith justly maintains that prayer is often granted either in the specific thing prayed for, or in some blessed equivalent, to the soul. Nay, all true prayer is granted in proportion to the clearness of its truth and the energy of its faith. And in this chapter Dr. Hedge writes not with merely poetical beauty, but with an earnest devotional spirit refreshing as a fountain in the desert. Thus far in relation to God; now in relation to man.

First comes the old enigma, Whence is evil? and the old discord, What is sin? His theory is that of optimism. This world with all its evil is the best possible world, better, in spite of its evil, than the best world without evil. And sin is both an act and a condition of our nature at variance with absolute right and in discord with our own higher nature. Our deliverance is to be attained not so much by a fight with sin within us as by a cultivation and an up-building of our better nature. Our regeneration is rather the full development of our natural goodness, and is rather a positive than a negative work. Both our justification and our regeneration are therefore to be attained by faith. Thus far the theodicy, and now for the Christology.

Christ is divine. We cannot be too thankful, our author thinks, that the Athanasian doctrine prevailed in the Church over the dangerous polytheism of Arius. There doubtless was a divine Providence in it. Thereby the divine in man was retained as a familiar thought in Christianity. But Christ is not God. He is simply glorified man, in whom dwells the power to speak with a divine authority. We have no proof that he wrought miracles; for we have no cotemporaneous reliable record of his sayings and doings. Miracles or deeds transcending the ordinary level of nature he may have performed; but of this there is no satisfactory evidence. Indeed the miraculous part of the Gospel narratives, the incarnation, the supernatural deeds, the resurrection, whether true or not, form no neces-

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sary or essential part of Christianity. The Gospel's spirit and power are its own self-evident miracle. The marvels of spiritualism, and the supernatural disclosures said to have been made by Swedenborg, show how little miracles avail in authenticating a religion. All of Christianity that is genuinely true is self-evident to the Intuition, and needs no traditional proof.

In his chapter on Penal Theology, Dr. Hedge discloses his doctrine of Retribution. Of the opposite theories, Universalism and Partialism, there is such a counterbalance of proof that no positive decision can be made between the two. The vast preponderance of Theological authorities is in favor of Partialism. Ultra Universalism is artificial and violent, nearly amounting to the supposition of the creating of a new soul at death. Experience shows that there are sinners whose evil nature is intrinsically incorrigible; who are incapable of reformation save by arbitrary reconstruction. On the contrary, Partialism, in the form of the positive eternal misery of the wicked, stands in opposition to the doctrine of Divine Goodness. As a last resort, Dr. Hedge prefers the doctrine, not of annihilation, but of eternal deprivation of consciousness, and the reduction of the substance of the soul to the condition of matter. When a soul has developed to the condition of irrecoverable evil it, perhaps, becomes an evil spirit, a demon, a devil. Its moral nature, which is the life of its consciousness, then depreciates and dies into everlasting death. In the fire of hell the suffering soul relapses from embers into cinder. The substance of the earth may be composed of materalized soul.

Upon all this summary we need only remark, that while it stands immeasurably above the level of Comte and Spencer, it is utterly devoid of power or grapple upon the heart or souls of men. Reduce scripture to a fragmentary scribble of unauthentic documents; strike down the miraculous manifestations of God through miracle in the world; level the Son of God to a mere man, and the virtue has clean gone out from a once living Christianity. Dr. Hedge's book, with all its rhetoric, is but the display of the emasculate character of the Unitarian system. A Unitarian preacher can come before the people with merely his individualisms, his own particular views and conclusions; and the people have a right to reply, What have we to do with this man's singularities? Our guessings are as good as his. When a Methodist preacher comes, he comes with a living word of God in his hand; with a God manifest in the flesh to present; with death, judgment, and eternity at stake. Nor have we the least fear that the power of these realities will fail. They will stand the light of any investigation, they will meet the demands of any age.

Minutes of the Committee on the Centenary of Methodism, appointed by the Bishops in accordance with the Order of the General Conference of 1864. Held at Cleveland, Ohio, February 22–25, 1865. 8vo., pp. 19. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1865.

For her Sabbath Israel had a "preparation" of a few hours; and for our great Centennial Sabbath of 1866, we have a preparation yet of a few months. Our first century of American Methodism draws near its close; and we are to join hands in a great thank-offering for what God hath wrought and for what we are. And, *first*, let us reconsecrate ourselves to our great mission. Where is the God of our fathers? Him will we serve even as our fathers served, will he but baptize us with a double portion of the Holy Spirit. Wherein we have wandered and lost, let us return and recover. We need not indeed return to the forms and the circumstantials, to the silver-satin bonnet, the stiff-collared coat, and to the Foundry Church. But we may return to the full possession of that hearty, joyous, ever-active religion that constituted our fathers a power in the world. But in this we cannot be so *singular* and alone as they were. Blessed be the name of our God, we are surrounded with the goodly hosts of our sister denominations, who are very difficult to surpass in labors of Christian faith and love. And, *second*, we would that in accordance with the resolutions of our bishops, our centennial year could be marked by a reunion of the different fragments of American Methodism. Especially would we rejoice in the return of that Church, the WESLEYANS, who seceded from us rather than make our concessions to the Southern slave-power. We honor and love those men. Their secession, as we believe, saved our Church in 1844 from accepting a slaveholding bishop. They, honorably to themselves, left the Church for the Church's good; and for that same Church's good we trust that they will return, with a full triumphant WELCOME. Never in such a crisis may the Church want those who will desert her ranks and frighten her soul from bowing her knee to Baal. *Third*, very wisely our Centenary Committee have recognized that our educational department stands most in need of a great revival effort. The record of our laymen in that branch of enterprise is not brilliant. It is much that the liberality of the Church shall be concentrated upon this object for one great year. It is more that her heart is brought to *feel* upon this subject at this historical point. And if she can reflect *concentratedly*, so as to yield less to local and meditate more upon great *connectional* points, we may yet recover from some great errors, and attain some great *monumental* results. In regard to colleges we need a new spirit and purpose, not to project *new* foundations so much as to finish the *old*. There, for instance, is Middletown, with a beautiful location, a splendid beginning, and a most honorable

quarter of a century of history, living and working by the Church's neglect. We would hope not to hear any more trancendentalisms about a College on the Hudson or on Manhattan Island until the University of Fisk and Olin is endowed with a million. And, *lastly*, while war has been a strange instructor of our people in deeds of lavish benevolent liberality, peace has returned, not only without any commercial revulsion or business stagnation, but with a positive prosperity and a rich augury that render liberality a natural and hearty process. Our laymen will, we have not the slightest doubt, come forth with a thank-offering to lay upon the altars of the Church that will fully demonstrate that the Church will be safe and prosperous so far as its interests are committed to their hands. We venture the prediction that they will roll out a TOTAL which will stand among the many surprises that our history has furnished to the world. We will thereupon gird ourselves afresh, and in the name of God put on new strength and take up our line of march toward that next Centennial, at which, not we, but our children's children, shall testify what further hath God wrought, and call to mind the sayings and doings of their fathers.

Systematische Theologie, Ein Heitlich Behandelt. Von WILLIAM F. WARREN, Dr. und Prof. der Theologie. Erste Lieferung: Allgemeine Ein leitung. Pp. 186. Bremen: 1865.

We have here the first installment of a book which is destined to make its mark upon the theology of the age. Dr. Warren is well known to the readers of this review by his various contributions to theological literature, all marked by accurate learning, clear discrimination, and luminous arrangement. He is also known in narrower circles as one of the most thoroughly cultivated and promising of the younger theologians of the time, whether in Europe or America. But we think that his intimate friends, as well as the public, were hardly prepared to receive from his hands a piece of work so complete, so philosophical, and at the same time so thoroughly scriptural and Methodistic as the book before us.

It forms the *General Introduction* to a systematic theology. Dr. Warren modestly says in his preface that the work was undertaken for the benefit of his pupils in the mission school at Bremen, and for the use of the younger Methodist ministers of the German Church in Europe and America; and that it may serve the additional purpose of enlightening the German theological public in general as to the true nature of Methodist theology. These are very good views indeed; but we predict for the work, if finished as it is begun, a far wider sphere of influence than the author's modesty has allowed him to anticipate for

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it. It will, if we are not mistaken, be called for in an English version, and will form the standard scientific text-book of Methodist theology for a long time to come.

We have not space in a mere book notice to indicate the grounds of this judgment. In our next number we expect to furnish an extended review of the book. In the mean time we advise all our readers who are familiar with the German language to order this "Introduction" through Messrs. Carlton & Porter of New York, or Poe & Hitchcock of Cincinnati. M.

The Sabbath Psalter: A Selection of Psalms for Public and Family Worship. Compiled by Rev. HENRY J. FOX, A.M. 12mo., pp. 236. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1865.

In our notice of the doings of our last General Conference in a former Quarterly we expressed the hope, in behalf of the laity, that the time was not far distant when they would use the privilege of joining responsively in the Scripture part of the Sabbath service. Our agents have agreeably surprised even their editor by the appearance from their press, without any anticipation or supervision on his part, of a full-formed Psalter, by a competent hand, admirably suited to the purpose. Let pastor and official board previously agree in the matter; let some full-voiced brother take the lead; and then let "every person in the congregation" follow, "not one in ten only." We hope that it will be universally adopted; and that before the close of our centennial year the concert of Scripture Psalmody will rise from our assembled congregations like the voice of many waters. We trust that the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and all Methodist Churches, Episcopal or not, will herein form a reunion.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Annual of Scientific Discovery; or, Year Book of Facts in Science and Art for 1865, exhibiting the most important discoveries and improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc.; together with Notes of the Progress of Science during the year 1864, a list of recent Scientific Publications, Obituaries of Eminent Scientific Men, etc. Edited by DAVID A. WELLS, A.M., M.D., author of Principles of Natural Philosophy, Principles of Chemistry, First Principles of Geology, etc. 12mo., pp. 355. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard.

The present number of Mr. Wells's valuable scientific summary possesses more than ordinary interest. The scientific harvest of the past year has been rather abundant.

The Fossil Man has been hunted for with great zeal, and found in great numbers in France and in Gibraltar; while in India and California geologic evidences of humanity in long past æons are announced.

We select a statement or two:

Cave of Bruniquel, France.—In the summer of 1863 there was opened on the estate of the Vicomte St. Jal, at Bruniquel, in the department of *Tarn et Garonne*, a cave, from which the proprietor obtained numerous specimens of remains of animals, flint instruments, bone implements, fashioned and carved by means of the flint-knives, and finally what the Vicomte believed to be human remains, all imbedded in the *breccia*. . . .

The contents of the cave were exhumed and removed to London. They are understood to embrace some one thousand five hundred fossil specimens, many of them still embedded in the calcified mud in which they were found beneath a coating of stalagmite. The cavern is in a Jurassic limestone, and the soil found in it is formed by the superposition of several layers, namely, first, a stalagmite deposit; then an osseous breccia; then black clay beds repeated several times, in the midst of which was a *pell mell* of wrought flints of all known shapes; barbed arrow-points; bones of carnivores, ruminants, and birds, and rounded pebbles. *Mingled with these were the bones of man.* About eighty per cent. of the animal bones found were those of the reindeer, an animal which has not been known within the historic period south of the northern shores of the Baltic. There were besides the bones of two species of extinct deer, a few remains of the red deer, the extinct *Bos primigenius*, the *Rhinoceros tichorinus*, and the humerus of a big bird, on which was roughly sculptured different parts of a fish. This seems to have been an amulet or ornament. Some of the other bones also were rudely carved, while most of them bear marks of having been fractured for the purpose of getting at the marrow, or making them into weapons or instruments.

At a meeting of the Royal Society, June, 1864, Professor Owen minutely described the circumstances under which these discoveries were made, and stated that the *cotemporaneity of the human remains* with those of the extinct and other animals with which they were associated, together with the flint and bone implements, was proved by the evidence of the plastic condition of the calcified mud of the breccia at the time of interment, by the chemical constitution of the human bones, corresponding with that of the other animal remains, and by the similarity of their position and relations in the surrounding breccia. Among the principal remains of the men of the flint period discovered in this cave he described the following:

1. The hinder portion of a cranium, with several other parts of the same skeleton, which were so situated in their matrix as to indicate that the body had been interred in a crouching posture, and that, after the decomposition and dissolution of the soft parts, the skeleton had yielded to the superincumbent weight; 2. An almost entire *calvarium*, which was described and compared with different types of the human skull, and which Professor Owen showed was superior in form and capacity to the Australian type, and more closely to correspond with the Celtic type, though proportionally shorter than the modern Celtic and the form exhibited by the Celtic cranium from Engis, Switzerland; 3. Jaws and teeth of individuals of different ages.

After noticing other smaller portions of human crania, the lower jaw and teeth of an adult, the upper and lower jaws of immature individuals were described, the characters of certain deciduous teeth being referred to. The proportions of the molars are not those of the Australian, but of other races, and especially *those of ancient and modern Europeans.* As in most primitive or early races in which mastication was little helped by arts of cookery, or by various and refined kinds of food, the crowns of the molars are worn down beyond the enamel, flat and smooth to the stumps, exposing there a central tract of osteodentine without any signs of decay.

It would thus appear that the human remains from the Brunequil cave *stand*

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high in the scale of organization, and do not exhibit the features of an inferior or transitional type.—Pp. 283–285.

EXPLORATION OF CAVERNS IN THE PROVINCE OF PERIGORD, FRANCE.—Within a comparatively recent period the existence of certain caves, rich in fossil remains, has been ascertained in the Province of Périgord, France. They occur chiefly on the banks of tributaries of the river Dordogne, (which reaches the sea a little north of Bordeaux.) During the past year one of these caverns, namely, that of Eyzies, was bought by Messrs. Lartet and Christy, the well-known geologists, and carefully explored.

These gentlemen divided the floor of the cave into compartments, and, with a generosity worthy of all praise, they have sent specimens of the blocks thus obtained, weighing five hundred pounds and upward, to the principal museums in Europe.

The floor of this cavern was found to consist of a compact mass of earth, charcoal, flint weapons and tools, bones, needles, etc., which have been hardened into a solid agglomerate, chiefly by the action of the calcareous droppings from the roof of the cave. This agglomerate, or breccia, as it is technically styled, formed an artificial floor to the cave of various thicknesses, from three inches to ten inches. In fact, the evidence seems complete that the cave in question was for many years the abode of an ancient people, who were accustomed to throw down, or leave upon the floor, the bones and other remnants of their feasts, very much in the manner of the Esquimaux and other savages of the present day. With these, weapons and industrial implements naturally became mingled. The animal bones found were, as in the cave of Bruniquel, principally those of the reindeer. . . .

Messrs. Lartet and Christy, from their explorations of this cave, announce the following conclusions: That a variety of the human race inhabited the caves in the region since called Périgord at the same time as the reindeer, the aurochs, and other animals, which are now only found in extreme latitudes; that this people had no knowledge of the use of metals, their only arms and tools being either of broken and unpolished flints, or of bones or horns of animals; that they lived upon the produce of the chase and by fishing; that they had no domesticated animal, neither dog nor cat, else some portions of the bones and sinews that have been found would have been gnawed, and some remains of the dog would have been discovered; and that they were clothed in skins, which were sewn with bone needles and string made out of the sinews and tendons of the legs of their prey.—P. 285.

HUMAN FOSSILS FROM GIBRALTAR.—From two collections of cavern-breccia forwarded to England, nearly four hundred fragments of skulls have been obtained, all presenting signs of very ancient fracture, besides numerous jaw-bones. Most of these cranial fragments are too small to admit of complete cranial restoration; but Mr. Busk, the naturalist, who has the collection in charge, is of the opinion that the lower jaws may be referred to two distinct types of race. "This opinion," he says, "is strengthened by the circumstance that some of the other bones of the skeletons present very remarkable distinctive characters. Thus, among the numerous leg and thigh bones, belonging apparently to some thirty-five individuals, are many so singular, *and, as it may almost be said so monstrous in their form,* as to have excited the astonishment of all anatomists who have beheld them.—P. 287.

FURTHER HUMAN REMAINS FROM ABBEVILLE, FRANCE.—On April 24, 1864, M. Perthes and Dr. Dubois of Abbeville, found in one of the quarry beds a portion of a human sacrum, fragments of a cranium, and human molar teeth; on the 1st of May they obtained, on digging, further remains; and on the 11th of May, the party of exploration being increased, they turned out from the depth of about fourteen feet a human jaw-bone, nearly perfect, with other bones and some cut flints. On the 7th of June the Abbé Martin, Professor of Geology at the Seminary of St. Riquier, continued the diggings, and took out from a drift bed, at a place which showed plainly by its regular stratification that it had not been disturbed since its original deposition, a *human cranium,* the frontal bone and the parietal of which were nearly entire, and also two fragments of an upper jaw.

The number of specimens of bones thus collected from the Abbeville beds during the past year amounts to two hundred, and they were all found within an ex-

tent of about one hundred and thirty feet. Part of these are of animals. The human remains apparently indicate a very small race of men.—Pp. 288, 289.

Near Pressigny, France, a whole "factory" of flint implements has been found, including "cut nuclei, tomahawks, hatchets, knives, spear-heads, and scrapers." A writer in Galignani expresses suspicions at this development. Human fossils have been found in Brazil, "bearing marks of geologic antiquity, intermixed with those of extinct animals." "The form of the skull differs in no respect from the acknowledged American type."

The lake geologists of Switzerland have been measuring the length of the human geologic epoch. The calculation brings out "a duration of about one thousand centuries at least for the last geological epoch, which began immediately after the retreat of the last great glaciers, which was characterized by the presence of the *Elephas primigenius* and by the appearance of man, and which ended at the beginning of the modern period, the latter having already lasted about one hundred centuries."

Dr. Dawson, of Canada, has found organic remains in the Laurentian rocks earlier than some of the so-called Azoic. Dr. Perry, of London, maintains that granite is not of Plutonian origin. His proof is that the quartz crystal in granite has a specific gravity lower than ever results from fusion. Professor Thury, of Geneva, Switzerland, professes to have discovered a method of producing either sex at will in the production of animals.

Physicists present some discussions on the subject of the constitution of matter which our metaphysicians would do well to note. It has been lately observed by a high authority that physical researches are tending to spiritualize men's views of the system of nature. We quote the following passage from an astronomical paragraph by Sir W. Armstrong, president of the British Association, in Mr. Wells's Annual for 1864:

> Not that I speak of particles in the sense of the atomist. Whatever our views may be of the nature of particles, we must conceive them as centers invested with surrounding forces. We have no evidence, either from our sense or otherwise, of these centers being occupied by solid cores of indivisible incompressible matter essentially distinct from force. Dr. Young has shown that even in so dense a body as water these nuclei, if they exist at all, must be so small in relation to the intervening spaces, that a hundred men distributed at equal distances over the whole surface of England would represent their relative magnitude and distance. What then must be these relative dimensions in highly rarefied matter? But why encumber our conceptions of material forces by this unnecessary imagining of a central molecule? If we retain the forces and reject the molecule, we shall still have every property we can recognize in matter by the use of our senses or by the aid of our reason. Viewed in this light, matter is not merely a thing subject to force, but is itself composed and constituted of force.—P. 325.

A Treatise on Astronomy. By ELIAS LOOMIS, LL.D., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in Yale College; Author of "An Introduction to Practical Astronomy," and of a Series of Mathematics for Schools and Colleges. 8vo., pp. 338. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Of elementary works on astronomy there is an abundance. Yet there are few teachers of this science in our colleges, we think, who have not felt the want of an accurate text-book adapted to the intelligence of the mass of their pupils. The best rational exposition of the methods and results of astronomical investigation, unencumbered by mathematical formula, in our language, is undoubtedly to be found in Herschel's Outlines of Astronomy. But its size and its diffuseness in both language and illustration render it exceedingly defective as a text-book. Of American works, while there are several of a very high order of merit, it must be confessed that those which are sufficiently popular in their character to obtain a wide circulation, are generally deficient in the first requisite of a scientific treatise, accuracy. Professor Loomis has aimed, in the volume before us, to supply the want to which we refer. His eminent ability as a scientific man and a writer of text-books is a sufficient guarantee of the manner in which the task is accomplished. The size of the volume is such that it may be read without omissions in the college course. The mathematical discussions are limited, wisely, we think, to those subjects which cannot be distinctly comprehended without them. Wherever it is practicable they are illustrated by simple examples, which will serve to test the learner's familiarity with the principles he has studied. Topics which are of more general interest, such as the constitution of the sun, the condition of the moon's surface, the phenomena of total eclipses of the sun, the laws of the tides, the constitution of comets, and the results of recent researches respecting binary stars, are treated with as much fullness as the limits of the volume would allow. The language of the work is simple and concise, and the arrangement of its matter is made throughout with special reference to the requirements of the recitation room. We recommend it without hesitation as the best text-book of astronomy for the use of college classes with which we are acquainted. X.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Harper's Hand-book for Travelers in Europe and the East. By W. PEMBROKE FETTRIDGE. Fourth Year. 12mo., pp. 612. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865.

This is an enlarged and beautiful edition, done up in pocket-book form, with tuck, and carrying a beautiful railroad map in its pocket.

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The author resides most of his time in Europe, and the present volume being two years later than any European hand-book published, presents the latest phases of railroad and other traveling improvements. The railroad map presents a most suggestive measure of the comparative advances in civilization of the different sections of Europe. Paris is the center of a perfect spider's web; Belgium and England are intricately checkered. Central Europe is a gridiron. But Italy is nearly blank. Rome, the mistress of ancient civilization, is pierced with a single black line! So much is the papal worse than the pagan rule. Indeed, the very face of Europe and America shows that the railroad is almost a Protestant Christian institution.

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Travels in Central Asia; Being the Account of a Journey from Teheran, across the Turkoman Desert on the Eastern Shore of the Caspian, to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand. Performed in the year 1863. By ARMINIUS VAMBERY, Member of the Hungarian Academy of Pesth, by whom he was sent on this Scientific Mission. 8vo., pp. 493. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865.

Says a European proverb, "Scrape off the surface of a Russian, and you will find a Tartar beneath." Mr. Arminius Vámbéry being a young Hungarian, profoundly versed in ethnographical lore, was desirous to ascertain, by actual linguistic observation, how much Tartar he had beneath his skin. This he properly styles "the *moving* cause" of his *movement* into the heart of Central Asia, as we may rightly call the capital city of Independent Tartary. Upon the large and elegant map accompanying the volume, the clear red mark that indicates his path, starting from Teheran in Persia, cutting the south-east corner of the Caspian, describes a northern curve, to the city of Khiva, near the Aral; and thence southward, through Bokhara, terminates at Samarcand, the goal of his pilgrimage. Back from Samarcand, he cuts a similar curve southward, through Karshi and Maymene, clipping the lower edge of Turkomania, through Herat in Afghanistan, thence to Meshed in Persia, and through Northern Persia to Teheran; and thence to London. His double path includes a badly shaped ellipse, stretching lengthwise from Teheran to Samarcand.

Through the entire eastern half of this ellipse, so intense is the barbarian bigotry of the population, that to be known as a European or a Christian would have been sure death to the traveler. His life could be insured only by the profoundest disguise most skillfully maintained. Mr. Vámbéry being not a religious but a scientific missionary, felt himself no way hampered by the strictest of ethics. He assumed the character and dress of a dervish, and with the profoundest hypocrisy of manner, dress, and language, successfully

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deceives every man he meets, except, of course, his reader. The universal Church of Science, while prescribing strictest truth within its own domains, binds not itself to faith with outside barbarians. With the rarest presence of mind when endangered by the suspicions of the natives aroused by his questionable traits, with the utmost fertility of invention, and with the most unparalleled audacity, Mr. Vámbéry, "*splendidé mendax*," literally *lied* his way into the heart of Asia. Induced by the necessities of the deepest disguise, he labored to outdo his brother dervishes in rags and vermin, plastering himself several strata deep with mud and filth, bawling passages of the Koran "for hours like one possessed," enacting religious paroxysms, and pronouncing mock benedictions upon humble devotees. His truthfulness to his European friends is, however, attested by the unique simplicity of his narrative, as well as by the severe ruthlessness with which he divests the oriental countries and cities of the halo of poetry with which they have been invested by oriental bombast reproduced in the English language in Moore's brilliant rhyme-romance of Lalla Rookh. The results of Mr. Vámbéry's travels in the present volume are divided into two parts. The first embraces the narrative of his adventures, and the second a political survey of the regions in which they transpired. Asia, the oldest of the continents, is yet a land of unpenetrated mysteries. It is yet to open to the missionary and to the merchant, to the telegraph and the railroad, to all the grand results of modern civilization. Mr. Vámbéry will ever be memorable as the first pioneer to her central point. The scientific fruits which he gathered in his tour are still reserved in his own possession; to be shaped, in time, for future publication. The ethnographical scholar will wait with interest for his next announcement.

Domestic Life in Palestine. By MARY ELIZA ROGERS. 12mo., pp. 436. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1865.

Miss Rogers has a story to tell, and she tells it well. She sees with an artist's eye, and describes with an artist's pen. Her opportunities for correct observation were ample. For four years she resided with her brother, Mr. E. T. Rogers, then the popular British Consul at Hâifa, and afterward at Damascus, and was without difficulty introduced into the social life of the East. She accompanied him in various expeditions into the interior, and saw society in all its phases from Bethlehem to Nazareth.

Miss Rogers has given us a very interesting book. It is not a book of Travels, nor a volume of illustrations of Scripture, nor a scientific account of that wonderful land; although it has enough of

travels, illustrations, and details. It is what its title imports, and answers a great many questions that everybody asks. As she journeys she sees everything, and makes us see it too, if it will aid our comprehension of the "domestic life" of the people. Descriptions of well-known places, battles and sieges, fortresses and holy places, are ignored, except when wanted as a background for scenes of real life. But never does the silvery olive, the promegranate with its scarlet flowers, the rich green fig smelling like heliotrope, field of waving grain, opening bud or blooming flower, escape her eye. Her artistic power is such, that with a few strokes of her pen we see it all. We live with her in tents on the hills round about Jerusalem; we visit the young and proud mother of a newly born son at Bethlehem, and think of another mother that there brought forth her first-born; we drink of the water of the well for which David sighed; we share in the joy of the wedding and the wailing for the dead. So graphic is the narrative without being wearisome. Received as a guest in the families of the country, and careful to never offend the prejudices of the people, harem doors were freely open to her. But the women of Palestine lack those qualities which won for Miss Rogers their admiration. She is unfitted for society. "If we gave them liberty," said an intelligent Moslem, "they would not know how to use it. Their heads are made of wood. When you speak, we no longer remember that you are a girl; we think we are listening to a sheikh. Our wives and daughters have neither wisdom nor knowledge. Give them wisdom, and we will give them liberty." Woman is degraded, not because she is woman, but because she lacks "wisdom." Some of the better class are convinced that their civilization depends very much on the position of their women, and they exhibit some anxiety for the education of their daughters. Reform, to be sure and permanent, must lay its foundation in their homes.

We will suggest to the publishers that the next edition be issued with a map. W.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America. By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Chemistry and Physiology in the University of New York; author of a "Treatise on Human Physiology," and of a "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe." 12mo., pp. 325. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865.

In the present volume Dr. Draper does a public service by bringing the results of science to bear upon the present and past conditions and the proper future policy of our country. He analyzes and traces the laws by which the forces of external nature affect the physical systems,

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the brains, the minds, and characters of men; he traces the laws with a wide induction through the history of our race, and taking a comprehensive view of our own national position in nature and in history, he deduces the principles which ought to control our future action. Particularly he notes that the long stretch of our territory from north to south, brings under one government two different climates with all their physiological and mental oppositions. The tendency is to a development into two opposing systems, which we might, without much inaccuracy, style the European and Asiatic systems. The South, we may say, has been endeavoring to inaugurate an Asiatic policy on American soil, and we have just closed a typical contest between Europe and Asia, a contest which, when it comes to the fair struggle, can leave no doubt as to which side will obtain the victory. Hence he deduces the patriotic and Christian lesson of mutual consideration of each other's peculiarities and forgiveness of offenses. For the dangerous antagonism between the two sections, Dr. Draper finds the remedies to be two, namely, Education and Intercommunication. Our railroads, which heretofore have run with the parallels of latitude almost exclusively westward, must hereafter, under the demand of increasing intercourse, more usually draw a northern and southern line. In his entire train of thought through his first two chapters, interspersed with various and somewhat irrelevant episodes, Dr. Draper gives us an entertaining lead. Science must control all things. Even faith is blind, and religion becomes superstition without the discriminating guidance of intellect. These two chapters show how the legislation of science must control the legislation both of secular and ecclesiastical policy.

In the third and fourth chapters, Dr. Draper steps out of his own peculiar field, gets out of his depth, and often ceases to command our credence or special respect. Under the pretext of illustrating the power of an Idea, he makes some assaults on religious men, and broaches some demoralizing maxims; for all which, foisted into a work, of professed science, we pay him no special thanks. The power of a national Idea he professes to illustrate from the case of the Messianic Idea among the Jews. That Idea, he tells us, originated in Persia, and was plagiarized by the Jews from Magianism. Now when we remember that Messiah and Christ are in Hebrew and in Greek, respectively, one and the same word, expressing the official character of our Saviour, it follows that the very title of Jesus, as of Christianity, was a theft. When Peter made that wonderful confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," he was simply draping Jesus in a mendacious plagiary; and Jesus, instead of telling Peter that the Spirit of God had taught him to bestow

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that title, should have told him he had derived its conception from Zoroaster. Now men who are not pretenders, like Dr. Draper, in Hebrew history and literature, do suppose that this Messianic idea originated with Jehovah himself in the Garden of Eden. They trace it from an age far earlier than Zoroaster, through the sacred record down to the time of the captivity. How does Dr. Draper know that the Jew took it from the Magian, rather than the Magian from the Jew? He indeed asserts, as magisterially as if it were unquestioned historic truth, that the old Testament is not authentic; having an oriental and a comparatively modern, not a Palestinian or an ancient origin. Of course with a skepticism so sweeping, he can affirm that the doctrine of Satan and Angels is of Magian origin. That Satan is mentioned in the Book of Job, in Psalms, and in Chronicles; that Belial is mentioned in Samuel, Judges, and Deuteronomy; that the great tempter of mankind intrudes into Eden itself, are all facts that weigh nothing. Equally unimportant are the various appearances of the "Angel of the Lord" through the earlier books of the old Testament. A skepticism that destroys the validity of the whole, and renders Christ an impostor, settles with Dr. Draper the question. That Dr. Draper should through several pages of his work charge religious men with opposition to science, is not surprising, however false. To such science as this, or rather to such blank infidelity, interpolated with a very questionable ingenuousness in a book professedly of pure science, we are, indeed, opposed. We question not Dr. Draper's right to write any kind of a book he pleases; but we claim an equal right to expose its character, and warn the Christian public against its insidious character.

Dr. Draper institutes a contrast between the English and American systems of government, denominating the former a government through morals, and the latter through intelligence, and shows the superiority of the latter to the former. Hence we have the maxim that *government through morals is bad.* That there is some truth in Dr. Draper's subordinate statements on this subject we cheerfully admit; but why should he give the general doctrine that demoralizing form? There is truly as much government by *moral* means, in free Protestant America, and especially in New England, as in any country on the globe. Terrible is the destiny, and reprobate is the character, of that being who has intelligence without morals. It forms our idea of Satan, even though it be the Idea which, perhaps, Dr. Draper worships.

We conclude with one passage showing the pruriency with which Dr. Draper itches to attack in this scientific work the authenticity of the miraculous history of the sacred records. He is discussing the subject of "divination, agromancy, pyromancy, hydromancy, chiro-

mancy, augury, interpreting of dreams, oracles, sorcery, astrology," and concludes with the following sweeping remark:

> These delusions have vanished, together with the night to which they appertained, yet they were the delusions of fifteen hundred years. In their support might be produced a greater mass of human testimony than probably could be brought to bear on any other matter of belief in the entire history of man; and yet in the nineteenth century we have come to the conclusion that the whole, from the beginning to the end, was a deception. Let him, therefore, who is disposed to balance the testimony of past ages against the dictates of his own reason ponder on this strange history. Let him who relies on the authority of human evidence in the guidance of his opinions, now settle with himself what that evidence is worth.—Pp. 293–4.

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Slavery and Southern Methodism. Two Sermons preached in the Methodist Church in Newman, Georgia. By the Pastor, Rev. JOHN H. CALDWELL, A.M., of the Georgia Conference. 12mo., pp. 80. Printed for the Author. 1865.

Mr. Caldwell's sermons deserve a wide circulation North, and a universal tract-distribution through the South. That such bold antislavery truth should be uttered in Central Georgia, is part of a revolution which will never go back. The excitement produced in the congregation, the starting up of divers indignant individuals walking with noisy steps out of the Church, the previous denunciations of the preacher as an "ultra abolitionist," are nothing more than would have been quite as fiercely performed in the most fashionable Methodist Churches of New York city in 1860, by persons ready now to make affidavit that they were "always good antislavery men." Nay, one of our New York papers quotes the exclamation of a foreign visitor here: "And these people, even now, use the term abolitionist as a reproach!" So that all such excitements are no token that Mr. Caldwell's ultimate triumph is uncertain.

Mr. Caldwell's fundamental doctrine is, that slavery is in itself right, but that in the South it has been overladen with enormous abuses; and under this head of abuses he reads a lecture of scathing power to the southern supporters of slavery. We precisely reverse his maxim. We hold slavery to be in itself a wickedness; but that compulsory circumstances may excuse the slaveholder, who does his best both to benefit his slaves and to abolish the system. On this ground we hold that many a Christian slaveholder may have been exculpated from all blame, both for holding his slaves and for the existence of the system. Mr. Caldwell's sermons unfold a sorrowful tale however, and we trust they are the beginning of a moral revolution of feeling which will result in the full conversion of our Southern brethren to the Gospel of truth and freedom.

We would hereby urge upon our Church the immense importance of the immediate establishment of free Methodist periodicals in the

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South. For one of these, Charleston might be the place, and Mr. Caldwell the man. For another, beyond all question the most suitable point is Nashville. Free discussion once established can never be destroyed or resisted.

Belles-Lettres, Classical and Philological.

Phrasis: A Treatise on the History and Structure of the Different Languages of the World, with a Comparative View of the Forms of their Words, and the Style of their Expressions; with Photograph of the Author. By J. Wilson, A.M., Author of "Errors of Grammar and Nature of Language." 8vo., pp. 384. Albany: J. Munsell. 1864.

America has not yet produced a genuine original treatise upon comparative philology. Such a work could not have been expected of us hitherto; it demands a breadth and depth of research, years of leisurely, scholarly toil, such as little comports with the leading characteristics of the American mind. Our early training does not fit us specially for such pursuits; and while there is little in our atmosphere to foster any tendency to patient, pains-taking philological investigation, the enthusiastic student finds little encouragement from books or instructors. The English Grammar even is yet to be written in our own language. The student who would make scientific investigation into the structure and genius of our language must go to school to Rast, Bopp, and the Grimms. The unassuming but suggestive and stimulating little books of Trench, the Lectures of Max Müller and of Marsh, have done much to direct the attention of the studious and thoughtful to this rich and promising field. But the book before us aims to give, in the compass of 384 pages, an outline of comparative philology at once popular and scientific. We need not say that such an attempt would be most hazardous, even if essayed by the ripest scholarship and most experienced authorship, enjoying the facilities of the richest libraries of the old World; and if this be true, it is no disparagement to intimate that Mr. Wilson's Phrasis is not a perfect success. He aims to teach comparative philology to a student who reads only his mother tongue; in the slightly stilted language of the preface, to write a "work which shall be simple and plain enough for anybody to read, and yet thorough and philosophical enough for even the experienced philologist to study with advantage." The consequence of this impracticable attempt is a book adapted neither to the common reader nor the scholar. The former will never penetrate its bristling forests of foreign words, and the latter will not care to review the elements of English Grammar.

The book has a pretentious air that at the outset produces an

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unfavorable impression. The photograph frontispiece is in bad taste, and the preface, in which the author tells us of "years, long weary years spent in slavish toil [ignoble epithet for a scholar to use in regard to his studies] upon this book," "the number of books he has pored over to render him familiar with the subject," etc., has a disagreeable flavor, to which we do not like to give a name. The reader who is ignorant of the profound and intricate nature of philological problems may, however, find relief in the author's assurance that "he never suffered this work to go to press till he had mastered the subject and was able to take the responsibility."

We never opened a book more willing to be gratified; deeply interested in the subject, grateful that an American writer had entered this rich and inviting field, anxious that he should do honor to himself and to our literature; but while doing full honor to the author's evident enthusiasm and industry, as we glanced at this photograph and ran through this preface we could not help murmuring, in the language of the Arab's grace before meat, "May the end of this feast be better than the beginning," and we own that it was.

The work opens with a review of the Elements of Grammar, English and Latin, endeavoring to get the standpoint from which ideas are contemplated in the different languages, and often showing in this much subtlety and ingenuity. There are chapters there on the History of Nouns, Adjectives, Particles, Verbs, etc., plentifully illustrated from various languages, ancient and modern. From the chapter on Etymology we give a few paragraphs which set forth one of the author's views, fully developed afterward in manifold illustrations:

> In the science of separating words into parts, or rather of discovering new parts of words, etymology has lately made great advances. It is the course taken by all science; the more intimately we become acquainted with the object of our study, the more points and parts about it we successively discover. It was first learned that sentences were made of parts, or rather, it was assumed to consider certain parts of the sentence as distinct individuals, just as we are wont to look at the man as made up of head, hands, feet, while to the child or savage, perhaps, he appears as one whole, single and simple. But philology did not rest satisfied with dividing sentences into words; it has divided compound words into their elements, and those elements again into syllables. Not content with that, syllables have again been separated into letters; and there philology apparently halted, but halted only to renew the undertaking. Words have not only been divided into syllables, and syllables again into letters, but it was often observed that one letter is equal to or represents two or more letters; as *e* = *ie* in *field*, *i* = *ei* in German *Theil* or *ai* in Greek παις, *j* = *dg* in *bridge*. *s* = *st* in *listen*, etc. . . . So that these single letters, which are representatives of the two combined, may be considered as equal to the two, and as practically containing the two within themselves, latent though it be; just so the bud contains the leaf and the flower, and as this bud develops itself into the leaf and the flower, or the branch, so may we say, in language, that one letter develops itself into two or more of its own cognates, as *s* into *st*, *m* into *lm*, *n* into *gn*, *r* into *rr*, etc. . . . One letter may thus represent several others; and we may either consider the combination of letters, [as *tch* for

one of the Russian letters,] the growth or development of the single letter, or that the single letter is really made up of the (invisible) parts represented in the developed combination, and as including in itself, as the whole includes its parts, those different elements in a latent unappreciable state. This is no new thing; it is the universal phenomenon of nature. All the different instruments of a band of players, sounding in perfect harmony, produce one single strain, in which the single instruments lose their individuality and become undistinguishable; besides, any one of them may represent the elements of the whole combined, as one letter represents a combination of letters. It is the leading law of nature *that the part is as great as the whole, contains as much, and (under suitable circumstances) can do as much. Every whole is but an accumulation of equivalent parts, parts of which only apparently differ; every whole is but the repetition of one and the same part. Nowhere is the law better exemplified than in language.*—Pp. 142, 143.

The author makes good use of this general philological principle; but when he generalizes this into a "leading law of nature," which he italicizes as above, as if of the highest importance, we confess not to know what he means unless it be to present, in a sort of expanded form, the Swedenborgian physiology.

There is much valuable matter in this chapter upon the correspondences, interchanges, and assimilation of letters, as shown by comparison of different languages, dialects, and linguistic families. Instructive and suggestive tables of correspondences are furnished. Some of the author's etymologies seem fanciful and arbitrary; but he should have the credit of great diligence, considerable acuteness, and that liveliness of imagination or fancy which, though it may sometimes lead astray, yet is indispensable in detecting these latent verbal relationships. Part II gives a "History of Languages," with specimens of the style, structure, and idioms of each. N.

Miscellaneous.

Songs for All Seasons. With illustrations by Maclise, Cresswick, Eytinge, Barry, Fenn, and Perkins. 24mo., pp. 84. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1865.

The Man Without a Country. 24mo., pp. 23. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1865.

A very unique story. A sort of Americanization of the Wandering Jew, whether truth or fiction.

What I Saw on the West Coast of South and North America and at the Hawaiian Islands. By H. Willis Baxley, M.D. 8vo., pp. 632. New York: Appleton & Co. 1865.

Mr. Baxley is an extreme specimen of the bigoted, garrulous, bombastic Southerner. His rhetoric is high-flown, and his prejudices are so strong, that with all judicious minds their very violence is its own

antidote. His statements of the missionary work in the Hawaiian Islands will not be accepted by any critic not predetermined to have such testimony true.

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Exiles in Babylon; or, The Children of Light. By A. L. O. E. Seven Illustrations. New York: Carlton & Porter.

A beautiful edition of a most interesting work.

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How to be Saved; or, The Sinner directed to the Saviour. By J. H. B. Fortieth Thousand. 24mo., pp. 126. St. Louis: J. W. McIntyre. 1865.

The Oil Regions of Pennsylvania. By William Wright. 12mo., pp. 275. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865.

A Smaller History of Rome. By William Smith. Illustrated with wood engravings. 12mo., pp. 365. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865.

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Carlton & Porter have in press a number of works:

Dr. Floy's Works, in two vols., 12mo.

Manual for Baptized Children.

Fairbairn on Prophecy.

This is a republication of a standard British Theological Classic on the subject of Prophecy. It has received the highest commendations of the English press.

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Pusey on Daniel.

No book in the sacred canon is a more momentous battle-ground than the Book of Daniel. If it be a genuine prophecy, Christianity is demonstratively true and divine; if it be a forgery, Christianity is baseless. And the English reviews admit with one voice that Dr. Pusey's work is the most conclusive defense of the book ever published, and so a conclusive defense of Christianity.

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Whedon's Commentary on Luke and John.

Earnest Christian's Library.

Variety Library, five vols. in box.

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Notices of the following books are postponed for want of room:

Hours Among the Gospels; or, Wayside Truths from the Life of our Lord. By H. C. Burt, D.D. 12mo., pp. 215. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Christianity and Statesmanship, with Kindred Topics. By WILLIAM HAGUE, D.D. 12mo., pp. 414. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Company. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard.

The Conversion of the Roman Empire. The Boyle Lectures for the year 1864. Delivered at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, by CHARLES MERIVALE, B.D. 12mo., pp. 267. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Reminiscences of Sixty-four Years in the Ministry. By Rev. HENRY BOEHM, Bishop Asbury's traveling companion. Edited by JOSEPH B. WAKELEY. 12mo., pp. 493. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1865.

METHODIST CHURCHES, NORTH AND SOUTH.

THE Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, have proceeded to reorganize their ecclesiastical institutions and restore their regular action. Suggestions of union, whether with the Episcopal Church or the Methodist Episcopal Church, as serving alike to distract and disintegrate, are rejected, and the policy is to concentrate their energies and reinaugurate their operations. The pastor returns to his flock, the periodical recommences its issues, and the annual conferences are to assemble and elect their delegates to their great sanhedrim.

This, we think, is a wise and righteous policy. The people of the South have a right to the pastorate of their own choice. They claim, with apparent truth, that the entire tiers of their Atlantic and their Gulf States, with nearly a perfect unanimity, prefer their ancient ministry and organization. Disastrous it would be, religiously, morally, and Methodistically, if that body were disintegrated, scattered, lost, and sent, to a great degree, to the world and to the devil. The southern bishops and ministry would be unjustifiable if they allowed such a result in their hands. And so, we say, we commend their course, and wish them abundant success, spiritual, ecclesiastical, and temporal, in their great work, as Christian pastors, of repairing the ruin of their flocks.

We have been carefully studying such of our southern Church papers as have come into our hands, in order to rightly appreciate their spirit. We cannot characterize that spirit as "bitter." A tone of subdued sadness there is, well calculated, though not intended, to touch our sympathies. 1. The desolation and destitution leak out in every paragraph. The home has been destroyed by war. The prospect for the winter's subsistence is gloomy. Perhaps, as there is no money, President Johnson may be induced to postpone the exaction

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of taxes. The periodical, if no money can be obtained, may be paid for in poultry or produce. In one night the entire southern currency shrunk to paper scraps, but the ministry must be supported, etc., etc. 2. The situation, humiliating as it is, is quietly accepted. The oath of allegiance has been taken, and they consider as a deep insult the intimation that it is taken with other than perfect good faith. Nothing is to them more fixed than that slavery is at an end, that the most terrible of evils is war, that the national union is perpetual. They sneer at a cowardly few who boast what they will do when the Yankee troops are withdrawn, averring that the civil authorities in their own section would reduce the braggarts to quiet. 3. The purpose entertained, as they think, by a part of the Northern Church, to invade and destroy the Church, South, they hold to be cruel and despotic. They reject and defy it. They will treat the northern ministry with courtesy generally. The missionary who intrudes into their borders will meet with the coldest possible reception. We understand them as holding any minister who comes to establish a pastorate, or bishop who presides over a conference, in the former slave states as an aggressor. 4. There seems to be generally a significant silence in regard to the negro. In the "Episcopal Methodist" of Richmond alone do we find a single article treating his case. That paper sneers at all the efforts of northern philanthropy in the negro's behalf; claiming that the South alone understands the negro, and to the South alone belongs the right of taking care of his welfare. But what the South is doing, or purposes to do for him, the writer omits to mention. It is here, if we mistake not, that the dark streak in the southron's character becomes visible. We wish he could see himself as civilized Christendom sees him.

On the third of the above four topics we offer a remark. It is very useless for any set of ecclesiastics, or for any ecclesiastical body, in this country, to assume to draw boundary lines within which they are to have exclusive jurisdiction. They have no power, and no moral right, to impose any obligation or law upon any other body to regard that line. If the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is able to send a missionary into New York to establish a Church of such as prefer his ministry, she has just the same right here, by law, by ethics, and by Christian courtesy, that our Methodist Episcopal Church has, and every New Yorker has a right to attend such ministry if he pleases. Upon such a missionary we would lay no ban, no taboo, no social or ecclesiastical exclusion. If the Church, South, will send us a hundred faithful missionaries, who will gain access to the dregs of our city population, black or white, and convert them to their own communion,

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we will give them a wide berth and a hearty auxiliary welcome. If we are unable, or too shiftless, to reach that population, we should mightily rejoice if they could or would. If they or any body else can make people better, here or elsewhere, right heartily will we accept them. And so, on the other hand, if we can reach the southern freedmen or the "mean whites" of the South, and convert and educate them, making them good, industrious Christian southern citizens, why should not our southern Christian brethren rejoice? Their state and their own Church would be bettered by the process and result. If indeed our missionary goes with a destructive, sectarian purpose, with a scheme to overthrow and not to build up, with a desire to demolish the Church that exists, rather than to construct anew, from the raw material of a sinful world, a Church that does not exist, then, and for such a project, we admit that he deserves not to be received with a welcome and a God-speed. And we do most earnestly and firmly deprecate any such unchristian destructivism, if it exists, in our own Church. If there be in the South any uncovered ground, or any neglected material, we have a perfect right to possess and to win it to Christ, and no man has a right to forbid us. If there be a people in the South who prefer a northern ministry it has a right to its own preference. Our brethren of the South, therefore, will put themselves sadly in the wrong if they attempt to engross a territory, and say that any other Church has not the same right to establish pastorates and to inaugurate synods and conferences there that they themselves possess. The General Conference of 1844 assumed to draw by compact an ecclesiastical dividing line; and with what result? If our northern reading of history be correct, the Church, South, was the first to cross the line, and with physical violence infringe the contract. Like the Congregational and Presbyterian bodies, or the Old and New School Presbyterian, the two Methodist Churches must fraternally concede to each other the right of occupying such territory as they respectively please. Though we think, as affirmed in our last Quarterly, that an immediate union of the two Churches is impossible, still the two General Conferences may, by joint committee of ministers or of ministers and eminent laymen, or by episcopal conferences, make such amicable arrangements, as that the two Churches may co-operate rather than antagonize, and so waste a vast amount of surplus force in their evangelizing labors. And in such way we trust that the collisions will be so adjusted, and the harmony will so strengthen, as to inaugurate in the most practicable form some sort of general reunion.

Upon the fourth of the above topics we make the following note.

Our present belief is, that such are the temper and relations of the South to the negro, that it is his race which presents a great obligatory mission field in the South, which the North must speedily fill. The future treatment of the negro is indeed the test of our possible future recognition of and fraternization with the Southern Church. Upon this point we are not to be put off, hoodwinked, or excluded; especially under any pretense that "the South alone understands the negro." There is a negro which the South, at least the irreligious South, does very well know. The negro shut out from education in order to be brutified in mind; deprived of the right of judicial oath, in order that the chastity of woman and the safety of man may be exposed to unpunished outrage; excluded from the sacred rights of marriage in order to be reduced to a chance concubinage; bought and sold, as an article of commerce, on the auction block, to the highest bidder; chastised by the driver's whip while performing his task, and chased by the hired bloodhounds when he would escape from it: this is the negro which some part at least of the irreligious South has hitherto known but too well. But a negro who is to possess rights which others are bound to respect, to be endowed with the privileges of education and mental development, with a sacred marriage, with enfranchisement, and with manhood, is a negro which our southern brethren are yet fully to learn. Civilized Christendom demands that the South shall learn that lesson; otherwise the nation and the Northern Churches are in duty bound to inculcate it. We cheerfully trust that our Southern Methodist Church will be the first in the South to appreciate and to teach that "young idea how to shoot." And we believe that all the humanity that has ever hitherto mitigated the southern slavery system, has come from Christianity and the Church. Our best information enables us to believe that the best friend of the negro in the South has been the Methodist Church, South. In the darkest hours of southern proslaveryism, Dr. M'Tyeire published for the South a book, issued from the Southern Concern, upon the subject of slavery, in which he manfully denied the right of property in man, affirmed the manhood of the negro, and maintained his claims to Christian mildness of treatment within the limits of his servile condition as a man. This was all the Southern Church could then do under the pressure of the State, and we have a faith she did it well. But now that the pressure of the State is withdrawn, we shall cheerfully believe, until forced to *know* the contrary, that she will rise to the dignity of this new position. She will, we would hope, exclude the interference of the North, not by fierce looks, and abortive efforts at lynch law, and icy shoulders,

but by so well performing her work as to render northern aid superfluous: otherwise her inhumanity flings the negro on the philanthropy and Christianity of the North. The South needs the negro, and needs *his highest* MANHOOD. Every community, in order to its highest prosperity, needs that all her men be developed to their highest manhood, and her women to their highest womanhood. A degraded class, in some degree, degrades every other class, and degrades the whole. The ignorance, the idleness, the poverty of a pariah caste impoverish the state. And if the South would prosper, she must make the most of all the living humanity she possesses. Education, religion, development, industry, equality of rights, diffused through all her ranks, will, beneath her genial skies, spread a new civilization, a new wealth and prosperity upon her fertile soil, beyond the grandest hopes of any former era. A NEW SOUTH will arise, nobler, richer, prouder, than has ever entered her former vision. If, with her singular elements of wealth, she shall, by her policy of freedom, surpass in prosperity our free North, that free North will fraternally rejoice; for the richer the South, the richer the North. The prosperity of one is that much the prosperity of all. And in that southern prosperity none will rejoice more heartily than the old antislavery man, for the *true* antislavery man was never a "sectional" man. The true antislavery man has hated, *not the South*, but *slavery;* and that slavery was in the South was but an accident of history. He would have hated slavery in the North; he did hate the proslavery spirit in the North, and the infernal black laws of the North, as much as or more than he hated slavery in the South. And when slavery and the oppressive spirit are abolished, North and South are alike to him. New England and the Gulf States, Maine and Mississippi, are alike dear; and their prosperity are equally a joy, under the broad banner of freedom and the union.

Since writing the above we have read with no little regret the Pastoral Address of the Southern Bishops, and with equal regret some of the responses it has called forth from our own Church press. The bishops' indictment of northern Methodism was doubtless drawn up for the double purpose of foreclosing all discussion of immediate reunion, and of compacting their own Church into a separate unity by force of an external antagonism. It is therefore a brave attack for the purpose of self-defense. Some of the points may be subjects of future free discussion in our editorial pages. But as proof that our strictures upon the southern side are made in no unfriendly spirit, we will for the present suggest some defects that, in our humble view, we of the North may wisely correct. We need, it may be,

1. *Less retention by our earnest antislavery men of a belligerent feeling after the object of hostility has ceased existence.* For what did we fight the long antislavery battle? To injure our southern fellow-countrymen? No; but to deliver both North and South from the crushing despotism of the slave-power. That deliverance is accomplished. Must we now protract the fight against the very South thus emancipated from the common despot? They may not yet appreciate our benefaction; but the logic of events and the right spirit upon our part may in time teach our Southern fellow-Christians and brother Methodists who are their truest friends. At least let the full experiment be tried.

2. *A due appreciation of the wounded spirit of a proud but self-supposed "subjugated" people.* A sensitive, high-spirited, gallant race have been struck down, after the most heroic combat, by superior force. They lie, broken-hearted and bleeding, amid the ruin of their projects, the bankruptcy of their institutions, and the desolation of their homes. They look up into the face of their conqueror and recognize a sneer at the very idea of "magnanimity." Can we wonder if we find, amid their sighs of sorrow, some sharp tones of "bitterness?" Is it not to be expected that they will now and then put themselves into a position of fierce and desperate self-defense? Should we accept a conquered position with a less repugnant temper? And ought we not to deal with such facts in a spirit of firm, patient, indulgent "magnanimity?"

3. *Avoidance of inquisitorial tests of loyalty.* Dr. M'Ferrin, for instance, returns to Nashville, takes the oath of allegiance, and everywhere renouncing the claim of the right to secede, declares his purpose of being hereafter a true and loyal citizen of an indivisible nation. But, Dr. M'Ferrin, do you acknowledge that it was with wicked purpose that you rebelled, and do you rejoice in the overthrow of the Confederacy? Surely no generous mind would put such questions. And his declining to answer them would to us prove, not that he is dishonest and disloyal, but both honest and loyal; too honest to make a false profession, and too true to break the profession of loyalty he makes. Surely the oath and profession of a man of high moral standing that he accepts the indivisible nation ought, in spite of exceptional errors past, to be sufficient. To require confessions of conscious villainy is to confine our favors to villains alone.

4. *A "magnanimity" in victory.* Who should be forbearing; who should make the advances of courtesy and fraternity; who should venture the tentative right hand of fellowship; who should endure occasional petulances with an indulgent equanimity, if not the con-

querors ?* Our deep impression, derived from a study of our Southern Methodist periodicals, mistaken though it may be, is that for such a "magnanimity" they (with some exceptions) were looking; and that but for the errors on our part which we have specified, generous utterances would have awakened a wide response.

5. *No substitution of the spirit of ambitious ecclesiasticism for the spirit of the religion of Jesus.* Assuming too nearly that our Church South had no religion, was not Christian, and was no Church, forgetting how much our own superior purity was the result of geographical latitude, some of us have approximated too nearly to a purpose of demolishing and expunging the Church South, and taking absolute occupancy of the blank spot remaining. Heroically contemptuous of vulgar arithmetic, some Northern brethren do not stop to cypher how much of men and money and labor such a second "subjugation" would cost us. And when we remember that all our objections against the Church South arose from a now defunct and non-existent cause, would it not be far *cheaper* as well as wiser, if not more Christian, to wait with an economical "masterly inactivity" for time and brotherly kindness, and careful fair-dealing, and generous aids to convert the solid Southern Church to quite as good a Methodism as we could ever hope to substitute in her place ?

In our repeated advocacy for several years past in our Quarterly of a reunion of the various bodies of Northern Methodism, we have never purposed to go into a discussion of the PAST. Were such a discussion necessary, we should indeed go into it with all the impartiality of history. We would not spend one flourish of our pen to *prove* either side right or wrong. The present and the immediate future are all we can manage. And so to these Southern Bishops we would say, Venerable brethren, *let us not fight over a dead past.* Leave 1844 to history and to God. In the grave of slavery we can afford to bury our belligerent antislaveryism and you your belligerent antiabolitionism. We purpose not reunion, but the restoration of Methodistic and Churchly recognition and fraternity. Into your recognized seat among the branches of the great family of catholic Methodism, from which a stern past has so long exiled you, we would invite your return. There are some open questions of the present which if we discuss it shall be no fault of ours if the discussion is not most fraternal in spirit and result.

Finally, any other course than this on the part of Northern Meth-

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* And here we wish to record an *amende honorable.* In our last Quarterly (p. 480) we spoke of Bishops Pierce and Andrew in an unnecessarily personal style. We desire those words to be considered as unsaid.

odism will tend to drive Southern Methodism and Southern Protestant Christianity into alliance with the worst and most dangerous classes of the North and of the nation. The Southern slaveocracy, we know, long maintained itself by a combination with the Northern mobocracy. It was the union of the Southern oligarch with the Northern subterranean. It was the partnership of John C. Calhoun with Mike Walsh & Co. It was that alliance which finally culminated in the rebellion. The Southern aristocracy strangely boasted of being the conservative element, the fly-wheel, the regulator against Northern jacobinism. But it was ever the precise reverse. Besides its own turbulent policy of nullification, state sovereignty, fillibustering, infringement of compromises, repudiations, annexations, Mexican war, Cuba purchase, etc., etc., it was always compacted with the spirit of Northern destructivism. O that all such policies were forever past! At any rate the emancipated Protestantism of the South ought not to be forced by us into any further fellowship with the Irishry, the popery, the rummery, the subterraneanism, and the copperheadism of the North. Surely all the affinities of its high, refined, and noble nature revolt at that base fellowship. All its natural high-born sympathies are with Northern religion, education, Protestantism, and true republicanism. Let us beware how we bring about any further false positions. Let us patiently and firmly offer to them a free, equal, brotherly alliance, and so take a first step to a renovated Union, a regenerated Nation.

ARTICLES DECLINED.—We noted in our last Quarterly that our narrow limits obliged us to reject some articles worthy of insertion. Authors, however, write to us complaints that articles are actually inserted which are inferior to their own, sometimes imputing to us special motives. It must be obvious that we cannot enter into a discussion of so delicate and personal a nature. In the attempt to convince writers of the inferiority of their own productions we should most certainly be floored. And as for the fairness of our motives, we will simply suggest that no person in the world has more interest in inserting the very best articles obtainable than the Editor.

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